

# GLOBAL JOURNAL

OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE : C

## SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE

DISCOVERING THOUGHTS AND INVENTING FUTURE

### HIGHLIGHTS

Anambra State Experience

Prevalence of Counterfeiting

Anxiety and Depression

A Theoretical Discourse



Barack Obama

Volume 12

Issue 12

|

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**ENG**



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SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE

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## Anxiety and Depression : Comparative Study between Working and Non-Working Mothers

By Dr. Harasankar Adhikari

*Abstract* - Now a day the mothers are not only restricted their involvement on domestic chores, procreation of children and their nurturing with family care and attention. A significant number of mothers are working and they are maintaining their dual roles of as employee and household keeper with financial assistance to their families. The working mothers are mostly in anxiety and depression regarding their method of child care as they are absentees for a long time. The present study had been conducted to find out the differences in degree of felt depression and anxiety of both working & non-working mothers. A total of 60 mothers (30 working mothers , 30 nonworking mothers) were studied. The result showed that there were significant differences in degree of depression & both anxiety of working mothers' group. But no significant difference was noticed in case of anxiety & depression pattern of non-working mothers' group.

*Keywords* : Mother, anxiety, depression, child care, household work.

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# Anxiety and Depression : Comparative Study between Working and Non-Working Mothers

Dr. Harasankar Adhikari

**Abstract** - Now a day the mothers are not only restricted their involvement on domestic chores, procreation of children and their nurturing with family care and attention. A significant number of mothers are working and they are maintaining their dual roles of as employee and household keeper with financial assistance to their families. The working mothers are mostly in anxiety and depression regarding their method of child care as they are absentees for a long time. The present study had been conducted to find out the differences in degree of felt depression and anxiety of both working & non-working mothers. A total of 60 mothers (30 working mothers , 30 nonworking mothers) were studied. The result showed that there were significant differences in degree of depression & both anxiety of working mothers' group. But no significant difference was noticed in case of anxiety & depression pattern of non-working mothers' group.

**Keywords** : Mother, anxiety, depression, child care, household work.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The term woman is usually reserved for an adult, with the term girl being the usual term for a female child or adolescent. However, the term woman is also sometimes used to identify a female human, regardless of age. Womanhood is the period in a female's life after her transition from childhood to adolescence, generally after crossing the age of 18 years. But the motherhood determines as a manifestation of human form the cosmic wonder of creation. Mother is a woman who has conceived, given birth to, or raised a child in the role of a parent(Apter,T., 1985). Because of the complexity and differences of mothers' social, cultural, and religious definitions and roles, it is challenging to define a mother to suit a universally accepted definition. The masculine equivalent is a father.

The Role of women in the society is constantly questioned and for centuries women have struggled to find their place in a world that is predominantly male oriented. Literature provides a porthole into the lives, thoughts and actions of women during certain periods of time in a fictitious form, yet often truthful in many ways. Woman has a great part to play in the progress of our country, as the mental and physical contact of women with life is much more lasting and comprehe-

-nsive than that of men(Bernard,J., 1971). In the apron string of women is hidden the revolutionary energy, which can establish paradise on this earth. Woman is the magnificent creation of god, a multi faceted personality with the power of benevolence, adjustability, integrity and tolerance(Ghadijally, Rehana(ed), 1998). She is companion of man, gifted with equal mental faculty, a protector and provider, the embodiment of love and affection. The role specified to women in a society is a measuring bar and it is a true index of its civilization and cultural attainment. First of all it is clear that a woman's place, just like a man's is in the home. Women have started to reach the highest places and to occupy the scariest and most exciting positions of power within society. At the same time, they have continued to stay home and have children. It is really a matter of individual choice. Women's place should not be in the home because they have much more to offer society. Women got the reputation of being house-bound creatures through no fault of their own: they were repressed on every level. They were forced to wear certain dress codes, their education was severely curtailed and they were simply traded off in strategic marriages of convenience. Woman now believes a successful career is the key to financial and social life. Obviously the lives women live today are much different than they were before. Today, there are several roles women may choose to fulfill/carry out( Hoffman,L.W., 1986).

Today most of mothers are working. They are expanding their lives to include a career; they must also maintain their traditional roles at home. This combination of housework and career-work is the reason why working mothers today have more stress than working fathers(Hoffman,L.W. 1986).

Mothers may work in an office from nine to five or whatever may be, but their work does not end at the office. After working an eight-hour or more a day, a mother will come home to take care of her children, husband, and house. Women remain the primary caretaker and housekeeper of a family, and are also the primary caregiver for the elderly. All of this makes for a very demanding schedule. This is not only true for mothers of school-aged children, as it have been for two decades, but it is also true for mothers of infants less

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than one-year-old. The pace with which maternal employment rates have increased to this point, however, is so rapid that many people fail to realize its prevalence (Rapaport, R and Rapaport, R. N. ,1972).

Furthermore, attempts to understand its effects often ignore the fact that this change is part of a whole complex of social changes. Both employed mothers and homemakers today live in a very different environment than their counterparts forty or even twenty years ago.

Nearly three-quarters of all mothers are in the laborforce. Even among mothers with very young children, more than sixty percent are in the labor force (Rachel Hamman. (2006).

Anxiety & Stress symptoms affect over mostly in women especially in working mothers day by day. An increasing number of women are faced with the task of juggling the roles of mother-wife-employee. Working mother experienced high level of stress as compared to un-employed moms.'(Arieti,S. (1974). Work-family-spillover' may also occur due to having juggle multiple roles, & may result when the pressures from work have an effect on one's attitude & behavior within the family.

According to Postpartum support International, up to 10% women develop an anxiety disorder & stress. Anxiety & stress is just as detrimental to the health of the new mom, her baby, & their budding relationship. Anxiety is a natural response to a perceived or imagined threat. Stress is the emotional and physical strain caused as a result of our response to what happens around us. Stress can affect anyone—kids, teenagers, adults and the elderly. At one point or the other, everybody goes through stress—be it relationship demands, work, household chores, children's school, education, financial situations, etc. It is an inborn instinct which helps you deal with everyday difficulties. But, if it goes on for too long, it can harm physical as well as psychological health making it difficult to handle day-to-day living. Secondly the cause of anxiety is the loss of job. It can be devastating, putting unemployed workers at risk for physical illness, depression, effecting heart etc. Until the transition is made to a new position, stress is chronic. The working mothers had better mental health and reported less depression than the non-working mothers. The most frequently reported source of stress for working mothers was not having enough time to do everything, whereas for non-working mothers lack of social life was a major stressor (Beck, A.T; Ward, C.H: Mendelson, M; Mock, J.E. & Erbaugh, J.K.(1961).

On the other part depression is one of the most prevalent psychological disorders caused by several factors, including interpersonal relationships between individuals and the reactions and emotions of each individual expressed directly and discreetly to each other. An overwhelming 91% of working moms suffered some symptoms of depression. While many people are familiar with postpartum depression in the months after

giving birth a lot of women are experiencing depressions (Maurice B. Mittelmark. (2009).

There are so many benefits of working mothers that it seems to be a mistake to be a stay at home mom! But every woman must weigh her own pros and cons of getting a job outside the home. The factors such as financial situation, children's age, work availability, partner support, work passion and health all play a role in the decision to be working mom or stay-at-home moth(Kessler, R.C & MacRae, J.A. (1982). Many simply feel that being a homemaker fails to utilize the full range of their capabilities. Working moms feel like they're using all their gifts, talents, and abilities in a more useful capacity than stay at home moms. Intellectual stimulation, problem solving, and handling challenges increase feelings of self-esteem and self-confidence. Working moms have their own income, which offers independence, freedom, and security. Moms with careers can make their own decisions about money and purchases; they know how their money is spent. There's a sense of satisfaction in being a working mom, as well as the economic ability to take care of them if the marriage or husband's health fails. Furthermore the employment has positive or neutral effects on women's health. Comparing working mothers with non-working mothers on measures of mental health, self-esteem, and mother role satisfaction have positive effects(Field,S. (1964)). The working mothers had better mental health and reported less depression than the non-working mothers. The most frequently reported source of stress for working mothers was not having enough time to do everything, whereas for non-working mothers lack of social life was a major stressor(Johan. H. Anderson. (2009).

Mainstream moms tend to be more insular and value family in traditional ways. Unique moms have more liberal views, are more likely to give their children original names, and put more value on "giving back." (Field,S. (1964).

Traditional moms are more apt to approve of alternative educational approaches (teacher merit pay, home schooling) to maintain student standards, but are less likely to care for contemporary content (such as Harry Potter). Progressive moms are more prolific readers and more likely to support affirmative action programs.

Rule bending behavior in moms has little correlation to either childhood experience or parenting philosophy. In other words, just because a mom was a little on the wild side growing up doesn't mean she's more permissive or uninvolved as a parent(Field,S. (1964)

Working moms have been found to promote more independence in their children. A working mom is not able to solve every problem or issue due to their absence, so their children tend to become more autonomous and better problem solvers. Encouraging

this independence has been found to have a more negative impact on boys than girls. For boys, this independence tends to increase the influence of their peer groups. In girls it has a more positive effect because traditionally girls are given less encouragement to be independent. It is also found that working moms spend less time with their preschoolers than non-working moms. Conversely, research has also found that the quality of time spent can sometimes be higher with working moms since they feel they need to compensate for the missed hours during the day, even though the activities chosen by working moms for their children were found to be less educational. Children attending daycare or alternate child care are found to be less compliant and more assertive with their playmates. Now, this is not always a negative aspect, although it can easily become one if not kept under watch. The daycare environment is also found to have a major effect on your child's outcome, but in the long term is not as important as the home environment. It is also proven that although daycare can have a large, positive impact on your child's cognitive and social development, one on one discipline and instruction at home is far more important. (Hoffman,L.W., 1986)

The boredom and lack of satisfaction experienced by many stay-at-home mothers are troubling enough when their children are young, but the problem becomes acute as the kids get older. Wrapped up in their own lives, teenagers assert their independence; husbands are busy with their careers. At this stage in life, stay-at-home moms may find the empty nest traumatic indeed, whereas working mothers with rewarding careers have ample opportunities for positive reinforcement outside the home.

Sure, it's a logistical challenge to manage job responsibilities along with household tasks, especially while your children are young. But working women derive a wide range of intellectual, creative and social as well as monetary benefits from their jobs. You'd never know it from all the cultural propaganda that encourages women to sacrifice their careers, but the truth is that multiple roles in life are good for women's psychological health.

**Working Women Are Healthier** As a working mother, you never have enough time, you often feel as if you can't do your best at home or on the job, and you have so many other responsibilities that taking care of yourself often gets relegated to the bottom of the to-do list. It's hard not to envy those stay-at-home moms who seem to have time to work out and take a regular yoga class -- and it seems logical to assume that full-time homemakers, having unloaded the demands of the labor force, would be healthier than all of us frazzled working moms (Hoffman,L.W. 1986).

Surprisingly, however, the opposite turns out to be the case. Studies show that working women have

lower blood pressure, lower cholesterol levels, and lower weight -- health benefits that prove long-lasting. A longitudinal survey conducted over 28 years found that by age 54, women who combine multiple roles as employees, parents, and partners were significantly less likely to report ill health than women whose lives did not include all three roles. Homemakers were the most likely to say that their health was poor.

Most telling of all, the research was even designed to determine the role of cause and effect: Did women's multi-tasking actually produce good health, or were healthy individuals simply able to accomplish more? The findings suggested that good health was the result, rather than the cause, of combining work with family life (Hoffman,L.W.1986)..

In the present context, there is an ample need to study particularly in conservative socio-cultural Bengali family context, the effect of working condition of women in comparison with non-working condition. The employment typically has positive psychological consequences for women either as a primary source of well-being or as a buffer against stress and thus it can be said that due to paid work it helps to reduce anxiety, depression in life whereas, working mothers experience greater work related stress than non-working mothers and thus stress helps to increase anxiety. At this juncture the present study aims to find out the differences in degree of felt depression and anxiety pattern of working & non-working mothers.

## II. METHOD.

For the purpose of the study a total of 60 mothers (30 working mothers , 30 non-working mothers) were randomly selected from Southern part of Kolkata who were residents of new urban colonies(the housing complexes have been developed to provide shelter of the people with ownership or rental basis) of Kolkata considering age, marital status, educational level, family pattern and interestingly all of them was from Hindu-Bengali family. In the present study data was collected by administrating the questionnaires - Information blank, State-trait Anxiety Inventory(STAI) by Spielberger et al 1970 and Beck Depression Inventory(BDI) by Beck,Word,Mendelson & Erbaugh 1961.





### III. RESULT

Result shows the difference label of anxiety between both mothers.

Table 1 :

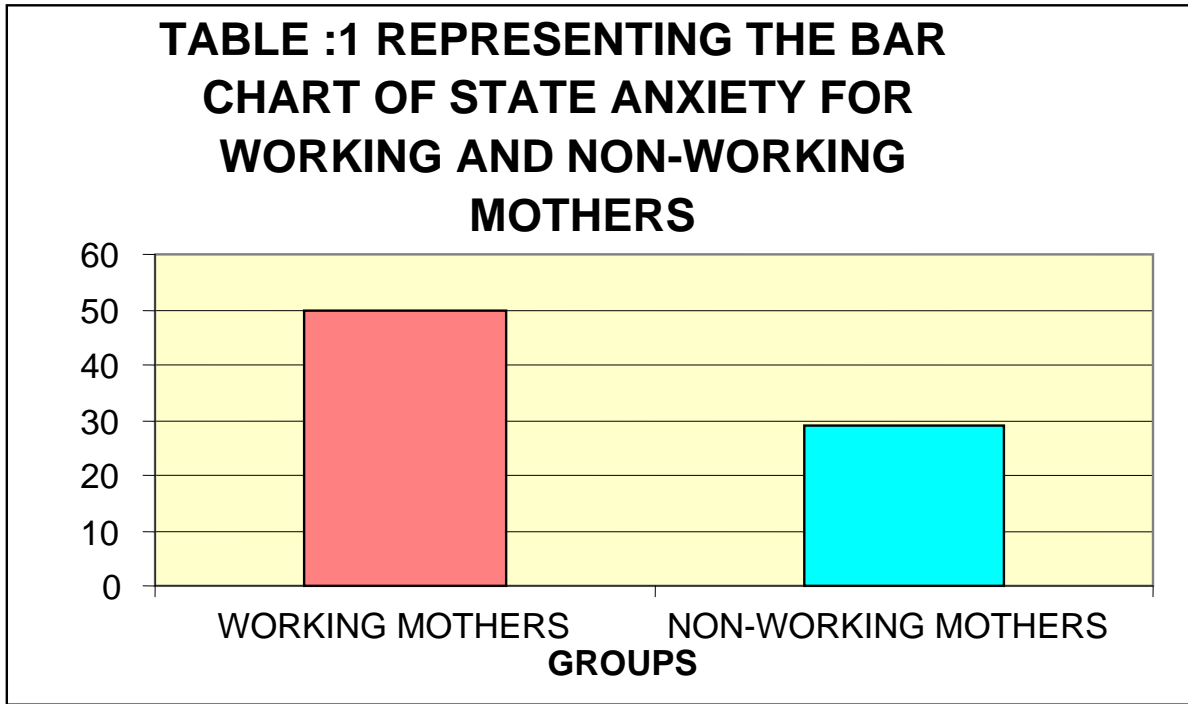
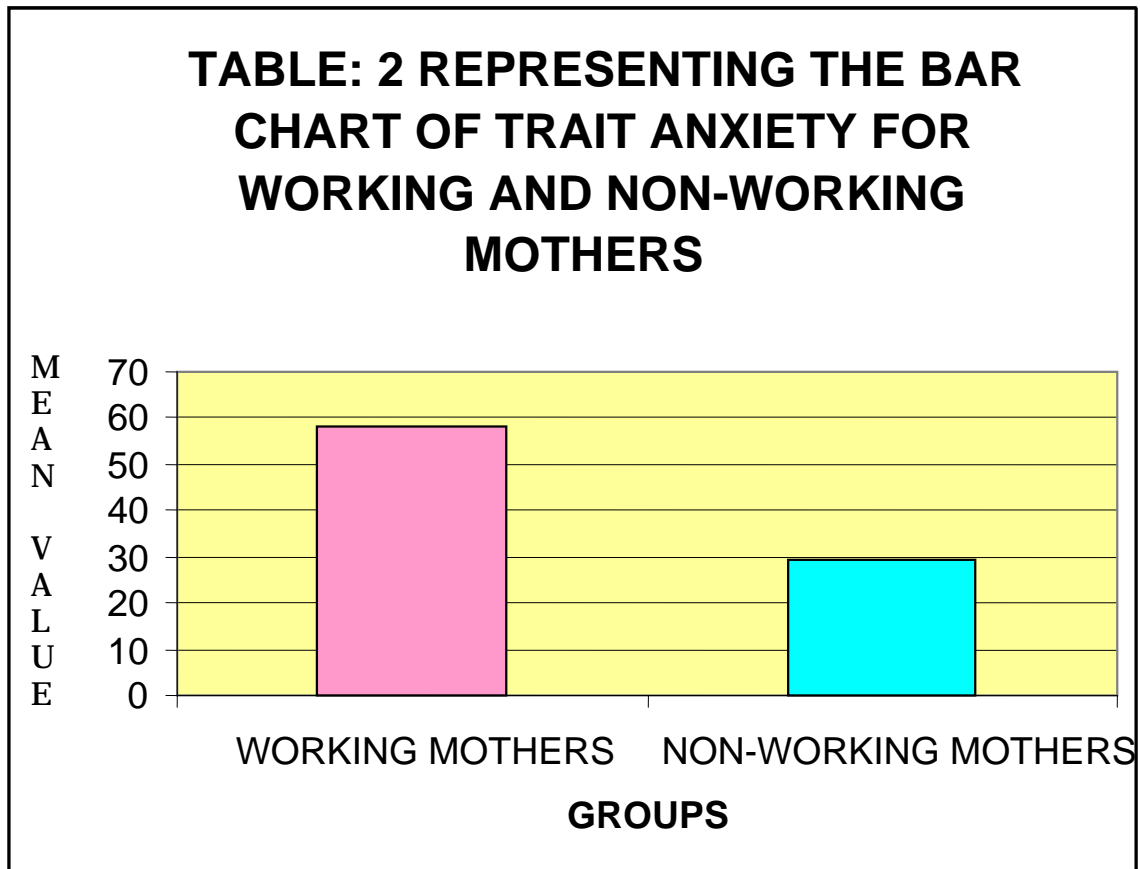


Table 2 :



**Table 3 :** Showing The Means, Standard Deviations, And T- Values Of Working And Non-Working Mothers With Respect To The Variable - State Anxiety.

	Working mothers	Non-working mothers
Mean	49.90	29.03
Standard deviation	8.00	5.93
t-value		11.48

*\*significant at 0.05 level*

*\*\* significant at 0.01 level*

Table 3 represents higher mean magnitude on the part of working mothers with reference to state anxiety. It indicates that there exists a significant difference among the two groups.

**Table 4 :** Showing The Means, Standard Deviations, And T- Values Of Working And Non-Working Mothers With Respect To The Variable - Trait Anxiety.

	Working mothers	Non-working mothers
Mean	58.10	29.27
Standard deviation	7.99	4.23
t-value		17.39

*\*significant at 0.05 level*

*\*\* significant at 0.01 level*

The table 4 represents higher mean magnitude on the part of working mothers with reference to trait anxiety. It indicates that there exists a significant difference among the two groups.

#### IV. DISCUSSION

The study analyzed the depression levels of mothers. The majority of working mothers observed to mildly or seriously anxious & depress. The study had been brought out the significant features within its periphery. The overall obtained results showed that some significant differences were observed between the selected variable.

#### V. ANXIETY- STATE & TRAIT

So far as state-trait anxiety is concerned working mothers showed higher level [statistically not significant in case of state anxiety t-value 11.48\*\* but statistically significant in case of trait anxiety t-value 17.39\*\*, table 3 & 4] than their counterpart. This may be due to the fact that working mothers had to deal with harder reality. Thus greater exposures to hardness of reality tend to increase the amount of situational anxiety in the working mothers.

On the other hand, non-working mothers are concerned with their domestic field only. So they had less scope to deal with external stressful situation. Their single role creates less pressure in their life and situation and hence state anxiety is less prominent in them than that in the case of employed mothers. This finding is also supported by the study of Hoffman 1986); Kessler & MacRae (1982).

It was also observed from our study that in general, state & trait both anxieties were more prominent in case of working mothers than in that of the mothers who stayed at home(non-working). That might be due to

the facts that employed mothers expressed greater feeling of inadequacy & exhibit higher levels of guilt and anxiety about their roles (Feld, 1963). The working mothers have multiple responsibilities and job related stress, they were more anxious than non-working mothers. Work overload thus created stressful situation & anxiety.

**Table 5 :** Showing The Means, Standard Deviations, And T-Values Of Working And Non-Working Mothers With Respect To The Variable – Depression.

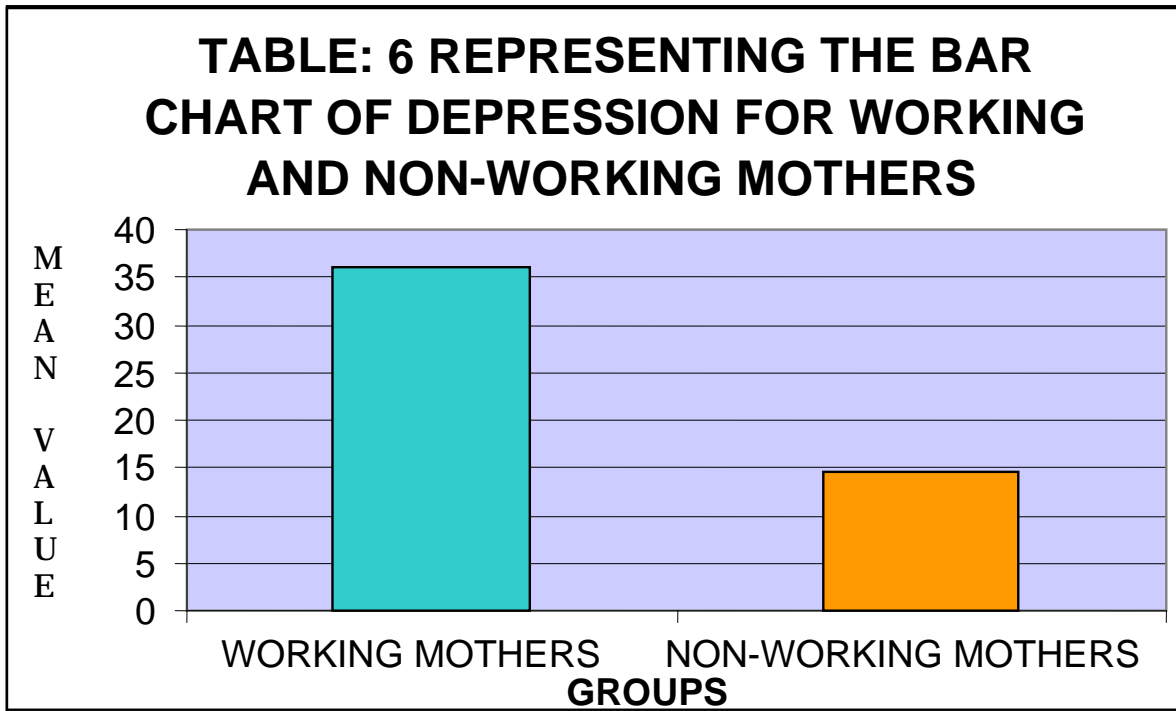
	Working mothers	Non-working mothers
Mean	36.13	14.57
Standard deviation	5.92	6.72
t-value		13.19

*\*significant at 0.05 level*

*\*\* significant at 0.01 level*

Table 5 represents higher mean magnitude on the part of working mothers with reference to depression. It indicates that there exists a significant difference among the two groups.

Table 6 :



## VI. DEPRESSION

In the study it was observed that degree of depression was also higher in case of working mothers than their counterparts and this difference was significant (t value 13.19\*, table 5). The finding might be ascribed to the fact that working mothers generally involved in many works simultaneously & they had some time for making friends and enjoy leisure time (Rapaport and Rapaport,1972), yet the feeling of getting bored was less experienced by working mothers than non-working ones. Besides these working mothers could not give much time to their family and children, so they developed some guilt feeling. That was the main cause of the higher level of depression among the working mothers than non-working. Stressful life events were the prime cause of depression; For an urban working woman, balancing the job as well as the household could also result in depression. On the other hand, non-working mothers usually bore the major responsibilities for house-work & child-care. Their attentions were constantly engaged by their children and by household tasks (Apter, 1985). But the working mothers could not share this family bonding. This lack of sharing couldn't increase feeling of depression in working mothers. Bernard (1971 a) found that family roles might reduce a women's involvement in the labour force, lower her career commitment, stress her into a traditional career & reduce attainment & thus working mothers encountered distinctly the feeling of depression in their lives.

## VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The study was conducted to know the effect of working conditions of mothers along with the dimensions of certain psychosocial variables like anxiety & depression in comparison with non-working conditions.

For this purpose at first two groups were selected – a group of working mothers and a group of non-working mothers. The total number of sample selected were 60 with age range of 35 to 45 years and this sample was divided equally on the basis of working group & non-working group (i.e., 30 working mothers and 30 non-working mothers). They were selected on the basis of information blank. A number of tools were administered to assess the above mentioned selected variables. For collecting necessary information about the respondents and their family a specially designed information schedule was used. Beside this, State-Trait Anxiety Inventory(STAI) by Speilberger et al 1970 & Beck Depression Inventory(BDI) by Beck,Word,Mendelson & Erbaugh 1961 were used for our research purpose.

The data were scored according to the scoring key supplied with each test and then the data were statistically analyzed. The selected mothers were basically from the nuclear families which were settled in the new urban housing at the southern part of Kolkata. The working mothers were various post holders in different government & non- government organizations. Non-working mothers were only housewives/ homemakers.

Summarily, it can be said that there were significant differences in degree of depression & both anxiety of working mothers' group. But no significant difference was noticed in case of anxiety & depression pattern of non-working mothers' group.

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# Democratic Governance and Participatory Budgeting: A Theoretical Discourse of the Nigerian Experience

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*Abstract* - This paper examines the issue of Democratic governance and participatory budgeting in the context of their relevance, challenges and implications for the public sector finances and/or public spending and, the masses in Nigeria. It specifically focuses on the Nigerian experience/situation. The necessary interconnectedness among these concepts was identified and examined vis-à-vis the implications of such affinities for the people's ability to understand where the ultimate powers over public policies in these respects abound.

*GJHSS-C Classification : FOR Code: 150303, JEL Code: O16*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Democratic Governance and Participatory Budgeting: A Theoretical Discourse of the Nigerian Experience

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**Abstract** - This paper examines the issue of Democratic governance and participatory budgeting in the context of their relevance, challenges and implications for the public sector finances and/or public spending and, the masses in Nigeria. It specifically focuses on the Nigerian experience/situation. The necessary interconnectedness among these concepts was identified and examined vis-à-vis the implications of such affinities for the people's ability to understand where the ultimate powers over public policies in these respects abound.

## I. INTRODUCTION

**E**conomic growth is a powerful solvent for the problems that trouble government. Each increment of real growth in national income can enhance the take-home pay of citizens or can be used to create new public programs without accelerating the rate of inflation or forcing politically divisive tradeoffs between old programs and new demand. Because economic growth allows government benefits to expand without depriving anyone, it helps solve the most fundamental political problem of democratic societies: it helps maintain national consensus by reinforcing citizens beliefs that their system of government works to their advantage and that their taxes are being well spent by a government that is equitable, stable, and efficient (Levine, 1980).

This statement is appropriate for commencing the analysis of the subject matter of this topic which falls within the matrix of public finance management and, its relevance to the governmental process vis-à-vis the systemic existence of the citizenry within the democratic political landscape and its accompanying public sector in any nation, particularly those of mixed-economies, including Nigeria. However, such an exercise can only be meaningfully attempted within the analytical appraisal of the raison d'être of fiscal politics/policy through the political process and its relevance to the day-to-day financing of public institutions which is one of the most fundamental functions of government within the public sector of the economy.

From the outset, we would like to contend that the examination of the efficacy of the nexus between the characteristics of public finance and those of the democratic dispensation or process within any given political economy should form part of the focus of dealing with the substance of any topic like the one of this paper. And, this is exactly what we have done in this one. The reasons for doing this are not far fetched given the indispensability of finance and its core of practical existence to the vitality of any government, its economy and the people.

Using this as the analytical point of departure for the exercise required in this paper, and, for the pursuit of the required goal for the exercise per se, we have divided this paper into eight sections starting with the introduction. The second part consists of a brief examination of the issue of finance. This section while serving as the real analytical open-gate to the purpose of this paper, vividly captures the essence of the issue of finance and its domination of the raison-d'être of fiscal politics and policy in the context of the sustainability of economic and political harmony, progress and development within any given political system such as ours-Nigeria. The third, fourth and fifth sections respectively deal with the requisite conceptual analyses that are central to the subject matter of our focus here. Specifically, the third section deals with the concept of democracy while section four focuses on the concept of governance. The fifth section concerns itself with the affinity between democracy and governance. The concept of budget and its processes form the core of the discussion in section six. These preceding sections serve as the requisites pillars for dealing with the other component-participatory budgeting-of the focus of this paper in section seven.

This analytical chronology/thinking is premised on the fact that, once the value-predisposition of these sections is or can be internalized in any polity, the issue of participatory budgeting can be assumed to have been efficaciously understood and imbibed. The reasons for these are obvious given the fact that these values form the cornerstones of rational political process and its amenability to sane, virile, productive and democratic public finance/spending within the context of the authoritative boundaries of the relevant organs of government without one jeopardizing the constitutionally

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stipulated powers/functions and/or relevance of the other. Section eight concludes the paper.

## II. THE ISSUE OF FINANCE AND ITS RELEVANCE TO FISCAL POLITICS/POLICY

The issue of finance is very paramount within the public sector of any economy. And, it has long remained so irrespective of the system of government, ideological beliefs or persuasion. This is particularly so, because, finance is the lifeblood that permeates the anatomy and physiological fibers of all institutions be it in the private or public sector of the political economy. It actually dictates the developmental trends, shapes or the real topography of the political landscape of all polities within the global community. Its operational tool- (money)- has been variously, in euphemistic context, described as the "root of all evils" on the one hand, and, as the "conqueror of all evils" on the other hand, meaning, that, whatever money could not do, will be permanently left undone.

The eulogies of money as the principal components of finance are not mere flukes but real promoters of its indispensability to the economic survival of mankind and its multiplier effects on other aspects of man's systemic existence, a combination of which calls for its proper sourcing and management particularly within the public sector of the political economy where Government as the employer and provider of public goods and services holds the sway in terms of the authoritative allocation(s) of the scarce societal values and determination of who gets what? When? Where? How? and why? particularly at the local level.

Given the foregoing, and, the fact that, the goods and services that government provide are not costless, it is innocuous to argue that the issue of public finance, particularly, as it concerns the healthy relation of revenue with expenditure is crucial to the success or otherwise of any government and the prosecution of the *raison-detre* of its existence within any polity of the world.

This relation of revenue with expenditure, in economic parlance, connotes fiscal policy and, it refers to the use by government of tax and spending practice to influence economic activity aimed at avoiding fiscal stress or fiscal crisis through a balanced budget and its neutral effects on total spending. In fact, fiscal policy as the sociological foundation of government or state finances is usually implemented by the government either through built-in stabilizers or through discretionary changes in taxes and /or expenditure. its main concerns are "to discover the principles governing the volume and allocation of state finances and expenditures and, the distributions of the tax burden among various economic classes" within the political system/economy.

It should be stated at this juncture, that we are not unaware of the various disputations which the issue

of fiscal politics had generated since the major work of the German Marxist Rudolph Goldshied, - (founder of the contemporary science of fiscal politics)- appeared in the second decade of the twentieth century and, since the work of Joseph Schumpeter, Ralph Turvey, Richard Mustgrave and the Keynesian Ersey Domar to mention only a few (O'Connor, 1973). However, the disputations are not really germane to our focus in this paper. Instead, we are concerned with the analytical by-product of the disputations, which among others had shown that:

*As government expenditures come to constitute a larger and larger Share of total spending in ... capitalist countries, economic theorists and, (Government or Government functionaries) who ignore the impact of the state budget do so at their own peril (Musgrave and Musgrave 1973).*

Public finance as a subject matter of inquiry and, its relevance to the provision of national and local public goods had, as could be discerned from the argument above gone through various intellectual metamorphoses over the years. In the period of the classical economists such as Adam Smith, J.S. Mill and Ricardo, portion of write-ups on economic theory were dedicated to limited discussion on public expenditure, taxation and public debts. Some of these write-ups emphasized the effects of various taxes and in the case of Adam Smith, some principles of taxation, vis-à-vis the issue of public goods at all levels of the political system (ibid, and O'Connor op cit, 1973). In fact, as far as the classical economists were concerned, we can say that, there was the recognition of the division of the subject matter of public finance into its revenue, expenditure and debt aspects although in a rudimentary form within most polities of the global community.

Neo-classical economists of the Alfred Marshal era played down the discussion of public finance as part of the mainstream of economic theory thereby necessitating the development of an independent theory of public finance by the later generation of economists among whom were Bastable and Dalton who published the pioneering books on public finance in 1892 and 1922 respectively (Ibid; Lipsey and Sparks, 1976; Boreham and Leftwich, 1971). Dalton in his book defined public finance as a field of study which is concerned with the income and expenditure of public authorities and with the adjustment of one to the other in the course of the determination of who gets what? When? Where? How? and Why?

The major difference between these books of public finance and the classical textbooks on economic theory is the increased recognition of the right of the expenditure as well as the revenue sides of public authorities to appear in any treatment of the subject of finance of, and by government. However, most of these

textbooks concentrated mainly on knowing specifically the effect of various tax and expenditures but, due to the advent of Lord Keynes general theory and Pigeon's public finance, it has now been fairly recognized that the discussion of the effect of a particular taxes and government expenditure is only part of the subject matter of public finance and that any concrete treatment must include a full discussion of the influence of government and its fiscal operations on the level of overall activities and employment. This is why it has been noted that, government is a unit and must be considered as the subject matter of the public finance. It equally explains why it has been argued that public finance studies the economic activities of the government as a unit, and their effects. The public sector is that sector of national activities that represent the government as against the private sector<sup>1</sup>. This sector narrowly defined, may include only the executive, legislature and the judicial arms of the government at the horizontal level with the armed forces police, paramilitary and other administrative arm on one hand, and, at the vertical level on the other hand.

In modern times, there are many ways in which one can set out the contents of the subject matter of public finance. While it can be safely said that it involves both micro and macro aspects and that the micro element in turn involves both matters of resource allocation and of the distribution of income, consumption and wealth, one can also say that it embraces consideration of public expenditure, public revenue as well as the proper and efficient control of public funds. In fact, the proper control of public fund will be efficiently done through proper budgeting and implementation by the policy makers in formulating the appropriate policies in this regard.

Using the foregoing as a premise, one will not be wrong to say and conclude that public policies formulated would not be meaningful, effective and efficient if the financial resources needed to transform them into concrete and practical realities are not available or made available to the respective tiers of government or, if the lower tiers are continuously made to be financially dependent in contemptuous disregard for the constitutional stipulations and allocation of functions among the three tiers or vertical organs of government. And, the combination of the foregoing, show that, regardless of the geo-political location of the country within the global political community, the issue of finance relative to its sourcing and prudent management vis-à-vis the functional performance of public institutions cannot be taken for granted because, as once noted: "whether it is private or public, no organization can function effectively without adequate finance (Aghayere, 1997). Thus, the issue of finance particularly as it concerns how government/officials can find "less expensive ways to provide services continues

to be problematic. This has been particularly so looking at the ever-increasing rate of demand on government amidst constant reduction in the payment of taxes by the citizenry coupled with cutbacks in financing by federal government and deliberate avoidance or evasion of such payments particularly in the developing polities of the world, Nigeria inclusive (Johnson and Walzer, 1996).

### III. THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy as a form of political organization, like other concepts of its calibre, has not been easy to define without ideological equivocation (Akindele and Obiyan; 1996:84, Akindele and Olaopa; 1997:5, Akindele, 1995b; Akindele and Ajila, 1992:85-86; Akindele, 1992 and Akindele, 1993). The major problem in this area is that of ideological sectarianism vis-à-vis the nitty-gritty of democracy as a form of political governance hence, as Olowu (1995, Op Cit, 2) once opined, democracy as a "concept of governance has become all things to all men".

This notwithstanding however, from a concrete perusal of the tomes that have been written on it by scholars of repute, it is clear without equivocation that democracy had its first appearance in the fifth century B.C. This followed its coinage by the great historian-Herodotus. This historical initial effort catalyzed the genesis of democratic ideas in antiquity (Akindele, 1987).

Democratic ideas in antiquity combined two Greek words, "demo", meaning people and "Kratein" meaning the rule. Thus, the original meaning of democracy was the "rule of (by) the people". At this time, Herodotus included among its specific features, "equality before the law and popular deliberations" (Akindele, 1987:41).

Subsequent Greek thinkers like Plato and Aristotle did not look with favour upon democracy (ibid). While Plato's attitude was decidedly hostile to democratic ideas, Aristotle accepted the ideas with severe qualifications (Rejai, 1967:2). This explains why ancient democracy did not presuppose equality of all individuals. In it; existed the prevalence of slavery and, a minority of the populace had no political rights. Athens, the greatest of the city democracies, limited its franchise to the native born citizens (Funk and Wagnalls).

Greek discussion of democracy was followed by Rome's contribution to democratic ideas and government in antiquity. The hallmark of this contribution was Rome's development of the "idea of constitutionalism" and her emphasis on laws as the system of norms binding on both the "rulers" and "ruled" (ibid.).

However, the civilization of antiquity collapsed after a while. This collapse, and the then increasing



predominance of religion over all aspects of life led to the evolution of medieval democratic ideas. More interestingly, the existence of the Christian religion, which emphasized the rights of the underprivileged and equality of all men before God contributed to the development of democratic ideas in the medieval period. In addition, most of the Christian ideas stressed the notion of a "moral law of nature", and the quest for a universal society.

The medieval period was followed by the Renaissance which furthered optimism with regard to the future of man through its emphasis on the emancipation of man from medieval ties (Rejai, op.cit. 10-12). The core of the renaissance was the discovery of man and the emphasis on individual self-expression, self-realization, glory and fame (Ibid; 11).

After the renaissance era came the 17th and 18th centuries when John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau in addition to Thomas Hobbes popularised the concept of the "Social Contract (Ibid; 11), which may be said to be the most rational of all the theories about the democratic origin of states and civil government (Khan et al 1972; 27, Baker, 1969 Akindele, Obiyan, and Owoeye, 1998, Akindele, Obiyan, Owoeye, 2000; Akindele 2002).

Even though, many obstacles riddled the historical stages of democratic ideas, it gained ground in the nineteenth century when "every important Western European monarch started to adopt a constitution limiting the power of the crown and giving a considerable share of power to its people" (Funk and Wagnalls, op.cit p. 2655). This period witnessed the various elaborations of democratic theory by people like Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Jefferson, John Stuart Mill and Alex de Tocqueville. In short, the historical background of democratic ideas as outlined up to this point is what sets the stage for what is today known and called democracy.

Many normative definitions of democracy had been given. Their general focus had been on value and norms of society. Empirical definitions of democracy which focused on political reality had also been given. While the normative definitions focused on shared beliefs and attitudes, the "normative-empirical" definitions combined empiricism and normative aspects of society.

The normative definition of democracy was variously approached by people like Thomas Hobbes, Jean Jacques Rousseau, John Locke, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and John Stuart Mill. This explains why Thomas Hobbes, in his explanation of the social contract and its consequent by-product (state), treated the solitary, nasty, brutish and alienating state of nature as the catalyst for the volitional collective agreement - social contract - between men.

On the same token, Rousseau, in his work, identified people's surrender of "natural rights" for "civil

rights" as the basis of the emergence of a social contract which created the general will of the people (Khan et. al., op cit 27-28). The creation of the general will through the social contract in Rousseau's view resulted in the existing state of nature when men were limited by their individual incapacities for self governance.

In addition to Hobbes and Rousseau, John Locke also theorized about the concept of social contract. However, unlike Rousseau's views of the individual's incapability, John Locke believed that life in the state of nature was pleasant, but men were hampered by the absence of any socially recognised authority to adjudicate and settle disputes and conflicts between them hence the need for democratic government (Ibid. p. 20)

As for John Stuart Mills, he believed in the welfare of the individual, as well as individual liberties. Writing on Democracy and liberty, he maintained that the only way power can be, or, should be exercised over any member in the society against his will, is when it can be established that, such individual intends to injure, or, do harm to other (Rejai op.cit 77). He further emphasized the notion of liberty within the framework of representative government. Along this analytical plane, argued, Awa (1997 op.cit:7, Akindele, 1993; Akindele et. al., 1998); Schumpeter (1955) defines democracy as:

*the institutional arrangement for arriving at political decision, in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote.*

Due to the nature of their reasoning, Rousseau and other theorists (e.g. Lincoln) mainly concerned with the welfare of the community as a whole, are classified into the "collectivistic school of thought", while John Locke and John Stuart Mills are classified into the "individualistic school" relative to the emergence of democratic system of government which emphasizes equality and liberty of men.

Representative democracy has been variously defined. In his book, Democracy, Burns (1935, 29-46) defined representative democracy as a system whereby " all (i.e. people) elected a few to do for them what they could not do together". On the same token, John Stuart Mill concentrated a significant portion of his writing on representative democracy. While accepting the desirability of equal participation by everybody in the affairs of the government, he nevertheless claims that, it cannot be realized. Instead, he argued that representative government is the perfect form of government (Mill, 1962: 73-74). But, he further argued that, for representative government to be democratic, it must be accompanied by universal adult suffrage, free elections, short terms of office and individual liberty. Without these things, any government will, in Mill's view, cease to be democratic.



Contemporarily, and, in line with the “fight against system of economic exploitation, political repression, cultural oppression” and, their accompanying “moral, political, economic and social decay” (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2001), other scholars have increasingly paid attention to the issue of democracy and its propensity for good governance (Ade-Ajayi, 1982; Nzongola-Ntalaja and Lee, 1977; Omoruyi, 1993; Held, 1987; Olowu, Soremekun and Williams, 1995; Olowu, Williams and Soremekun, 1999; Wunsch and Olowu, 1990; Sartori, 1987; Olowu, 1995; Joseph, 1987, Chabal, 1992; Hyden, 1980, 1999; Hyden and Bratton, 1992; Olowu and Erero, 1997; Akindele and Ajila 1992, 1995, Akindele and Obiyan, 1996, Akindele and Olaopa, 1997, Enyinla, 1998; Bello-Imam, 1997; Obadan, 1998, Akindele, 1998, Peter Anyang Nyong, 1987). In fact, this explains why Olowu et al (1995: IX) once opined that “democracy constitutes both the main buzz-word and activity of these times” in most polities of the world.

According to Nzongola-Ntalaja (2001) “democracy is a universal form of rule” which, even though, “may have variable manifestations in different historical and social settings”, have such manifestations tied together by a common thread”. Democracy in this sense; according to him, refers to “three basic ideas”:

- *Democracy as a moral imperative, in the sense that it represents a permanent aspiration of human beings for freedom, for better social and political order, one that is more human and more or less egalitarian.*
- *Democracy as a social process, in that it is a continuous process of promoting equal access to fundamental human rights and civil liberties for all and,*
- *Democracy as political practice or a mode of governance based on the principles of popular sovereignty, the rule of law, accountability, participation and alternance (meaning leadership renewal or change) (Ibid).*

In his contemporary contribution to the concept of democracy, Olowu (1995:16) opined that “democratic arrangement constitutes an approach to connecting the rule-ruler-ruled relationship” which forms the core of governance. This probably explains his definition of democracy as:

*a system of governance that underscores the plural nature of politics and hence gives recognition to the diversity of social forces in any political community.*

On the same token, Sartori (1987:34) had earlier claimed that:

*Democracy exists when the relation between the governed and the government abides by the principles that state is at the service of the citizens*

*and not the citizens at the service of the state; that the government exists for the people and not vice-versa*

Olowu (1995:16) re-echoed this position when he later asserted that “the bottom line of a democratic regime is that, it serves the citizens rather than the other way round” hence, as Ejituwu (1997) once claimed that “power resides with the people and, in a normal democratic situation, it is transferred to the leaders by a process of election”.

In putting democracy into a proper perspective as a mechanism for enhancing people’s right to participate in making the decisions that affect them, Imam (1991) argues that:

*Democracy must include the right of people to have their own aspirations and programmes, not only in political life, but also in economic, cultural, religious and other aspects of life. In other words, democracy includes ending the criss-crossing networks of oppression, exploitation and discrimination.*

This position is supported by Omoruyi’s (1993) observation that:

*today, democracy has certain known principles: participation, pluralism and restraint on authority and, (that), these principles are in turn associated with other terms: electoral systems, basic problems such as freedom of expression and association, guaranteed human rights, pluralism, public contestation, constitutional framework. All these tend to conjure for democracy, identical meanings, ideas, institutions and habit.*

This explains why Obadan (1998:24) opined that “democracy and good governance (government) have, in recent years become increasingly important for efficient economic management and development”. It equally explains Omoruyi’s (1993) position that “both democracy and good governance are necessary preconditions for development and, should therefore, be incorporated into the political systems” particularly in the continent of Africa.

In his contribution to the current global relevance of democracy Held (1987), noted thus:

*Nearly everyone today says they are democrats no matter whether their views are on the left, centre, or right. Political regimes of all kinds for instance, Western Europe, the Eastern bloc and Latin America claim (or, are claiming) to be democracies. Democracy seems to bestow an aura of legitimacy on modern political life; rules, laws, policies and decisions appear justified and appropriate when they are democratic (and representative of all interests without discrimination within the polity) (Emphasis mine).*

This being the case, we would define democracy as a system of government through which representatives are periodically elected by the qualified adult voters to be responsible for directing and deliberating on the affairs of the state on behalf of the electors. As herein conceptually elucidated, democracy emphasizes the need for equitable governance of men without non-challance for the essential need of any group within the society regardless of administrative or bureaucratic prescriptions.

#### IV. CONCEPT OF GOVERNANCE

Like most concepts of its kind, the concept of governance due to its complex weaving of “economic, political and social aspects of a Nation” (Shehu 1999), has not been amenable to easy or simplistic definition. In other words, the concept has not been an exception to the volatility and eclecticism for which the disciplines in the Social Sciences have been globally noted.

This explains Esman’s (1997:1) claim that “no two political scientists would agree on what the concept of governance is or what it means”. In fact, as Hyden (1999) once noted, “only few authors (have) define(d) it (the concept of governance) with a view to serving analytical purpose” hence, “governance as a concept has not been extensively used (or defined) in the political literature until very recently when it gained currency” (Nkom and Sorkaa, 1996).

This notwithstanding, as Hyden (1999:24) once argued, “the concept of governance has come to occupy a more prominent position in the discourse of international development”. If this is correct or, should be taken to be correct, the question needs to be asked that: what exactly or actually is governance?

World Bank (1989) defines governance as “the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development”. According to the World Bank (1993), governance has three dimensions. These dimensions which, Eyinla (1998) equally noted are: “the nature of political regimes; the exercise of authority in the management of social and economic resources and, the capacity of government to design and implement policy and to discharge its functions”.

These dimensions were specifically identified and concretely elucidated by Olowu and Erero (1997) who both conceptualized governance as relating to the “rule-ruler-ruled relationship”. Specifically, Olowu and Erero (Ibid) identified the three dimensions of governance in the context of “rule-ruler-ruled relationship” as inclusive of “functionalism, “structuralism” and “normativism”. According to them, functionally, governance deals with “rule-making, legitimization, and enforcement” while it structurally comprises three distinct institutions: the “ruler or the state”, the “ruled or the society” and, the “rule of law”.

In this regard, Olowu and Erero (ibid) viewed governance as the “relationship between state and society institutions”. In the same vein, they claimed that “normatively, this relationship highlights the values associated with good governance”. These values according to them include: “transparency, organizational effectiveness, accountability, predictability, legitimacy, popular participation and plurality of policy choices”.

Within the same context, Boeninger (1992) defines governance as the ‘good government of society’. According to this scholar, governance has three dimensions: political, technical and institutional. Nkom and Sorkaa (1996) synopsized the interrelatedness of these dimensions thus:

*The political revolves around the commitment to exercise authority or public control in a just, legitimate and rule oriented fashion. The technical concerns issues of efficiency, competence or the capacity to manage public affairs effectively to solve problems, and to produce good results in resource mobilization and public management. The institutional involves options, choices and growth – enhancing activities by the public while ensuring honest or good conduct on the part of the public officials.*

In the same vein, Landell-Mills and Serageldin (1992) argued that governance encompasses two interrelated dimensions: political and technical both of which consist of the government’s “will to govern well and the capacity to efficiently and competently handle public management”. Governance, according to Gould (1972) refers to the act of exercising control over others, inducing others to behave in specified ways as required by law. It is “policy making and policy execution regulated by systems of law and guidelines which are segregated into specific operations to achieve specific national objectives (Shehu, 1999:1). To Brautigam (1991) and Ikpeze (1999:73), governance connotes “the exercise of power and authority in both political and economic spheres”. Thus, as Ejituwu (1997), argued, “governance implies the exercise of power by a person or group of persons for the benefit of the populace” because, as he equally later claimed, it is through governance, that “the government in power dictates the form of relationship it establishes between it and the people as well as the goal of the state in economic, political and social terms” (Ibid).

Implicit in the foregoing conceptual analysis of governance is the fact that, the latter connotes “the use of political authority and exercise of control over a society and the management of resources” (Wai, 1995). Hence, according to Obadan (1998:24), governance - (in this sense) – includes:

*Institutional and structural arrangements, decision-making processes, policy formulation, implementation, capacity development of personnel, information flows, and the nature and style of leadership within a political system.*

In his contribution to the conceptual discourse on governance, Idowu (1998:74) had this to say:

*Governance refers to the functions undertaken by a government maintaining a unified state, defending its territorial integrity and running its economy... It (equally) means the effective and efficient functioning of government towards securing the well-being of its citizens.*

Jega (1999:101) analysed the concept of governance in relations to the "person entrusted with political power and authority". In this regard, governance according to him, involves the following:

- Responsibility and responsiveness in leadership and in public service;
- Accountability in the mobilization as well as in the utilization of resources;
- Discipline, effectiveness and efficiency in handling public (as well as personal) affairs;
- Selflessness and impartial service to the people; and
- Popular participation and empowerment of the people in the conduct and management of their common affairs (Ibid).

For governance as the "duty of government to see to the orderly and stable management of the economy" (Ukpong, 1999), to have the foregoing attributes and, be effective, efficient and beneficial for democratic political arrangement, it has to be good. This is more so, since we can, as well, have bad governance.

## V. BAD GOVERNANCE

The possibility of bad governance could be said to be what the World Bank had in mind in 1989, when it began to dichotomize between good and bad governance by "advocating a political reform approach to government as a way of ensuring positive economic growth" (World Bank, 1989, Idowu, 1998).

In fact, the World Bank (1992) identified the features of bad governance as follows:

- Failure to make a clear separation between what is public and what is private, hence a tendency to divert public resources for private gain;
- Failure to establish a predictable framework for law and government behaviour in a manner that is conducive to development, or arbitrariness in the application of rules and laws;
- Excessive rules, regulations, licensing requirements, etc, which impede the functioning of markets and encourage rent-seeking;

- Priorities that are inconsistent with development, thus, resulting in a mis-allocation of resources;
- Excessively narrow base for, or non-transparency, decision-making.

This explains Obadan's (1998:25) characterization of bad governance as a system dominated by "ugly problems like pervasive corruption, lack of public accountability and "capture" of public services by the elites among others".

## VI. GOOD GOVERNANCE

It is decipherable from the chronology of the discussion in this paper so far on the concept of governance, that, the issue of the latter (i.e. governance), its goodness and utility to mankind cannot be taken for granted without severe consequences. This is particularly so, in that, as Ogunba (1997:1), once noted "the way a people are governed is of paramount importance in determining the quality of life of the people". It is equally more so, if as Esman (1997:1), opined, "governance is a process that requires a viable authority" through which "the leaders are expected to exercise the power that resides with them in the interest of the state" (Ejituwu, 1997 op cit: 37).

The need for good governance is not far fetched looking at the fact that:

*If governance is arbitrary, oppressive and capricious, the collective psyche of a people can be damaged and individuals within the community can suffer various forms of disorientation. If, on the other hand, governance is open, democratic and humanistic, a people can experience a sense of rejuvenation and fulfilment which can lead to highly positive achievements (Ogunba 1997 op cit: 1).*

This explains Obadan's (1998:39) position that, "it is the responsibility of citizens to demand good governance" because "it (i.e., good governance) may not be forthcoming from the political leaders without prodding".

Commenting on good governance, Esman (1997:1) argued thus:

*before governance can be considered good, government has got to be effective. It must first command the respect and allegiance of the people over whom it exercises governance and, must satisfy certain basic collective needs.*

He went further to identify some minimal elements and/or essentials of effective (good) governance as inclusive of: "provision of security for the people", "defence of the territorial borders of the state", "protection of lives and property", "enforcement of laws to enhance predictability" and, "economic

development". According to this scholar, "governance requires the ability to ensure the wherewithal of sustained government". He equally asserted that "effective (good) governance requires that public authority be able to raise the revenues necessary to pay for services that must be provided". The essence of this argument is that, "effective governance must be able to make possible the performance by the state of certain basic services" – transportation, communication, education and health services – "relatively cheaply and reliably" (Erero, 1996, Esman Ibid).

This is more so, since effective governance means the capacity of the state, through its power of determinism or, authoritative allocation of scarce critical societal resources – to deliver the basic necessities of life to the governed and, equally "facilitate the process of economic development".

These lines of argument tally with those of Obadan (1998:25) and Amoako (1997:10), who have posited that:

*good governance implies efficient and effective public administration, good policies and sound management of natural resources. It calls for the ability of a state to anticipate challenges to its well-being, provide core services with people and then argument these services, act as a catalyst of change, and guide the various forces in a society toward harmony (and national development) devoid of ideological imperialism and multi-dimensional genocidal tendencies) (Emphasis mine).*

Pursuing the same line of argument, Obadan (Ibid), further claimed that:

*Good governance implies ruling on the basis of equity and social justice, and an end to corruption, nepotism and political manipulation of public institutions. Only when citizens have the belief that their government operates on their behalf, in an open and accountable manner, will government be able to obtain their willing co-operation in, for example, mobilizing resources for development.*

Driving home this line of argument, Obadan (Ibid: 34), emphasized that, through good governance, a government should be able to effectively perform, among others, the following tasks:

- Establishing a foundation of law;
- Maintaining a non distortionary policy environment, including macro-economic stability;
- Investing in basic social services, infrastructure,
- Protecting the vulnerable group in the society; and
- Protecting the environment.

Other scholars have considered good governance vis-à-vis the raison d'être of statehood in this manner as well (Kaufman, Kraay and Zoido-

Lobaton, 1999; Corkery and Bossuyt, 1990; Healey and Robinson, 1992, 1994; Bello – Imam, 1997; Ayo and Awotokun, 1996, 1997; Nkom and Sorkaa, 1996; World Bank, 1989, 1992, 1993). These scholars' works on the concept of good governance treat the latter as a system of rulership that is devoid of political expediency and antidemocratic political ends. It is deducible from their works that, good governance stands for dignified existence of all political animals in democratic political settings within the global political community. According to Obadan (1998:24) "good governance consists of five fundamental elements". He listed them thus:

- Accountability of government officials (political leaders and bureaucrats) for public funds and resources;
- Transparency in government procedures, processes, investment decisions, contracts and appointments. Transparency is a means of preventing corruption and enhancing economic efficiency;
- Predictability in government behaviour. This is particularly critical to the carrying out of economic transactions between individuals and in taking investment decisions: governments and public institutions should not be capricious in their behaviour and actions;
- Openness in government transactions and a reliable flow of the information necessary for economic activity and development to take place. Without information, rules will not be known, accountability is low, and risks and uncertainties are many. With these the cost of committing capital is also huge. An open system should, thus, be encouraged to release information to stakeholders and promote dialogue among the people as well as ensure their active participation in the socio-economic development of the country.
- Observance of the rule of law must be adhered to by government and its citizens; this means that governments and institutions should be subject to rules and regulations which are understood by everyone in the society (Ibid).

The foregoing put together, undeniably points to the fact that, there is a relational umbilical cord between governance and democracy. In other words, it points to the fact that, there exists a significant degree of relationship between the two.

## VII. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE

From the discussion of the concepts of democracy and governance within the context of this paper so far, we found it innocuous to contend that, the



relationship between the two vis-à-vis the governance of men and/or the relational thread between the “ruler” and the “ruled” within most political systems particularly, the democratic polities of the world, is self evident. Without gainsaying, it is deducible from this discussion and/or analysis that both concepts constitute the traditional and contemporary flashpoints, which cannot but provoke the mind-set of the elites and the laymen in equal measure. The concepts are both fundamental and inalienable vis-à-vis the socio-political and economic systemic existence of all human beings within the various if not all polities of the world today hence, as Obadan (1998:39) argued, “when democracies are working well, they tend to create strong incentives for accountability, good governance and development.

Concretely put, however, we would like to contend that, the relationship between democracy and governance vis-à-vis the fortunes and/or misfortunes of the larger citizenry could actually, in the real sense of it, be better appreciated, determined and analysed within the context of the evolution of most if not all polities of the world over time. This is particularly so if as Hyden (1995:58) once opined, “no society escapes its past” and, if “there is a definite past dependency” that “bears on the present”. It is equally more so if “building democracy is not an exercise that starts from a clean state” (but), on the “ruins of the past order”.

The political history of most African states (particularly Nigeria) with respect to the issues of democracy and governance becomes relevant in this regard. For example, as Esman (1997:2) once argued:

*most african states took over from centralized and unrepresentative colonial ethnic and religious separatism – tribalism – and become victims to centrifugal aspirations of ambitious politicians speaking in the name of ethnic, religious and regional minorities.*

Government (in Africa) at this time was not based on the consent of the governed and, the latter had no voice in choosing their leaders who were not really accountable to them. Joseph’s (1987) study of prebendalism in Nigeria and, his “argument that the rulers in Africa are unable to act independently of the community they serve” echoed this (Hyden, 1999). This explains why Hyden (Ibid) once claimed that “the state in Africa failed to live up to the expectation people had in them in the first two decades of independence”. In fact, as Nzongola-Ntalaja (2001) noted, this was the case, because the leaders at that period of time were “more interested in advancing their own narrow class interest whose realization require authoritarian methods of rule and neglect of the general welfare”.

This trend, the reasons for it, and, its consequences which, in part, catalysed the quest and struggle for alternative paradigm (democracy) vis-à-vis

the governance of the African people and, which has attracted the intellectual attention of scholars of repute - (See Migdal 1988; Chabal 1992; Hyden 1980; Rweyemamu and Hyden 1975) – were equally clearly put into perspective by Olowu (1995); Wunsch and Olowu (1990), Hyden and Bratton (1992), Hyden (1999), Olowu and Rasheed (1993), Dia (1993), Makinde and Aladekomo (1997), Erero (1996), Nzongola-Ntalaja (2001). Specifically, commenting on the disillusionment about the inherited legacy of state – based, monocratic or centralized political order adopted in Africa at the inception of independent democratic governance, Olowu (1995), claimed that:

*the monocratic political order (which derives from the hobbesian notion/conception of the state) not only failed as a system but led to serious and in some cases disastrous consequences for the economy and people of africa.*

These consequences include(d): wars, political violence, economic decline, systemic governmental corruption and, social and infrastructural decay.

This failure, according to Wunsch and Olowu (1990), Olowu (1995), Nzongola-Ntalaja (2001), was due to the “premature centralization” and, the “development of democratic process by fits and starts” (Akinkugbe 2001) due to over assumption of its political utility and relevance to the needs of the people.

This, consequently, led to the agitation for democratic political change and good governance in most African states, Nigeria inclusive (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2001). The spontaneous angry reaction, civil disobedience, demonstrations by Nigerians following the annulment in 1993 of the June 12, 1993 presidential election is a case in point. The insistence then by Nigerians on their political preferences (accountable democratic governance) couldn’t but have been progenized by the attractiveness of the undercurrents of democracy as a form of political organisation that had long remained a mechanism for cohesion, peace and security within and across nations and, their determination to achieve the deannulment of the election.

This could be argued to have been largely so because, the annulment, borrowing the language of Schmitter (1994:57), revealed the “unprecedented challenges”, “serious dangers and dilemma” of modern democracy in the 1990s and beyond. The annulment perfectly fits within the parameters of “authoritarian tutelage” and its assumed efficacy by entrenched Autocrats, Monarchs, Dictators and Nativists. It was actually a negation in Nigeria, at that time, of what Gyimah – Boadi (1994:75) called “the apparent rebirth of political freedom” because, it dashed the democratic hopes of the Nigerians and general supporters of democracy all over the world prior to the



commencement of democratic governance in Nigeria in 1999.

Democracy as we come to know and think of it today, to be meaningful as a mechanism of governance, it has to encompass the elements and/or essentials of (good) governance and, it has to be brought to bear in terms of practical conduct of the business of governments most especially the budgetary process as it affects public finance and/or spending. This leads us to the discussion of the concept of the budget and its processes.

## VIII. THE CONCEPT OF BUDGET

The budget is a financial statement that sets out the estimate of expenditure and revenue of a government or an organization for the coming year. It is a "mechanism through which subunits of government or any organization bargain over goals, make side-payments, and try to motivate one another to accomplish their objectives (Wildavsky, 1976). Thus, it is referred to as a political document that involves bargaining between various sectors of the political economy. It is a "planning device" used for the translation of "present scarce fiscal and human resources in the public sector into future government goal and programmes" (Ibid.). It is a coordinating device used as a tool of fiscal policy in public administration. Thus, serving as "a legal document that provides a vehicle for fiscal controls over subordinate units of government by the politically elected representatives of the people" (Ibid.). It constitutes one of the policy-nerve centers of government's response to the political environment in terms of authoritative allocations of scarce societal values. The political view of the budget sees it less as a tool of public management and much more as a part of the general social decision-making process in which various participants, clientele groups, agencies and the council of economic advisers combined to determine who gets what? Where? When? How and Why?

## IX. PROBLEMS OF THE BUDGETARY PROCESS IN NIGERIA

The rationality of the budgetary process and its political utility has been variously taken for granted in Nigeria over the years. This has been largely so because Nigeria is a place where unreasonable and sentimental extra-budgetary spending has become a way of life. It is a fact of history that most of our leaders in Nigeria in the past and even, up till now are internationally acclaimed as "father Christmas" in terms of emotional or primordial extra budgetary spending. In Nigeria, in most instances, donations have been made by our Leaders here and there even to questionable and dead organizations and persons. In fact, in Nigeria the budgetary process has been taken for granted by all its

regimes and /or governments in power without regard for its indispensability to the attainment of national goals and good governance devoid of financial insolvency.

This way of life as it relates to the budget as a whole is very disturbing. There is the need to respect the budget as a tool of national fiscal control. It is our belief that, it is after the recognition of the budget as the only translator of financial resources into human purposes that, its sectoral allocation could be specifically analyzed in terms of adequacy or otherwise, because once the whole is disregarded as we are now used to in Nigeria, it would be meaningless to dissipate energy on its components.

Our contention here, is grounded on the fact that, in Nigeria, emotional extra budgetary spending by Nigerian leaders at national, state and local levels has made it impossible for the past budgets to perform their predictive functions for the Nigerian economy despite their typifications as "budget of hope" "budget of reconstruction", "budget of determination" and "budget of consolidation" among other terminologies. These problems, apart from those associated with the undemocratic nature of the military regimes when they existed in Nigeria, are more pronounced during the democratic dispensations the nation has had so far due to Executive-Legislative rifts.

The Legislative and Executive organs of government as key decision makers on the budget have not been really able to perform their respective functions in the budgetary process due to the unwarranted problems of role and powers misconception and flexing of political muscles which have been to the disadvantage of the citizenry over the years. In the process, the issues of funds, its allocation and control have been expediently politicized. It appears that both actors in the budgetary decision making at all levels of the nation's political landscape (local, state and federal) do not really understand their roles, powers and, limitations. In most cases, these political actors (the Legislators and the Presidency) had, in the past and, even at present abused the system of democratic governance to the extent of using the mandate freely given to them by the citizens as a device for settling expedient political differences between and among themselves. These political gladiators have in most cases, abused the provisions of Chapter V, Sections 80-89 (for the National Assembly) and Sections 120-129 (for the States Assembly) and, Chapter VI Sections 162-168 (for the Federal Executive) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as they affect the powers and control over public funds or public revenue.

These respective allocated constitutional powers have not been dispassionately used in most cases by the affected organs of government. None of these organs can actually be exculpated from these abuses. In most cases, the Executive arms at the

National and state levels have been subjected to avoidable trauma by the legislative arms. The Executive arms are sometimes asked to seek approval for projects in all ramifications even when such projects have already been approved in the budget(s). This attitude is untenable in the sense that such unrestricted policing may lead to redundancy and double approval for some programmes/projects. Attachment of too much importance to words like “ratification”, “authorization”, “approving”, “ensuring” etc by the lawmakers in some cases without the expected understanding of the fact that these words are only meant to provide for a balance of power in the nation’s democratic landscape are contributory factors to these problems.

It is important to stress the fact that the lawmakers’ ambiguous uses and interpretations of these words and words like “vetting” and “monitoring” as synonyms for the word “approval” are parts of the causal factors of these problems. The constancy of these problems within the Nigerian political space once led to an observation that:

*Monitoring is the appraisal of performance which takes place during various stages of execution....the primary motive of budget monitoring is to assess as the implementation progresses, the degree of the achievement of original objective with a view to correcting any negative variance (and, as such, it does not call for fresh or any approval) (Adelowokan 1991).*

Given these, there is the need to respect the fiscal requirements of the budget. The first thing the government should do in this respect is to imbibe the etiquette of fiscal process as it relates to budget’s implementation. It has to do this to survive economically because, whenever the budget is idiosyncratically tampered with by a way of disregard for fiscal requirements, it becomes impossible for it to serve its purposes of (i) a planning device for translating present scarce fiscal and human resources in the public sector into future government goals, (ii) an economic document (iii) a tool for fiscal policy and (iv) a tool for internal co-ordination and efficiency in public administration. Not only this, such a spending orientation, usually takes for granted the log rolling (competition or lobbying), compromise and bargaining involved in the determination of the current priorities of the nation. While doing this, the sectoral allocations of the budget should be respected and money should be disbursed in line with it rather than through a fire-brigade approach.

The subject-matter of budget as synopsis above has long been constantly mis-conceptualized in Nigeria by our leaders and/or public officials through their proclivities (among other things), for shabby political goings-on and putrid conducts which caused incalculable economic problems and fiscal stress at

various points of the nation’s history and, which can be said to have been largely due to non participatory nature of the budgetary process. In fact, it can be reasonably argued to some extent that the management of fiscal stress in the Nigerian public sector has not been properly done hence, the constant turbulence in the sector and the whole political economy’s landscape over the years. Without any gainsaying, the constant languid attitude of the Nigerian state to her budgetary process and its provisions over the years remains one of the major causes of fiscal stress in the nation’s public sector.

This has to stop for her to resolve or be able to resolve the problems of her fiscal stress. Thus, there is need for her to make effort in this regard by inculcating the culture of participatory budgeting through real respect for the inputs of all relevant organs or units of the political process. This can be actually done if all the relevant political actors in the Legislature(s) and the Presidency/Executive(s) at all levels of the polity are truly committed to the consolidation of the gains of the democratic governance so far entrenched without misunderstanding and, misrepresenting the goals and relevance of the respective institutions/arms to which they respectively belong. This is particularly important because most of the problems disturbing the Legislative-Executive relations in the area of budgetary process as it affects the control of public funds/revenue can be reasonably traced to the misunderstanding of the constitutional provisions of the doctrine of separation of powers and its accompanying principles of checks and balances which are put in place to remove the possibility of one arm/organ unreasonably dominating the other.

This misunderstanding in Nigeria by our political actors has been largely caused by their misinterpretation of the demands of the principles of these doctrines in their practical political actions and inactions. Thus, there is the need for them at this stage of the nation’s democratic political development to know and understand that separation of powers and checks and balances are no mechanisms for settling personal/political scores as far as the issue of funds control and management is concerned.

The Legislative-Executive relations must not be coloured with unwarranted political cleavages to avoid the forfeiture of the requisite goals of democratic governance and their benefits to the citizenry. The Legislature and the Presidency must ensure without expedient political purposes that the Constitutional stipulations of their functions as fully documented in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria are enforced with humane dispositions in conformity with the undercurrents of the theory of separation of powers and its accompanying principles of checks and balances. The Legislative arm must be tolerant and reasonable in the ways it makes use of the powers

constitutionally allocated to it while the Presidency/Executive must and should be reasonable and tolerant in its use of executive powers of approval and prerogative of mercy on issues of finance and other matters of National importance. The constant lateness of the Executive in sending the annual appropriation/budget draft to the Legislative arm must be avoided or discouraged while the Legislative arm's indulgence in transferring recurrent vote in the budget draft to capital vote in the guise of trying to better the lot of the citizenry must always be done with policy decorum where and if it cannot be avoided. Even though, the argumentative premise for this legislative function could be sometimes tenable, its repetitiveness without the requisite consultations may be dangerous and counter-productive. This is particularly necessary in order to be able to continuously avoid fiscal stress which is a state of budgetary stringency that is next to financial insolvency and /or fiscal crisis which occurs or would automatically occur whenever the revenue and expenditure flanks are running neck and neck and, which eventually breeds financial asphyxiation.

There is no doubt whatsoever, that the symptoms of fiscal stress can be found almost everywhere (today) in our governmental system. The areas where these symptoms are easily identifiable in most polities of the mixed-economy traditions include: national health insurance programme; national housing scheme, defense spending, transportation, electricity among others. These symptoms, in themselves, have constantly and, increasingly too, created points of stress in the public sector. And, such points have been identified to include:

- The methods used for setting priorities for government action and public programs.
- The methods used for taxation and revenue generation.
- The way public services are organized and public employees are compensated to produce services, and
- The methods used for scaling down and terminating public programs that are no longer of high priority (Ibid).

These symptoms can only be effectively dealt with through a much more participatory budgetary process devoid of constitutional strangulations or muscling among the relevant organs of government most especially between the Executive and the Legislative arms which are the most relevant in terms of the fiscal process and its relevance to the governmental or political process.

## X. PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING AND THE NEED FOR IT

Participatory budgeting within the context of this paper refers to or is taken to mean a budgetary process

that is predicated on the values of democratic process and its accompanying toleration of relevant constitutional inputs without bitterness or constitutional strangulation. It is a process devoid of legal sophistry and other politically motivated bumps or obstacles put in place to ostracize any of the organs of the government at any stage of the budgetary process. It is also taken to mean a people oriented process that takes into consideration the plights of the citizenry and, their consideration as the ultimate custodians of the nation's sovereignty and, to whom those in government are accountable from time to time.

Given the issues raised in the immediate preceding section, it is the contention in this paper that there is need for the alleviation of fiscal stress through proper policy on public finance management. This type of policy is usually embedded in participatory budgetary system within our public sector today. However, the struggle for this alleviation as once opined (Ibid)' is more often than not usually conditioned by four facts of political life:

1. Most taxpayers believe that government programs are wasteful. As inflation and recession cause them to experience increased personal financial stress, citizens are more inclined to demand that their taxes be lowered, that government productivity be improved, and that waste in government be eliminated.
2. Few citizens and public employees are willing to voluntarily surrender government services and benefits they have come to expect and depend on.
3. Public officials are forced to make changes within a structure of laws, rules, procedures, and regulations (e.g., merit systems, line-budget items, and special boards, commissions and authorities) that limit alternatives, rigidify decision making and fragment authority. For the most part, these constraints were installed during periods of growth to control budget expansions and are limited tools for managing budget contractions.
4. Fine-tuning the finances and administration of public agencies and programs will not alone solve the larger problems of stimulating economic growth, but it may contribute-along with other government policies and private-sector initiatives-to restoring the economic growth rates of the (earlier periods).

From the discussion up to this point, it is clearly discernible that fiscal stress is a characteristic of the public sector – [particularly in the mixed economies] - that remains problematic. If this is so, there is the need to pose the questions that: How do we manage fiscal stress through the budgetary system? And, what do we do in the process? Answers to these questions among others are located within the context of the discussion on the relevance of participatory budgeting which forms the subject matter of analysis below.

## XI. THE RELEVANCE OF PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING TO THE MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC FINANCE

As variously stated in the proceeding sections of this paper, there is no doubt whatsoever that fiscal stress is a reality in today's world. Hence, finding the optimal strategy for its management becomes imperative for straight forward and right thinking nation-states. What should be done or, to do in this regard through participatory budgeting include:

- Identification of the causes of government's fiscal problems and development of a multiyear forecast of revenue- yielding capacity as well as that of the demand for its services.
- Development of a "list of priority rankings for all government programmes, projects, services and benefits so that high- priority items could be retained or augmented and low-priority items could be reduced or terminated.
- Designing of an integrated strategy to generate new resources, improve productivity, and ration services so that both revenue and expenditure sides of the budget could be neatly balanced (Ibid)

The foregoing should be done or embarked upon through democratic and participatory budgetary process in a country like Nigeria without the usual apolitical politicking which, hitherto, had permeated its approach to the problems of maintaining fiscal solvency in the past and, even, up till the present era of democratic governance of the fourth republic. Added to these, to be able to manage fiscal stress in a public sector like Nigeria, the government and its officials should and, must be prepared to clear the "underbrush of the ambiguity and/or habit" that may serve as obstacles to the making of tough decisions and designing of innovative solutions. The under listed questions (and provision of answers to them) are germane to the success of the government and its officials in their crusade against fiscal stress and its tension-soaked characteristics:

1. What activities are mandated? That is, what services and benefits are required by law? This question is intended to sort out activities that are "musts" from activities engaged in by habit or custom.
2. What activities can be terminated? This question focuses on activities that are not mandated and may have low public support.
3. What additional revenues can be raised? Where can user charges and fees be instituted and raised? Where can uncollected taxes be collected? What services can be sold to other government units? What grants can be obtained from the federal government, the state, or private sources?

4. What activities can be assigned to other service providers? This question helps identify services that can be shifted to other units of government, contracted out at lower cost, shared with other governments, provided by the private sector, or "co-produced" with client participation at lower cost.
5. What things can be done more effectively? This question addressed the broad area of productivity improvement. It should help generate alternative approaches to delivering existing services, changing organizations and using technological improvements to reduce costs.
6. Where can low-cost or no-cost labour be used? Where can positions be reclassified and downgraded? Where can tasks be simplified, paramilitary jobs be manned by civilians, and paraprofessionals and volunteers be utilized?
7. Where can capital investments be substituted for labour expenses? At a time when labour expenses comprise 70 to 80 percent of many agencies' budgets, labour-saving technologies can yield substantial savings; this question seeks to identify opportunities for such savings.
8. Where can information gathering methods be installed and improved? Good information can improve financial forecasts and account for the direct and indirect cost and the benefits of service alternatives.
9. Where can demand be reduced and services rationed? Because many public services are free, they are often squandered. This question addresses the possibility of using fees and other means (e.g., eliminating low-usage hours in some public services and smoothing out peak hours in others) to reduce demand and pare down the availability of some services.
10. What policies can help strengthen the economic base and promote economic development? This question addresses the link between economic development and government policies and underscores the importance of private-sector investment decisions for public-sector fiscal solvency.
11. What arrangements can be made to identify and strengthen the leadership of this process? This final question underlies all others. Without able leadership the process of guiding a government through a fiscal squeeze may turn out to be haphazard and self-defeating. Decision-making structures that facilitate interest aggregation and build consensus are likely to reinforce leadership and help ease the adjustment to constrained budgets (Ibid, 6-7).



These questions without doubt deal with the broad-management strategies required for effective coping with fiscal stress in our public sector. Hence, there is need for developing these strategies. And, putting our analysis so far together, we find it innocuous at this juncture, to ask the question that: to what extent have the foregoing strategies of managing fiscal stress in the public sector taken place or adopted in Nigeria? A concrete probing into this question forms the core of the discussion and / or analysis in the next section.

## XII. BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING

There is no doubt that a nation like Nigeria or any nation at all, stands to benefit from the effective management of her public sector's fiscal stress through the process of participatory budgeting. Even though, some of these benefits have been variously touched upon and analyzed to some extent, in the proceeding sections of this, paper, relevant others are synoptically examined in this section of the paper.

Through effective and participatory management of her public sector's budgetary process, the Nigerian state will be able to meaningfully foster greater harmony among her political, economic and market choices and/or forces. This, in return will aid her capacity to reduce or clearly avoid political bankruptcy which Guy Peters and Rose (1980:34) described thus:

*Political bankruptcy is an intermediate form of authority. It occurs when a government's overloading of the economy is no longer confined to an issue of effectiveness, to be resolved within conventional electoral and administrative institutions. It sets off "double trouble, undermining content while making citizens increasingly indifferent to authority. A politically bankrupt government has not made citizens dissenters or rebels antagonizing them, its ineffectuality limits the antagonism it can engender. Citizens withdraw their support from established authority without having confidence that any other regime would be better. Such a "broken backed regime" has its authority crippled rather than destroyed. Citizens may prefer the weakness of a bankrupt regime to the power of a coercive regime, but those who live under fully legitimate authority undoubtedly prefer government as they have known it to a political system in which government is ineffectual and indifferent to the individual norm.*

The need to avoid political bankruptcy as articulated here-in, can only be appreciated against the pains of its consequences:

*Political bankruptcy can occur, for, the overloading of resources encourages civic indifference. As government increasingly appears ineffectual and*

*also threatens conservative self-interest (i.e., the maintenance of take-home pay) individuals may be expected to adopt a ("Sauve Qui Peut" attitude. Instead of street demonstrations or television confrontations, indifference can be registered through inaction and avoidance (e.g., companies ignoring planning directives from governments or union leaders ignoring requests for wage restraints). Ordinary citizens can redefine their economic affairs to create a new "private" sector, which government does not know about or tax. In place of a black market in selling goods, a black market in labour can grow up. Untaxed wages are worth twice as much as wages attracting direct taxes at a marginal rate of 50 percent, and half again as much as wages taxed at 33 percent. In (at a point in time) Italy, black work amounts to as much as one-sixth or more of the total effort in the economy, and the American GNP may be underestimated by at least 10 percent because of the "subterranean economy." Even in Sweden, (at a time) surveys of public opinion show that a majority do not regard tax evasion as a serious offence: many justify it on grounds that it is a reasonable reaction to the country's high rates of the ---- tax. Even something as legal as the growth of do-it yourself activities is ----symptomatic of the demonetisations of labour, as individuals find that unpaid work is more money than services that must be paid for from pay subject to tax (Ibid:- 44-45).*

This reduction or avoidance of political bankruptcy from constituting a major problem to politico – economic benefit will aid the ability and capacity of the Nigerian state to find and maintain a balance between fiscal solvency and levels of services and benefits that are adequate, equitable and stable . Hence, (Levine op cit, 12) once articulated that:

*adequacy can be defined as a level of public goods and services capable of sustaining civil society and promoting individual well-being. This means adequate public goods and services ranging from national defence and law enforcement to housing and education. Equity can be defined as a system of service provision that guarantees citizens equal access and opportunities to use and benefit from public goods and services. Finally, stability refers to the maintenance of goods and services commensurate with the needs and expectations of citizens. Unstable service provision breeds uncertainty, cynicism, and alienation-all of which undermine consensus and support for government (Ibid).*

Through this, effective management of the public sector's finances would be enhanced and the Nigerian state would be able to avoid some of the



defects which had occurred at various stages of her economic planning and, which had, in most cases, rendered them impotent as mechanisms for pursuing national agenda on economic and political fronts. Such defects include:

- Target setting based on educated guesswork without detailed project studies.
  - Violation of planning rules by those who made them.
  - Inadequate/incomplete studies on plans.
  - Erratic and non-coherent policies on the needed directive or policy focus of each plan.
  - Payment of lip-service to plan discipline i.e. fiscal indiscipline, violation of sectoral allocations, Father Christmas spending philosophy.
  - Corruption and its attendant capital flight which, combined, has consistently aided the truncation of the nation's development of a self-reliant economy.
  - Non-recognition of higher-level management as an indispensable skill.
  - Expansion of the public service without corresponding expansion of skills.
  - Paucity of statistical values that is, non recognition of statistical data as the indispensable basis of planning.
  - Neglect of true Academics in the scheme of things based on their erroneous categorization as theorists.
  - Constant disarticulation in the progress reports of yearly or periodic national Development plans and, the need to constantly review existing plans.
  - Planning beginning and ending only on papers
  - Lack of real commitment to free Nigeria from its status of a "trading-post economy" which president Obasanjo, as a Military Head of State, called it in 1977 during the launching of the first International Trade Fair in the country (NCCA, op cit: 73).
- If the foregoing can be painstakingly done, the benefits that are inherent in the balanced management of the public sector's fiscal stress can be infinitely and adequately tapped for the betterment of the citizenry. And the government will be able to identify and vigorously pursue for attainment, some key national challenges stated below:
- Put in place appropriate macroeconomic policies and framework that will promote rapid industrial and technological development of Nigeria and support effective economic performance of all sectors;
  - Increase participation of the poor in the economy through expanding employment, increasing their productivity and skills and widening their access to other productive assets;
  - Empowerment and organization of the poor to enable them participate more effectively in social, political and economic processes;
  - Targeting resources to programmes directed to the poorest localities and groups to improve their conditions;
  - Devising appropriate social protection schemes to meet the basic needs of the poor, especially the handicapped, marginalized women and youth;
  - Mobile and augment community, national and voluntary funds for anti-poverty programmes;
  - Pay attention to the interlinkages of sustainable development and poverty reduction, emphasizing environmental protection and management;
  - Strengthen collection of development indicators and gender-disaggregated statistics and consequent utilisation in socio-development planning;
  - Strengthen the legal, political and institutional structure and coordination among government agencies, civil society and the business sector for poverty reduction and
  - Promote good governance and an efficient administrative and institutional support structure at both the national and local levels for the effective delivery and monitoring of social development programmes (Ibid).
- Equally, key political challenges of tension over the distribution of power and resources" "friction between legislative and executive branches of government", "transparency in governance", "religious contestations and regional groupings", "sustainability of the democratic transformation" and "weak political party structure" (Ibid: 50-51) among others, will become tactically manageable for effective governmental process and actions which would as expected benefit the masses.
- This stage, if can be attained, Nigeria as a nation-state where government remains the major player in the economy as against the private sector-led economy" will be able by means of authoritative process to put the "economy back on the path of equitable economic growth" (Ibid: 73) and equally be able to:
- Design sound development policies and ensure effective implementation;
  - Design a sound and comprehensive poverty alleviation policy and programme for human poverty eradication;
  - Identify the sectors that form the basis for sustainable economic growth and focus on them, for example agriculture, energy, mining and industry;
  - Capacity enhancement for the informal sector which is plagued by low productivity and high poverty;
  - Appropriate debt management policy that will release foreign exchange for domestic investment;
  - Support the development of sectoral policies that will encourage capacity utilization, employment and increased productivity.
  - Support programmes that enhance national food security attainment, reduction in post harvest loss;
  - Diversification of the economy;
  - Promotion of small and medium scale enterprises and urban informal activities;

- Facilitate access to credit, productive resources and employment;
- Promote the acquisition of appropriate technology;
- Provide support for the acquisition of information technology;
- Broaden the base for economic decision-making, involving the private sector, NGOs, CBOS and Civil society;
- Mobilize resources for priority development areas; and
- Support the mainstreaming of gender into the development process.
- Strengthen the coordination mechanism put in place by government at federal, state and LGA levels;
- Support coordination among donors;
- Support collection and analysis of poverty data;
- Support programmes that guarantee fundamental human rights, protection of life and property; and
- Support targeted poverty alleviation programmes (Ibid. 73-74).

### XIII. CONCLUSION

We have examined the issue of democratic governance and participatory budgeting in this paper in the context of their relevance, challenges and implications for the public sector finances and/or public spending and, the masses, zeroing- in on the Nigerian experience/situation. In the process, the subject – matters of democracy, governance, budget and its participatory nature were examined. The necessary interconnectedness among these concepts was identified and examined in the context of the implications of such affinities for the people's ability to understand where the ultimate powers over public policies in these respects abound.

In the course of our analysis, we identified and examined what the relevant political actors in Nigeria should do in her efforts to inculcate the values of good governance and participatory budgetary process.

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## A Study of Problems Faced by Mothers of the Disabled Children in Rural Areas of District Faisalabad

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*Abstract* - Persons with disabilities also face multiple physical political social, economic, and handicaps, hampering their freedom of participation and development in society. These barriers include misunderstanding and stigmatization of the abilities and aspirations of persons with disabilities. There is also a pronounced lack of informational data, rules and regulations, rehabilitation centers, and mainstreaming and specialized services for persons with disabilities. The any objective of the present study to find out the problems faced by the parents of disables people. The present study was conducted in District Faisalabad. Multistage sampling technique was used for data collection. At the first stage two institutions (Govt. Special Education Center Jaranwala and Govt. Special Education Center Tandianwala) were selected purposively. At the second stage made a list of rural disabled children's mothers from the school record.

*Keywords* : *Mother's, Problems, Disabled children.*

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*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



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Arfan Riasat

**Abstract** - Persons with disabilities also face multiple physical political social, economic, and handicaps, hampering their freedom of participation and development in society. These barriers include misunderstanding and stigmatization of the abilities and aspirations of persons with disabilities. There is also a pronounced lack of informational data, rules and regulations, rehabilitation centers, and mainstreaming and specialized services for persons with disabilities. The any objective of the present study to find out the problems faced by the parents of disables people. The present study was conducted in District Faisalabad. Multistage sampling technique was used for data collection. At the first stage two institutions (Govt. Special Education Center Jaranwala and Govt. Special Education Center Tandianwala) were selected purposively. At the second stage made a list of rural disabled children's mothers from the school record. At the third stage 120 mothers (60 from each institute) were selected randomly from the list. Data were collected with the help of a well-designed interview schedule. Collected information was statistically analyzed through SPSS software. It was found that most of the respondents belonged to low income families. It is concluded the cousin marriage is a cause of disability among children. Some children were goes to school willingly. It was found that the mother faced different problems from their disabled children i.e., pick and drop (65.8%), teaching (79.8%), lack of interest in education (47.5%), helpless hopeless (72.5%), lack of confidence (64%), loneliness (75%) irritable and short tempered (88.3%) and mobility (77.5%). It was found that the family members had helpful behavior, whereas majority of the other people had teasing behavior with the disabled person. It is suggested that the Govt. should establish more Special Education Centers to control overcrowding and co-education problems. Awareness should be given to the mothers about the psychological and emotional feelings of their disabled children.

**Keywords** : *Mother's, Problems, Disabled children.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

“A person with disabilities means who, on account of injury, disease, or congenital deformity, is handicapped in undertaking any gainful profession or employment and includes persons who are visually impaired as well. In short, exceptional people are those, who either lack one of the areas of development” (Pope, 1991).

“Disability refers to the impact of impairment upon the performances or activities commonly accepted as the basic elements of everyday living. Disability can

be used when impairment, objectively defined, constitutes a hindrance to mobility, domestic routines or the occupational and might be communicational skills” (Tarlov, 1991).

Now the people are thinking that the disable people can be responsible citizens if they have proper education and training. They can be proved productive people for their country (Akbar, 2003).

UNO announced 1981 as they international year of disabled person to spread the awareness among the countries which have signed on “convention on the Rights of persons with disabilities 2006. It was demanded that all the countries which are the part of signatory to make rare for the disable people rights. Pakistan being signatory has taken a lot of steps for the welfare of disable people. Pakistan declared its first policy, which name is “National Policy on the issue of disability” (Ahmed et al., 2011).

Person who are disable are uncounted in Pakistan. Disable people face haunch problems rather than normal people. There is a lot of social business for disable people. Even than there is no proper definition of disable person. There are two definitions can be found in the national policy for special education. Disability means the lack of ability to perform an activity in a manner that is considered o be normal. A person with disability means a person who on account of injury, disease, or congenial. Deformity, is handicapped in undertaking any gainful profession or employment and includes persons who are visually impaired, hearing impaired, and physically and mentally disabled. Definitions and classifications according to the Ministry of Women Development, Social Welfare and Special Education, “Disability means the lack of ability to perform and activity in a manner, which is considered to be normal” (Ministry of Social Welfare and Special Education, 2002).

Comprehensive guide to various physical, mental and developmental disabilities and rehabilitation. Throughout the world, there are millions of people who have some form of emotional, mental, or physical handicap that can limit their activities to varying degrees. The terms disabled and differently abled are both preferable terms to the outdated term handicapped. Disabilities can be the result of accidents, resulting in paralysis, brain damage, etc., while some

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people are born with such afflictions as cerebral palsy, spina bifida, Down syndrome, muscular dystrophy, blindness, etc. This guide offers disability facts, statistics, information and resources on a list of disabilities covering several mental, physical, and emotional handicaps and the necessary assessment, treatment for people with disabilities, and advocacy of it in both public and private arenas. Disability facts and information for parents of children with physical disabilities and medical issues. Disability resources to learn about accessibility, disabled assistance, developmental and learning disabilities in physically handicapped children, disabilities rights and parenting kids with disabilities (Ridsdel, 2005)

There is understandably the shock and disbelief on learning that their child is in anyway disadvantaged or handicapped. It is very hard to accept that this is so. And quite usual at the beginning for parents to block from their thoughts the fact that their child is going to need extra help and will have to be cared for in a special way, perhaps for life. Some physical handicaps are recognized from birth, some children develop an illness which produces them, while some disabilities are more insidious and gradually become apparent as the child gets older and reaches different developmental milestones (Curtis, 2008).

The carrier of hardships on their tiny shoulders. But what of those who take care of these little angels; the problems they face in dealing with a child who has disabilities? A family of such a child knows grief, sadness, fear, worry and more love than most families. They know that each milestone, each step taken toward the future is a positive one. And each step back, although a heartache at times, is a challenge to be conquered. The isolation from friends and family, the change in routine and emotional dealings with siblings at each challenging stage of life. The problems faced by families with disabled children were greater than most people think. And whether it's Cerebral Palsy, mental retardation, amputation, traumatic brain injury, down-syndrome, or learning disabilities. Dealing and coping with the problems that come a child and those who care for them on a daily basis can build up over time. It was found that many families contact their community support workers, child development agencies which can help ease the burden financially for the necessities a child might need while coping with their disability. But the cost is still high and sacrifices are made by all family members in order to help make it through those trying times (Shaw, 2009).

The connection between early influence of parents on the formation of needs of the examined disabled teenagers and the level of intensification of the needs they present was not always direct and clear. He showed that despite great parental efforts, level of some needs was not sufficient to make building a relationship with other people easier in the future. Weak needs of

achievement, low needs of autonomy, low compensation ability, and weakly developed cognitive needs, indicated that great effort of parents in order to create these needs, was not successful. Obtained results suggested that if parents do not reach intended educational aim, it means, they need professional help. The reason for that may be their own anxiety to children's future, which does not let them take correct attitude towards their child. It may be also possible that lack of success in the formation of some needs is influenced by other social experiences, independent from parents, such as children's individual emotional feelings which discourage development and realization of some needs. Results concerning parental participation in the formation of needs, regarding teenagers with visual impairment, were not so clear as in case of teenagers without disabilities. . Analysis of results indicated that it was not enough to have intuition. Without professional knowledge and help of specialists, it might not be possible to achieve educational satisfaction proportional to the performed efforts. Achieving life satisfaction by people with visual disability depends on forming features of personality. The problem of connection between early educational process in the family and forming of these personal features was rarely a subject in the professional literature. Concerning conscious forming of needs, parents faced a very difficult task. Those were needs motivating them to act towards improving independence, self-esteem through overcoming own physical imperfection and often unfavorable social conditions. In order to help parents, one should equip them with interdisciplinary knowledge on psychosocial conditions motivating people with impairments to go beyond the limits of their current possibilities. This could be done through stimulating needs. Presented research is an attempt of connecting interdisciplinary, psychological and pedagogical knowledge which is applied by the author (Konarska, 2010).

The parents of mentally retarded children usually have to face a range of emotions over a long period of time. They often struggle with guilt. Usually the both parents or one them blame him that this disability in his child is due to his genetic disorders, alcoholic nature, worries or tensions, or other rational or irrational reasons. Physical tiredness can take an excise on the parents of a mentally retarded child. They need an extra care. All the caring activities likewise nourishing, cleaning, moving and feeding an infant is so easier for a normal child as compared to child having weighs of 80 pounds. These children's often required extra care from the physician and other health-care appointments than a normal child and usually need close medical monitoring. Not only has this but parents also had to face a lot of troubles while educating them. They have to arrange special private educational facilities or need to consult special education centers for their proper education.

These children's usually needs close parental contact with the school system. Their parents have to regularly visit or check the child's interaction with their fellows to make sure they are not being bullied. The disabled children usually required special transportation facilities for their schooling and other activities, the children who have severe disabilities may required to be schooled at home. It is estimated that expenses required to nourish a disabled child as compared to normal child is usually high. These expenses boost up because these children required sophisticated medical equipment and supplies, extra medical care, private education, tutor for home tuitions or specialized transportation facilities. These children required the lifetime care besides of 18 years. Their parents may have to arrange money for a trust whose care their child's when they pass away.

## II. OBJECTIVES

1. To find out the problems faced by the mothers of disable people.
2. To study the perception of the mother towards the attitudes of society with disabled.
3. To find the facilities provided by the government/NGOs for disabled/ handicapped.

## III. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The present study was conducted in District Faisalabad. Multistage sampling technique was used for data collection. At the first stage two institutions (Govt. Special Education Center Jaranwala and Govt. Special Education Center Tandianwala) were selected purposively. At the second stage made a list of rural disabled children's mothers from the school record. At the third stage 120 mothers (60 from each institute) were selected randomly from the list.

The data were collected through pretested interview schedule survey. The collected data were analyzed by using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

## IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

*Table 1 :* Distribution of the respondents according to their age

Age of the respondents (in years)	Frequency	Percentage
Up to 30	22	18.3
31-45	65	54.2
Above 45	33	27.5
Total	120	100.0

Table 1 depicts that 18.3 percent of the respondents had up to 30 years of age, while a majority i.e., 54.2 percent of the respondents had 31-45 years of age and more than one-fourth i.e., 27.5 percent of the respondents had above 45 years of age. These findings

reflects that majority of the respondents belonged to middle age group.

*Table 2 :* Distribution of the respondents according to their husband's education.

Husband's Education	Frequency	Percentage
Illiterate	41	34.2
Primary	21	17.5
Middle	24	20.0
Matric and above	34	28.3
Total	120	100.0

Table 2 shows that about one-third i.e., 34.2 percent of the respondents reported that their husbands were illiterate, while 17.5 percent of them were primary passed, about one-fifth i.e., 20.0 percent of them were middle passed and 28.3 percent of the respondents' husbands had Matric and above level of education.

*Table 3 :* Distribution of the respondents according to their relation with husband before marriage

Relation	Frequency	Percentage
First cousin	80	66.7
Second cousin	21	17.5
Far relative	8	6.7
With in caste	8	6.7
Out of caste	3	2.5
Total	120	100.0

Table 3 indicates that a large majority i.e., 66.7 percent of the respondents reported that their husband was first cousin before their marriage, while 17.5 percent of them were told that their husbands were second cousins. Only 6.7 percent of the respondents told that their husbands were far relative, another 6.7 percent of the respondents were married with in cast and 2.5 percent of them were married out of caste.

*Table 4 :* Distribution of the respondents according to age of their disabled child

Age of disabled child (in years)	Frequency	Percentage
Up to 6	31	25.8
7-12	67	55.8
13 and above	22	18.3
Total	120	100.0

Table 4 indicates that about one-fourth i.e., 25.8 percent of the respondents reported that their child had up to 6 years of age, while a majority i.e., 55.8 percent of the respondents told that their child had 7-12 years of age and 18.3 percent of the respondents told that their child had 13 and above years of age. So these results reveals that majority of the disabled children had 7-12 years of age.

**Table 5 :** Distribution of the respondents according to the er their child in their absence

Look after	Frequency	Percentage
Any family member	90	75.0
Hired a maid	11	9.2
Day care centre	12	10.0
Other	7	5.8
Total	120	100.0

Table 5 reveals that a majority i.e., 75.0 percent of the respondents reported that their family members look after their disabled child in their absence, while 9.2 percent of them reported that they hired a maid for look after of disabled child, 10.0 percent of them told that they sent their disabled child to 'day care center' and 5.8 percent of the respondents said that any others look after their disabled child in their absence.

**Table 6 :** Distribution of the respondents according to facing problem in school pick and drop of their disabled child

Facing problem in school pick and drop of their disabled child	Frequency	Percentage
To a great extent	45	37.5
To some extent	34	28.3
Not at all	41	34.2
Total	120	100.0

Table 6 indicates that 37.5 percent of the respondents reported that they faced problem 'to a great extent' in school pick and drop of their disabled child, while 28.3 percent of them faced problem 'to some extent' in school pick and drop of their disabled child, whereas about one-third i.e., 34.2 percent of the respondents never faced pick and drop problem of their disabled child.

**Table 7 :** Distribution of the respondents according to their satisfaction with the learning ability of their disabled child

Satisfied	Frequency	Percentage
To a great extent	61	50.8
To some extent	28	23.3
Not at all	31	25.8
Total	120	100.0

Table 7 indicates that about a half i.e., 50.8 percent of the respondents were satisfied 'to a great extent', while 23.3 percent of them were satisfied 'to some extent' with the learning ability of their disabled child, while about one-fourth i.e., 25.8 percent of them never satisfied with learning ability of their disabled child.

**Table 8 :** Distribution of the respondents according to the interest of their disabled child in school home work

Interest of their disabled child in school home work	Frequency	Percentage
To a great extent	41	34.2
To some extent	22	18.3
Not at all	57	47.5
Total	120	100.0

Table 8 shows that about one-third i.e., 34.2 percent of the respondents reported that their disabled child interested 'to a great extent' in school home work, while 18.3 percent of them told that their disabled child interested 'to some extent' in school home work, whereas a major proportion i.e., 47.5 percent of the respondents told that their disabled child never interested in school home work.

**Table 9 :** Distribution of the respondents according to their thinking that their disabled child felt helpless hopeless

Respondents' thinking that their disabled child felt helpless hopeless	Frequency	Percentage
To a great extent	48	40.0
To some extent	39	32.5
Not at all	33	27.5
Total	120	100.0

Table 9 indicates that a major proportion i.e., 40.0 percent of the respondents had thinking 'to a great extent' and about one-third i.e., 32.5 percent of them had thinking 'to some extent' that their disabled child felt helpless hopeless. Whereas remaining 27.5 percent of the respondents reported that their disabled child never felt helpless hopeless.

**Table 10 :** Distribution of the respondents according to their thinking that their disabled child had irritable and short tempered

Respondents' thinking that their disabled child had irritable and short tempered	Frequency	Percentage
To a great extent	85	70.8
To some extent	21	17.5
Not at all	14	11.7
Total	120	100.0

Table 10 indicates that a huge majority i.e., 70.8 percent of the respondents had thinking 'to a great extent' and 17.5 percent of them had thinking 'to some extent' that their disabled had irritable and short tempered attitude, whereas 11.7 percent of the respondents told that their disabled had not irritable and short tempered attitude.

**Table 11 :** Distribution of the respondents according to their thinking that the society had cooperative attitude with disabled children.

Respondents' thinking that the society had cooperative attitude with disabled children	Frequency	Percentage
To a great extent	27	22.5
To some extent	24	20.0
Not at all	69	57.5
Total	120	100.0

Table 11 shows that 22.5 percent of the respondents had thinking 'to a great extent', while about one-fifth i.e., 20.0 percent of them had thinking 'to some extent' that the society had cooperative attitude with disabled child, whereas a majority i.e., 57.5 percent of the respondents had thinking that the society had not cooperative attitude with disabled children.

**Table 12 :** Distribution of the respondents according to their knowledge about the NGOs working for rehabilitation for disabled in their area

Respondents' knowledge about the NGOs working for rehabilitation for disabled in their area	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	41	34.2
No	79	65.8
Total	120	100.0

Table 12 indicates that about one-third i.e., 34.2 percent of the respondents had knowledge that the NGOs working for rehabilitation for disabled in their area, while a large majority of the respondents had no knowledge about the NGOs working for rehabilitation for disabled in their area.

## V. CONCLUSION

Persons with disabilities also face multiple physical political social, economic, and handicaps, hampering their freedom of participation and development in society. These barriers include misunderstanding and stigmatization of the abilities and aspirations of persons with disabilities. There is also a pronounced lack of informational data, rules and regulations, rehabilitation centers, and mainstreaming and specialized services for persons with disabilities. It was found that most of the respondents belonged to low income families. It is concluded the cousin marriage is a cause of disability among children. Some children were goes to school willingly. It was found that the mother faced different problems from their disabled children i.e., pick and drop (65.8%), teaching (79.8%), lack of interest in education (47.5%), helpless hopeless (72.5%), lack of confidence (64%), loneliness (75%) irritable and short tempered (88.3%) and mobility (77.5%). It was found that the family members had helpful behaviour, whereas

majority of the other people had teasing behaviour with the disabled person. It is suggested that the Govt. should establish more Special Education Centers to control overcrowding and co-education problems. Awareness should be given to the mothers about the psychological and emotional feelings of their disabled children.

## VI. SUGGESTIONS

1. Govt. should establish more Special Education Centers to control overcrowding and co-education problems.
2. Awareness should be given to the mothers about the psychological and emotional feelings of their disabled children.
3. Government should re-construct school building according to the needs of disabled children.
4. Mothers should participate in monthly meetings of their disabled children's school centers.

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# Religion in the Political Economy of Democratization in the South Eastern Nigeria: The Anambra State Experience

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*Abstract* - This paper provides an overview of the dynamics of religion, political godfatherism [i.e. the act of mentoring people into political office for purposes of indirect control of appointments and public funds] and democratization in the South Eastern Nigeria with a special focus on Anambra state since 1999 when the country returned to civilian rule after sixteen years of military rule. Methodologically, this paper adopted public choice theory and survey methods of inquiry with 1800 questionnaires distributed. With the aid of tables and arithmetic percentage formula, this paper observes that political elites hijacked party structures using party financing and impose candidates after reaching agreements with them on the party and the state for purposes of rent seeking and political dominance. Religious oaths using African Traditional Religious rituals were used to safeguard these pre-electoral agreements, and by the application of existing political schisms between Catholic and Anglican churches, they seek support for their candidates.

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*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Religion in the Political Economy of Democratization in the South Eastern Nigeria: The Anambra State Experience

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**Abstract** - This paper provides an overview of the dynamics of religion, political godfatherism [i.e. the act of mentoring people into political office for purposes of indirect control of appointments and public funds] and democratization in the South Eastern Nigeria with a special focus on Anambra state since 1999 when the country returned to civilian rule after sixteen years of military rule. Methodologically, this paper adopted public choice theory and survey methods of inquiry with 1800 questionnaires distributed. With the aid of tables and arithmetic percentage formula, this paper observes that political elites hijacked party structures using party financing and impose candidates after reaching agreements with them on the party and the state for purposes of rent seeking and political dominance. Religious oaths using African Traditional Religious rituals were used to safeguard these pre-electoral agreements, and by the application of existing political schisms between Catholic and Anglican churches, they seek support for their candidates. Tussle for political power between these two churches, and between them and individual godfathers, which ended in the triumph of institutional godfathers followed. This opened sources of resources for churches through the appointment of their members into political positions. This paper therefore concludes that religious belief and affiliation fundamentally decide electoral choice and political appointments in Anambra state.

**Keywords** : Patronage, Individual godfather, institutional godfather, democratization, electoral choice, and African Traditional Religion.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In Nigeria, there is coexistence between animistic religions, ancestor worship, Islam and Christianity. These religions have been dominant in particular areas of different regions in the country and have been a veritable instrument for political struggle among various Nigerians in the never ending intra class struggle among the elites for political domination that operates within the propaganda machine of tribalism [Kalu, 2003:6]. Of all, Islam through the Emirate system of administration has been a spectacular unifying religio-political force among the Hausa/Fulani, which stimulated limited Christian unity in political matters. Down in the South Eastern Nigeria, Christians are characteristically disunited politically to their own disadvantage due to

denominational antagonism that exists in a tripartite form between the Catholics, Anglicans and Pentecostal churches. On the other hand, many Nigerians retain their indigenous religions though their level of political consciousness is inconsequential.

The intertwined connection between religion and politics in the history of Nigeria since independence was described by Kalu [2003] in the following manner;

*Religion is intricately woven into the fabric of politics and provides the compelling touchstone of legitimacy or the love of the ruler by the ruled; the motive for exercising power; reason to be obeyed; the determinant of the moral standards and style of power and the engine that moves governance. In such contexts, the structure of governance had tremendous impact on the modes of religious expression and religion could not be conjured out of politics.*

Corroborating this, Obianyo (2008) notes;

*One of the intriguing aspects of Nigerian politics is the ease with which the political class capitalise on any form of identity to capture state power or public office. At one time ethnicity is used, where the ethnic card is not catching on, the religious card is flown.*

This precisely seems to be the case in Anambra state. It is widely held that the struggle for the acquisition of state power has been predominantly between the Anglican Church (AC) and Roman Catholic Church (RCC). In addition, politicians have not only employed the religious and individual godfather powers in their struggle for state power but have also resorted to spiritualism as an instrument to seek victory both in the primaries and the general election. The controversial cases of Okija Shrine oaths and agreements between Chief Chris Uba and Dr. Chris Ngige, Chief Emeka Offor and Dr. Chinwoke Mbadinuju, are only examples. Prior to 1998 party primaries; and 1999 general elections, Chief Emeka Offor took Dr. Chinwoke Mbadinuju to the popular but dreaded Okijja shrine in Ihiala Local Government of Anambra state to take oath of allegiance to him if he becomes the governor. Haven secured this spiritual agreement; Chief Emeka Offor [who controlled both party and electoral structures in the state then] manipulated the system to install him as governor. In

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2002 and 2003, Chief Chris Uba did the same thing for Dr. Chris Ngige. All these power backups for victory are achieved under special arrangements that have high level financial implications for democratization.

It is important to state that religion as a factor in Anambra state politics has been silent in political discuss before 1999 general elections. However, between 1999 and 2003, the use of spiritualism to gain electoral victory became public knowledge and pervasive in political discuss. From 2003, the scenario of religious institutions playing the role of godfathers, and the struggle between such institutions and individual godfathers who have always employed spiriticism on their political sons on whose candidate shall emerge victorious characterised political contest in the state.

This paper therefore studies the phenomenon, with a view to explicate the economic connections and dynamics of religious institutional godfatherism in the politics of the state and to evaluate the mechanism of its vctory over the individual godfathers.

## II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

To effectively carry out this inquiry, this paper explored the history and practice of party primaries in Anambra State since 1999, which was the first period that the newly created state experienced electoral competition. The paper investigated the role of both the church and the acclaimed godfathers in the emergence of party candidates during party primaries and in the general elections. This was done by review of various publications in texts, journals, conference papers, workshops, government publications both international and local, civil society and human rights publications, newspapers and magazines.

This study, which was conducted in Nigeria beginning in the later part of 2009 and concluded in January 2011, also used questionnaires to find out the precise influence which religious organisations had on voter choice of candidates during elections, choice of candidates for political appointments after elections, and the role played by these religious bodies in the management of political conflicts in Anambra state particularly during the various attempts to remove incumbent Governors between 1999 and 2007.

One thousand eight hundred questionnaires were distributed [Six hundred questionnaires in each of the three senatorial districts that make up the state] to the staff at the ecclesiastical quarters of the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN), the Anglican Communion and the Catholic Church in the state. It was also distributed at the secretariat of the major political parties operating in the state most importantly, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Action Congress (AC), All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP), All Progressive Party Alliance (APGA), and Labour Party (LP). Thirty copies each were distributed at each of these places while

1560 copies were distributed in major churches in the three geopolitical zones of the state (372 questionnaires in each zone]. The remaining 90 copies of the questionnaire were distributed at the secretariats of RCC, AC, Grace of God, Christ Embassy, and Methodist church, Assemblies of God, ECWA, Winners Chapel and Redeemed Church of God.

The administration of the research instrument was carried out by research field assistants. They collected back the questionnaire on the spot without any missing. Simple percentage mechanism through a build up of mathematical tables was used in addition to content analysis to study, analyse and explain the data generated during the inquiry.

It must be acknowledged that the hostile political atmosphere in the state limited our data gathering to answers in the questionnaires as people were either sceptical of responding to questions or abhorred interview in its entirety. We are also limited to the questionnaire responses as our base for inferences as we have no other way of assessing our respondents' minds.

## III. GAP IN THE LITERATURE

Many scholars like Coppedge and Reinecke (1991); and Hadenius, (1992) have made several efforts to construct scales of democracy that measure the three dimensions of democratization, which are; electoral competition, participation (universal suffrage), and essential civil liberties. Others like Sklar (1987: 686-714; and 1996: 26-27); and O'Donnell (1994: 60-62) argue that among other things that autonomous judiciary, institutionalized processes (often in a separate, autonomous agency), pluralism, rule of law, respect for human rights etc are characteristics of any democracy.

Consequently, scholars like Casanova [1994] and Epstein [1991] argue that religious institutions build democratic forces that challenge authoritarian regime particularly in Eastern Europe and Latin America. They have equally provided skills and organizational strength in civil society activism that are related to democratization (Verba et al. 1995). Thus, Zald and McCarthy (1987) and Smith (1991) argued that religion serves as instrument of resources mobilization for groups and organizations seeking to expand democratic participation or protect the interests of the marginalized.

Other scholars like Pals (1996) and Hughes (1995) noted therefore that religious institutions influences political choice or activities. For Hughes (1995:39), individuals;

*Undoubtedly act on the basis of their beliefs and ideas, and the ways in which they conduct themselves follow from the religious and political conceptions to which they subscribe.*

While Pals (1996: 85) argues that religion serves;

*As the carrier of social sentiments, providing symbols and rituals that enable people to express the deep emotions which anchor them to their community.*

Thus, Hoge and Zulueta [1985] note that the conditions that promote consensus among inhabitants of a common environment are likely to be present in formal organizations that encourage face-to-face interaction such as religious organizations. They are voluntary associations of individuals bound by strong affective ties and regular social interaction; their members are tied to particular indoctrination and maintenance of group norms (Stark, 1987). This enables such institutions to define and prescribe political agenda in the name of God and structure members' preferences for candidates, parties, and issue positions (Wald, 1987: 57-63). This political function of the church are easily undertaken through such programmes as sermons, pastoral messages, adult education classes, poster displays, announcements and church publications. In this sense, existing religious traditions/attitudes toward authority, knowledge, obedience and the need for salvation make the function very efficacious.

Walton (1985: 47-49) observed that the churches provide many avenues for the reinforcement of such programmes and messages by bringing the membership together on a regular basis for formal worship and promoting informal social interaction among congregants. Secondly, deviants/truants from such programmes and directives can be punished (Walton, 1985: 50). Consequently, Welch and Leege (1998: 19) see religion as a force for order, social control, and conservative positions on public policy.

However, Cartocci (2002) argues that religious organizations which were once exceptionally strong predictors of voting have lost their influence in the modern times. In Italian politics, it has been found out that the religious cleavage, eroded by a long term process of secularization which had already depressed its influence on the vote, received the final blow by the disappearance of the Christian Democratic Party, making politically irrelevant a religious driven vote. Catholics divide now themselves between a vote for the Left or the Right according to their political, rather than religious, preferences. However, the literature exposed a different historical experience in the Nigeria political process. Political contestation in Nigeria since independence has been structured considerably by Islam and Christianity [Odey, 2003; Zartman, 1992]. This has determined voters' support for parties and candidates in Nigeria at different periods (Campbell, 1997).

The historical origin of the influence of religion on electoral choice in Nigeria dates back to the introduction of Islamic state through Jihad in the Sokoto Caliphate (Enwerem, 1995: 21; Adigwe, 1968: 454). The political exploits made by the caliphate since then in

Nigeria political history awakened the political consciousness of the Christians, which led to the formation of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) in the mid-1970s as a strong ecumenical movement (Enwerem, 1995: 76). Ever since then the factor of religious affiliation has become a yard stick for voters' choice during elections. For instance, many Nigerians particularly from the South could neither vote for nor sympathise with Muhammadu Buhari during the 2007 elections because of his statement that Nigeria should be Islamized. To secure the support of the North for their presidential bids, late Chief Mashood Abiola and Dr. Orji Uzor Kalu became Moslems.

On the other hand, the self acclaimed godfather of Anambra politics, Chief Chris Uba employed the instrument of African Traditional Religion [ATR] to determine whom to impose both as a party candidate and governor of the state [Ngige, 2005]. This practice was a repetition of the deal between Chief Emeka Offor and Dr. Chinwoke Mbadinuju during the 1999 general election.

The literature reveals that back in the 55 BC Roman Empire; godfatherism existed because a wealthy candidate would quietly arrange for his election to the desired office with a band of political "go-betweens". These professional gentlemen would proceed to mark out the Roman tribes into smaller and wider sections, arrange voters into clubs and fraternities, compound with each section for its votes, marshal the faithful henchmen to the electoral comitia, and duly pay over the stipulated honorarium upon delivery of the elections (Scott, 1973). Today, in Nigeria, elections (both primary and general) are habitually subverted/determined by political parties and political elites through the illegal use of money, physical force and governmental patronage deployed through the intermediary of "perverse brokers" (Olarinmoye, 2007: 33) known as godfathers. 'godfatherism' is therefore a prevalent phenomenon in Nigerian politics.

These godfathers disfranchise voters (Scott, 1973), serve as go-betweens for politicians in a situation of voters' alienation and distrust in return for contracts and political appointments [Agbaje, 2005]. They achieve this aim by creating political structures called parties with their resources [Weinstein, 2005: 602-603] and then invite the mass to join. After this, they rely on the massive deployment of material resources (Wang and Kurzman, 2007a) to dominate the political process. Chief Chris Uba declared;

*I am the greatest godfather in Nigeria because this is the first time an individual single handedly put in position every politician in the state (Ibrahim, 2006).*

The godfather has in his possession knowledge of the sort of incentives most likely to "move" potential voters to vote for a preferred candidate (Wang and Kurzman, 2007b). This knowledge enables the godfather to engage in illegal election activities such as:



- i. Compilation of fictitious names on voters' registers, illegal compilation of separate voters' list, abuse of the voter registration revision exercise, illegal printing of voters' cards, illegal possession of ballot boxes, collaboration between polling officials and agents to subvert the electoral rules, late or non-supply of election materials to opposition strongholds, delay in opening polling centres located in opposition strongholds (Pre-election voter compliance).
- ii. Stuffing of ballot boxes with ballot papers, falsification of election results, illegal thumb-printing of ballot papers, stuffing of ballot boxes, under-age voting, multiple voting, illegal printing of electoral result forms (as in the case of Form EC 8 and EC 8A used in collation and declaration of election results in 2003 and 2007 elections), deliberate refusal to supply election materials to certain areas, announcing results in places where no elections were held, unauthorized announcement of election results, harassment of candidates, agents and voters, change of list of electoral officials, box-switching and inflation of figures and long delays or manipulation of election tribunals to protect stolen verdicts, inducement of voters with food and money, threatening voters with the use of force (Kurfi, 2005; Ibrahim, 2006).

The need to protect themselves against disappointment in their relationship with their clients who become controllers of first degree resources through their brokerage activities has pushed godfathers into taking initiatives that has had the consequence of entrenching electoral corruption in Nigerian politics. Olarinmoye [2007::4) noted that;

*godfather-brokers in order to face-up to the possibilities of constant re-arrangement of power configuration in their relationships with political clients and the negative impact which such has on their existence as brokers have been forced to restructure their modus operandi, that is evolve from individuals reliant on second degree resources to individuals who control first degree resources in their own right. In other words, transforms themselves from being 'godfather-broker' to becoming 'godfather-patron.*

The godfather-patron captures the party machinery for himself. With his control of the party structure he becomes the sponsor of politicians. He uses his control of party machinery to impose his clients as party candidates for elective office and ensures their electoral success through activities which have been characterized as electoral corruption. Success of the party at elections translates into direct access of the godfather-patron to public treasury and policies. That is, the godfather in his bid to secure stable access to state resources and ensure his continued existence as a

"Bigman" engages in electoral corruption to install a puppet (Ibrahim, 2006b; Ibrahim, 2007). On this lie the root of political struggle that ensued in Anambra state since 1999 between the godfathers and their victorious clients on the one hand; and the individual godfathers and the institutional godfather – the Church on the other. It is therefore interesting to note that while literature dominantly explored the role of religion and godfatherism in democratic politics, it has not evaluated the superiority of one over the other nor has it explored the financial nexus that inform their joint competition to install political office holders. This paper pursues these.

#### IV. FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

Public choice theory is considered the most applicable theoretical tool for this study and analysis. Public choice theory originated as a separate field of study a half century ago in the works of its founding fathers, Kenneth Arrow (1951), Anthony Downs (1957), Mancur Olson (1965), James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock (1962) among others.

The core principles of the theory are:

1. In the political sphere, people aspire to promote their common good.
2. In the pursuit of people's common good, voters, politicians and policy makers are supposed some how to rise above their own parochial concerns.
3. This implies that public choice assumes that people are guided by their self interests but their motivations in political process are not different from those of the people one is associated with. As result voters "vote their pocket books" supporting candidates and ballot propositions they think will make them personally better off.
4. Thus, the individual becomes the fundamental unit of analysis. Public choice rejects the construction of organic decision making units, such as the people, the community, or society. Groups do not make choices, only individuals do.
5. Public and private choice processes differ, not because the motivations of the actors are different, but because of stack differences in the incentives and constraints that channel the pursuit of self interest in two settings.
6. There is no mechanism for making collective choices other than dictatorship that translates the preferences of diverse individuals into a well behaved social utility function, in this case; religion, faith and its application.
7. In this order, voters in democratic elections will tend to be poorly informed about the candidates and issues on the ballot. They act on the directives of the church.

Public choice theory therefore adopts the assumption that all individuals, be they workers, politicians, or bureaucrats, are motivated more by self



interest than by public interest. However, it recognises that men are not angels and focus on institutional rules under which people pursue their objectives. Religious teachings and doctrines being the ultimate among the rules are expected to determine and/or influence the electoral choice of voters and candidates.

This theory enables the paper to investigate: a]. the reactions and contributions of religious groups to electoral processes in Anambra state; b]. The impact or role of religious affiliations and belief in the selection and voting for electoral contestants during elections in the state; c]. The impact of the input from religion on the political structure during the conduct of elections and the conversion of the inputs from the religious institutions by the political structure into output, and the role of religion in the resolution of the political conflicts that characterize Anambra state since 1999. Therefore, I consider this theory appropriate for the study.

## V. DATA COLLECTION AND DISCUSSIONS PARTY PRIMARIES AND ELECTORAL CHOICE IN ANAMBRA STATE

Primary elections are one means by which a political party nominates candidates for the following general election in which other parties contest for public office. Primary elections in the South East particularly Anambra State are generally anarchical, fraudulent and a criminal experience that defies all known theories. The dominant political elites that floated political parties at the national level had their states of origin as their sphere of influence wherein they decide who occupies what position in the party and who becomes each party's flag bearer in the general elections. To legitimize this, they were mandated by their various national secretariats to organise primaries in their state during 1999 and 2003 general elections.

During the various primaries termed "indirect", party membership plays almost no role in choosing party candidates. Carl LeVan [2006] notes that;

*Rather than a congress system, or open primary elections, delegates are nominated by local governments rather than by party members. Since the LGAs depend on the governors for financial and political support they are easily persuaded. This system allows the party near total control over candidate selection and returned all but one of the governors to office in 2003 (see also Kew 2004, 139-173).*

In addition to this, the People's Democratic Party [PDP] constitution (Article 13) for instance provided that political appointees such as ambassadors, ministers and advisors are to become "automatic delegates" at the party convention (Dan-Musa, 2004). Under this circumstance, all the special advisers, assistants, and commissioners at the state level are automatic delegates. But where the party is not

in good terms with the governor, or where the governor belongs to another party, the national Secretariat makes use of the individual "godfathers," who bankroll and use patronage networks to carry out much of the fieldwork for candidates.

In Anambra state however, the godfathers are used to making a list of preferred candidates who have paid for those positions in millions of naira and with the approval of the national secretariat of their political parties impose such on the state structure and party. In addition to paying handsomely for such positions, they equally enter into agreement under oath in any chosen Traditional religious shrine that guarantee the godfathers' access to and control of the state's financial policies, development programmes and appointments after the general elections. It is my argument that the euphoria of the transition from military to civilian regime in 1999 did not allow politician, religious leaders and even researchers to monitor the role of religion in Anambra politics. However, the crisis between Chief Emeka Offor [godfather] and Governor Chinwoke Mbadinuju [whom he installed] between 1999 and 2002 exposed the role played by African Traditional religion [ATR] in the emergence of party candidates. After Dr. Chinwoke Mbadinuju took oath of allegiance to Chief Emeka Offor, the later manipulated the electoral process to ensure the emergence of the former both as the PDP party flag bearer in the primaries and the governor of the state between 1999 and 2003.

This practice continued into 2003 but with a wider and more sophisticated dimension both along the party and religious lines. Ochereome (2005) exposed the role played by African Traditional Religion (ATR) in the selection or choice of Dr. Chris Nwabueze Ngige as the PDP flag bearer during the 2003 general elections in Anambra state while other candidates sought for the blessings and support of all the major religious bodies. Obianyo (2008:17) concurred to this point in the following manner;

*There were other candidates who sought the blessings of the various religious leaders in the state, like Dr Chris Ngige, but never received the endorsement of any major denomination. Dr Chris Ngige is a Catholic who campaigned on a subject very dear to the Catholic Church – that is return of schools to the missions or churches, yet the church never endorsed him.*

The point to be made here is that political office seekers particularly aspirants to the office of the governor appreciated the important role played by religious groups in the emergence of candidates.

Following the problem between the incumbent Governor with his godfather and by extension the PDP, Chief Chris Uba who by virtue of presidential connection and party financing – another acclaimed godfather - was given the mandate to deliver the state for PDP as the Governor has cross-carpeted to Alliance for Democracy

[AD]. Earlier Dr. Chris Ngige – a member of RCC – was said to have approached the church hierarchy for blessing and support but was asked to wait for another period because Mr. Peter Obi who was an aspirant under the All progressive People's Alliance [APGA] had already been chosen as an RCC consensus candidate. He was taken to the famous Okija shrine by Chief Uba for oath of allegiance. Obi emerged as APGA flag bearer without challenges while Chief Uba manipulated the PDP primaries and imposed Ngige as PDP candidate. On the day of the PDP convention, Chief Uba came to the convention venue with buses full of rented people that were perceived to be non-Anambra residents. He stood at the entrance of the convention ground, and handed over the PDP delegate cards to these rented boys. These cards were meant to be given to Local Governments and political appointee delegates as entrance permit to the conventon ground. In the end, Ngige was declared winner, whilst other aspirants either fruitlessly went to the court or decamped to other parties.

The stage was set for a show of electoral power between the individual godfather – Chief Uba, Dr Ngige's sponsor and the institutional godfather – the hierarchy of RCC, Mr. Obi's sponsor. Denominational politics joined forces here as Chief Uba – A member of the Anglican Communion - won the support of the former Bishop of the Niger and Dean of the Anglican Communion, Dr. Anakwenwa. Chief Uba using presidential connection [Ochereome, 2005] got the Independent National Electoral Commission [INEC] to declare Ngige winner while the RCC mobilised its vast majority of popular support that posses documentaries about the elections and filed a suit in the court against the INEC verdict. Through court litigations, the RCC vacated INEC verdict through the presentation of original results from the polls and recovered Mr Obi mandate. Mr. Obi was finally swon in as the governor of the state.

A field investigation carried out to establish the various activities of the two blocks during and after the elections and the reasons behind church's active involvement in the electoral process reveals the followings:

## VI. RELIGION IN ANAMBRA STATE POLITICAL PROCESS

One of the crucial strategies which major contenders to the governorship position in Anambra

state adopted to balance the denominational bias, which in fact authenticates that fundamental influence of religion, was that each candidate choose their deputies from another religious denomination. Obianyo (2008:17) captured it in the following way:

*It is important to point out that all the gubernatorial candidates had their ticket balanced religiously. Mr Peter Obi had as his running mate, Mrs Virgy Etiaba, whom it was alleged was the candidate of the Anglican Archbishop of the Ecclesiastical Province of the Niger. Dr Chris Ngige had as his running mate Dr Okey Ude an Anglican but a relation of his political god father Chief Chris Uba.*

However, the Catholic Church, which has its members as the gubernatorial candidates for the major parties, gave her mandate for Mr. Peter Obi of APGA. While Chris Ubah, an Anglican settled for Dr. Chris Ngige whom he had earlier on led to Okija shrine for oath and who has his (Ubah's) brother an Anglican as his deputy. It is therefore evident that religion played a key role in the selection or emergence of governorship candidate in Anambra state during the 2003 general elections. This fact was supported by data from the field as can be proved by the following reports. To validate or invalidate this opinion, we proceed with our field report being data collected from our respondents on the issue.

## VII. FIELD SURVEY

The questionnaires were evenly distributed to the two dominant Christian denominations in the state whose support for the candidates was considered decisive and which has been competing for the control of the state and its institutions. The entire 1800 respondents are adults with universal suffrage, who may have participated in the said election. Most importantly, 24% of the respondents from the Anglican Communion [AC] and 34.8% from RCC, which constitute 58.8% of the total research sample, are within the age bracket of 45 to 75 years. They belong to the decision making organ of different organisations and wings in their various churches. It is equally from this age bracket that electoral officers, election monitors, party officials and party/candidates' representatives are recruited. They equally belong to the age group that are members of different Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). In essence, they are well informed about and or engaged in all that transpired during the election period and within the electoral system.

The following data were collected as respondents' party membership.

S/N	Question	PDP	ANPP	AC	APGA	others
1.	Which of the following party are you registered in?	34.8%	12%	24%	21.6%	7.6%
2.	Which of the parties did you vote for during the Governorship election in 2003?	9.2%	4.8%	33.2%	52.8%	

Source : field survey report, 2009.

A further inquiry reveals that these respondents numbering 750 belong to different political parties by virtue of registration and membership. The above table shows that 34.8% are card carrying members of the PDP, 12% are members of ANPP, 24% belongs to AC, 21.6% are members of APGA, while only 7.6% are registered members of other political parties. Therefore, by virtue of party membership, our respondents were drawn from major parties in Anambra state. However, they did not vote along party identity during the elections. 9.2% respondents only voted for the PDP when it is on record from the questionnaire that 34.8% were registered members of the PDP. Only 4.8% voted for ANPP when the card carrying members of the party among our respondents constitute 12%. AC was not different because 33.2% voted for AC when its card-carrying members constitute 24% of the study sample. None of the 7.6% of the respondents voted for other parties outside APGA and PDP when they registered with other parties. A total of 52.8% voted for APGA when APGA's card carrying members are only 21.6%. It is therefore clear that our respondents did not vote on the basis of their party affiliations.

An advanced inquiry into what informed their choice of candidate at the polls reveals that 8.4% of the respondents voted out of personal conviction/choice, 16% were influenced by campaign promises/gifts, church membership motivated 21.6% of them to vote for their candidates, and 54% voted for a specific candidate simply because they were instructed by their church leaders to do so. Therefore, majority of the respondents were influenced by religion to make their voting choice.

In addition, 80% of the respondents acceded to the fact that the religious factor played a role in the selection of candidates by different political parties in the state, while only 14.8% disagreed. However, the opinion of the majority was further consolidated by the fact that 98% of the 1800 respondents admitted that their churches prayed for the success of their member gubernatorial candidate for the said election and campaigned for them. Though 71.2% maintained that no threat of sanction was issued by their church leaders against voting for non-member, it is clear from the above that religion played an influential role in the selection and voting behaviour of Anambrarians during the 2003 general elections. No election was conducted in 2007 into the governorship position, therefore, further reflection on this is not possible for now

## VIII. RELIGION AND POLITICAL APPOINTMENT IN ANAMBRA STATE

Researchers have proved that religious influence equally has been a major determinant in the appointment of political office holders in the state. For instance, Obianyo (2008:16-17) noted that;

..... during the administration of both Dr. Ngige and Mr Peter Obi, religious consideration also influenced the various appointments in the state. ... It was also gathered that the head of the various denominations also made input in the cabinet appointments of the incumbent governor Mr Peter Obi. The balancing measures are respected in appointments into other public institutions in the state.

Contrary to this opinion and as a substantiation that religion is considered during political appointments, an aggrieved Anglican Laity Organization known as the Society for Equity, Justice and Peace [SEJP] angered by what it termed "Malicious/Lopsided appointments in Peter Obi's administration against Anglicans", tabularized all the political appointments ranging from the composition of Anambra state Executive Council, appointment of Permanent Secretaries, appointment of staff at the various state Higher Institutions of Learning, Special Advisers to Boards and Parastatals during the February 2010 governorship election in the State.

A detailed compilation of the entire appointments made by Mr. Peter Obi in virtually all the sectors of the state public service and political offices reveals that:

1. In the composition of Anambra State Executive; RCC received 16 out of the 23 post [69.6%], AC has 6 [26.1%] while the Pentecostals only occupied 1 post [4.3%].
2. Recruitment at Nwafor Orizu State College of Education; RCC captured 60 out of the 65 employments made [92.30%], AC got 3 posts [4.62%] while the Pentecostals received 2 posts [3.08%].
3. Appointment of Special Advisers; RCC secured 20 positions out of 27 [74.07%] while AC got 7 representing 25.93%.
4. Appointment of Principal Officers of Statutory Boards and Parastatals; RCC got 16 out of 19 positions available [84.2%] while the AC got 3 i.e. 15.8%.

*Sources : ANIDSCOPE, December [2008]; Sunday Sun Newspaper, March 15 [2009]; The Society for Equity, Justice and Peace [Secretariat of the Diocesan Council of Laity, Diocese of the Niger Awka]*

During the two years tenure of Dr Chris Ngige before he was ousted by the court a brief profile of appointments made showed that he also favoured the RCC also though with a more acceptable balance with the AC more than that of Obi's regime. It could be recalled here that AC sponsored his fraudulent victory. Those appointments are presented below as follows:

s/n	Name	Portfolio	denomination
1.	Dr. Okey Ude	First Deputy Governor	Anglican
2.	Sir Ugochukwu Nwankwo	Second Deputy Governor	Catholic
3.	Mr. Alex Chukwurah	Sec. to State Government	Anglican
4.	Emma C. J. Nwosu	Principal Sec to the Governor	Catholic
5.	Chief Nnabuenyi C. Udoka	Chief of Staff	Anglican
6.	Don I. Anyaegbu	Special Assistant (Admin.)	Anglican
7.	Chief B. L. Chiekwu	Special Assistant (security and int.)	Anglican
8.	Dr. Peter C. Ogbuka	Special Assistant (LG and Chieftaincy affairs)	Catholic
9.	Barr. (Sir) Goddy Agbasi	Chairman LG Service Commission	Catholic
10.	Chief Leo Eleanya	Executive Secretary, LG Service Commission	Catholic
11.	Chief Chris Atuegwu	Commissioner, Special Duties	Catholic
12.	Dr. Ifeanyi Chukwuka	Special Assistant (Mass Mobilization)	Pentecostal
13.	Arch. Emeka Ejikeme	Commissioner for Works	Catholic
14.	Evang. D. S. Nwosu	Special Assistant (Road Maintenance Agency)	Pentecostal
15.	Chief Kenneth Arinze	Commissioner for Commerce and Industry	Catholic
16.	Dr. Emma Udegbonam	Commissioner for Agriculture	Anglican
17.	Professor Brian Adimma	Commissioner for Health	Catholic
18.	Chief Nnoruka Ugochukwu	AG and Commissioner for Justice	Anglican
19.	Professor Leo Muoghalu	Commissioner for Education	Anglican
20.	Comrade Charles Onyeagba	Executive Chairman, Board of Internal Revenue	Catholic
21.	Barr. Mrs. Nonye Nwangwu	Commissioner, Women Affairs	Catholic
22.	Chief Joe Ofokansi	Commissioner for Information	Anglican
23.	Sir Ikechukwu Abana	MD, ABS	Catholic
24.	Barr. Mrs. Berne Nwachukwu	SSA; Legal and General Duties	Anglican
25.	Mr. Chuks Akunna	Chief Press Sec. to the Governor	Anglican
26.	Princes Uzo Okonkwo	SA, Abuja Liaison Office	Anglican
27.	Obidiozor Juliet	Special Assistant to the Governor	Anglican
28.	Sir T. M. C. Egboka	SA, Political Matters	Catholic
29.	Chief Paul Ogbogu	Special Adviser, Political and Assembly Matters	Catholic
30.	Mr. Fred Chukwuelobe	SSA, Media and Publicity	Catholic

Source : Government Printers, Awka.



Those who benefited from these appointments often make financial donations to their church, and do establish connections between their and relevant government institutions and parastatals in terms of requests for specific aids, programmes and events. Through the participation of these government institutions and parastatals, donations are made to these churches, though in most cases unannounced. An interview granted to a senior members of the clergy under pledge of anonymity on December 15, 2010 at Awka reveals this. These increase the financial power of the churches concerned and solidify their dominance over other churches in terms of socio-political relevance.

The result of the field survey conducted to find out the relationship between political interests and donations or the major reason for donations for church projects reveals the following:

*Question:* Which of the following reasons informs major donations in your church?

Believe in church creeds	Identifying with your church	Appreciation of church support for political ambition	Expectation of church support for political ambition
343	129	983	345
19.06%	7.17%	54.61%	19.17%

*Source :* field survey report, 2009.

From the above table, 54.61% admitted that many major donations in their churches outside dues and levies for project were done by politicians in appreciation for the support given to them by the church. While 19.17% agreed that some of the donations were made by those that are anticipating church support for their political ambitions. Put together, 73.78% of our respondents agree that church support for political aspirants of politicians in general attracts project funds.

Certain reliable information has it that most of the Cathedral churches and even mini-cathedrals built in Anambra State between 2006 and 2010 were either partially funded by the governor of the state and other political office holders or completely built by them. Some of the godfathers and political aspirants to highly positioned office have equally built such projects for certain churches and publicly celebrated their completion. For instance, Sir Emeka Offor, a prominent Anambra politician and the political godfather of Dr Chinwoke Mbadinuju [a former governor of the state], has through his foundation built many churches. In addition to these, there is evidence that these political office holders distribute expensive cars like Hummer Sand Jeeps to leaders of these churches. One of the leaders was alleged to have been given a duplex during the 2007 gubernatorial election. On these lies the

desperate and unhindered efficacious political mobilization of their members in support of political aspirants from their denominations during elections. The hostile political environment in the state and the active penal instruments existing in the various churches against deviant members limit our ability to document these pieces of information. However, the political character of this philanthropism lies in the fact that such gifts are really given during election years, and these politicians cease to attend these local churches within their constituencies after the elections.

## IX. CONCLUSION

Religion has been identified as a strong force that influence people's way of life, association and decision. Nigerians like the vast majority of Africans are spiritualists whose tacit belief in the supernatural superiority over man's affairs and in the life after has made them highly amenable to the political choice of their religious leaders. This has however clashed with the ultimate demand of the acclaimed godfathers who by virtue of their wealth distribute money and materials to the masses. This force is considered important and strong due to the increasing level of poverty Nigerians are experiencing. On this note, it must be mentioned here that the leaders of the various religious groups in Anambra state provided the opportunity and ground for the various political aspirants to distribute money and materials to members of their churches as a neutralising factor to the challenge posed by poverty to their control of their members. This together with the power of religious belief neutralized and subdued the individual godfathers in the competition for the election of political office holders in the state.

In essence the political economy of this involvement of the religious leaders is characteristically defined by the financial gains associated with their member emerging victorious in the political contest. It is also associated with the various policy preferences such denomination enjoys in such administration and to the personal gains such leaders enjoy from their member politician. Thus, the major source of support for each political regime in Anambra state determines the nature of political appointments made after elections. Consequently, using the over bearing power of belief system, the religious institutional godfathers became dominant in the democratization processes of the state for purposes of financial benefits.

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# Perception of Violence in International Relations, African Example

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*Abstract* - This paper offers a broad retrospective on the experience of violence in international relations in Africa. It advances several evidences to explain why the history of international relations had such a chequered history of international violence. Increasing rate of violence within and among nation states have led to the widening of inequality gap between the poor and the rich countries of the world such that the campaign for liberal democracy by developed societies is now used as a tool to give human face to their imperial exploitation and domination. This condition that places moral burden on the acclaimed relevance of international relations. The international conditions which confirm the difficulty of this project also underscore its necessity. The breakdown of European colonial empires and the increasing importance of the great powers to mould international affairs have resulted in an unruly world which contains a large number of small, youthful nations with little experience in self-government and less in international affairs. These nations, often poor and frequently squabbling are the scene of enormous human suffering resulting from natural causes, human incompetence, or old-fashioned greed and viciousness. The great powers themselves contribute in various ways to human anguish, not least by maintaining the threat of nuclear war.

*GJHSS-C Classification : FOR Code: 160605, 160504, 160506*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Perception of Violence in International Relations, African Example

Dickson Ogbonnaya Igwe (M.Phil.)

**Abstract** - This paper offers a broad retrospective on the experience of violence in international relations in Africa. It advances several evidences to explain why the history of international relations had such a chequered history of international violence

Increasing rate of violence within and among nation states have led to the widening of inequality gap between the poor and the rich countries of the world such that the campaign for liberal democracy by developed societies is now used as a tool to give human face to their imperial exploitation and domination. This condition that places moral burden on the acclaimed relevance of international relations. The international conditions which confirm the difficulty of this project also underscore its necessity. The breakdown of European colonial empires and the increasing importance of the great powers to mould international affairs have resulted in an unruly world which contains a large number of small, youthful nations with little experience in self-government and less in international affairs. These nations, often poor and frequently squabbling are the scene of enormous human suffering resulting from natural causes, human incompetence, or old-fashioned greed and viciousness. The great powers themselves contribute in various ways to human anguish, not least by maintaining the threat of nuclear war. Their enormous power and wide ranging interests seem to have dulled their moral sensibility rather than the reverse. Immense resources have allowed them to ignore the thinking of others and the genuine condition of the world, as well as the real limitation of their own power- luxuries which other nations cannot afford. Any effort such as this, to explore resolution through critical content analysis and proffering the way forward underscores the necessity of this paper.

## I. INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to say whether international violence is more prevalent at the present than at other times. A recent tally of world conflict shows more than forty wars of one type or another, involving more than forty nations, or nearly one quarter of the nations of the world (Elfstrom, 1990). Since the end of the Second World War, the toll of human life lost resulting from conflicts of this sort has run to the tens of millions, with more injury and destruction of property than can be counted (Beer, 1981). In addition, small-scale assaults on innocent persons, so-called acts of terror, seem a daily occurrence. While the toll of human life lost in these attacks is comparatively small, far less than caused by automobiles, alcohol or the other ills of modern life, its

psychological impact is substantial. The threat of terrorist assault appears to weigh more heavily than the acts themselves. This threat minor, however, in comparison with the different and more permanent threat of nuclear warfare. Other periods of human history may equal the present in violence, but the great burden of contemporary life is the overwhelming nuclear threat and the way it spills out and charges actual conflict.

The great powers of the world are locked in an enduring and frequently bitter confrontation. This global confrontation has often enveloped others, lesser, confrontations and made them part of the larger struggle, surrogates for the violence the great powers do not dare to inflict on one another. The struggle of the great powers has resulted in a great amassing of arms and much posturing and manoeuvring, but little overt confrontation. This tension nonetheless feeds itself into smaller conflicts, making them symbols of the larger contest. Often this tie results in the involvement of more, and more advanced, weaponry, or pushes the scope of conflict beyond its natural limit.

Powerful weapons, massed armies, complex and global conflict are features of the mass violence of nations. But this violence is interlinked with a violence of a different sort, discrete violence. Small groups of political extremists, the politically displaced and disaffected, or revolutionaries often lack the resources to match the violence of nations. Instead, they may resort to discrete acts which can be undertaken with few people and limited equipment- acts of bombing kidnapping, hijacking, assassination, and sabotage. Small numbers and light armament offer mobility, flexibility and stealth. Yet such acts often receive attention and have repercussions far out of proportion to the resources they require. Discrete violence is often, loosely and inaccurately, labelled 'terrorism'. But only some of these acts have the goal of generating fear, and only some combatants see fear as an important means to their ends.

Discrete violence has become identified in the public mind of Western industrialised nations with these small, unstable, impecunious political groups. Discrete violence is employed by the CIA and the KGB, not to mention Libya and Syria or other nations of the Mid East, as recent studies have shown (Livingstone, 1982). Discrete violence is as much a tool of national governments as of disaffected and brutalised political groups. The major difference is that this mode of

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violence is available to small groups in a way that the instruments of mass violence possessed by nations are not. What has changed recently is the introduction of new techniques, those of attacking political opponents like the bomb blast in Abuja, Nigerian capital city on October 1st, 2010 allegedly aimed to destabilise the ongoing Nigeria independence anniversary celebration at Eagle square. Kidnappers and sea Pirates are on rampage in some places like Somalia and Nigeria sea waters attacking and vandalising pipeline installation in Nigeria's Niger Deltar, and kidnapping of suspected rival or political opponents or their wards and demanding ransoms before release. In Nigeria and beyond, discrete violence is made a center of attention because it commercialised into a serious business of great concern to both Nigerians and foreigners.

## II. VIOLENCE CONCEPTUALISED

Simply circumscribed, violence or a violent act involves threat or actual execution of acts which have actual or potential capacity to inflict physical, emotional or psychological injury on a person or a group of persons. All sorts of other definitions are, of course, conceivable (Short and Wolfgang, 1972; Ball-Rokeech, 1972).

Dahrendorf (1959) also thinks that when oppressed groups are allowed the right to organize and voice their grievances, the chances of violent conflict are decreased. Coser (1967) and Heberle (1951) formulate hypotheses and generalizations along the same lines. Turner (1964) emphasizes the importance of the general public as well as the authorities when he writes that "the public ... observes, interprets, and labels the movement. The public definition affects the character of recruitment to the movement, the means which the movement is able to use, and thus the strategies which the movement evolves and the kind of opposition it encounters." While one can easily lengthen the list of supporting quotations, Killian (1964) sums it up appropriately: "Whatever the influence of other variables, the influence of the opposition and of the public reaction to a movement cannot be over-emphasized."

The great merit of all these views is that they do not look upon the values, goals, ideology, and especially the means of conflict used by a protest group as a fixed, constant quantity. Instead, the means used to pursue conflict are the result of a process of interaction between the conflict groups. In particular, the reception of the protest groups and the reaction of the authorities and agents of social control are singled out as very important. If the authorities are unresponsive, block channels of communication, do not provide the opportunity for peaceful protest, and refuse to make concessions, and so on, the likelihood of violent conflict increases. While the magnitude of strain, type of strain, and the number of grievances account for the increase

of conflict and threaten to overload and break down the existing institutions of conflict regulation, the magnitude and forms that conflict is likely to have are explained primarily with reference to the interaction between authorities and protesters.

In contrast, this issue has been discussed most recently by Huntington (1968), who starts with de Tocqueville's observation on these matters, or what I would like to call de Tocqueville's paradox. In his discussion of the antecedent of the French Revolution, de Tocqueville (1955: 176-177) observes that:

*it is not always when things are going from bad to worse that revolutions break out. On the contrary, it often happens that when person who has put up with an oppressive rule over a long period without protest suddenly finds the government relaxing its pressure, it takes up arms against it. Thus the social order overthrown by a revolution is almost always better than the one immediately preceding it, and experience teaches us that, generally speaking, the most perilous moment for a bad government is one that seeks to mend its ways. Only consummate statecraft can enable a king to save his throne when after a long spell of oppressive rule he sets out to improve the lot of his subjects.*

From a utilitarian perspective, the steps to a moral justification for relying on violence of any sort are simple. The use of violence must be directed toward the achievement of clear-cut goals, and the value of the goals to be achieved must outweigh the cost of the violent means of achieving them. Unfortunately this elegant simplicity dissolves into formidable complexity with the attempt to put these principles into practice as guides to political action. Part of the difficulties lies with the character of violence when considered as a means. It is only rational to choose means which are readily controlled, which carry some assurance of achieving their goal, and which are not likely to incur additional costs. What is more, a means which carries great cost is only justified if the results it achieves substantially outweigh those costs.

## III. VIOLENCE AS A MEANS

Resort to violence always involves a substantial cost, that of the destruction of the lives or the security of individual human beings. Indeed, whatever value it may have in utilitarian terms depends on the presence of this cost. That is to say, its value is as a coercive instrument for achieving ends, whether they be national liberation, correction of injustice or imperialist domination. Because of this, only the gravely irrational or the morally bankrupt engage in acts of violence for their own sake. But, it must be understood, this is not because violent activity is without intrinsic satisfactions for those who indulge in it. The public and sensitive writers are well aware of the pleasures which accompany violent activity (Gray,

1973). A complete understanding of its use and control depends on grasping this. That is, the attractiveness of violence must be understood. This difficulty of course, is that this attraction for the wielder of violent means must always be weighed against its cost to victims, and possibly to the user as well. It is difficult to imagine circumstances where any intrinsic satisfaction resulting from violence can match the pain, anguish or death inflicted on its victims.

Since whatever intrinsic value violence may possess for the wielder will normally be outweighed by its cost, its use must be justified by some extrinsic goal. One difficulty is that it is comparatively rare for the extrinsic goal of violence to be accomplished simultaneously with the violent act itself. Sometimes the two will coincide, as when violence is used to free captives or to kill a brutal and deadly leader. Most often, though, the ostensibly justifying goal of violence will, at best, be only indirectly furthered by the act itself, as when a bombing raid is undertaken in the attempt to force a government to end its support for terrorist groups, or when government officials are kidnapped to press for the release of political prisoners. This distinction between the immediate results of violence and its further consequences underscores the uncertainty of violence when used as a means. The immediate result of violence is, say, an airfield destroyed or a government official killed. But these results do not, in and of themselves, justify the act. An airfield is destroyed to pressure a government to end its support of terrorist groups, and it is this further consequence that ostensibly justifies the act, not the immediate outcome. But there is no direct causal link between the immediate result and the desired further consequence. All too often the connection between the two is only wishful thinking. Because of the frequently tenuous connection between means employed and ends to be achieved, the resort to violence must be a calculated risk at best. The act can only be justified by the achievement of its goal, but if there is a substantial degree of doubt that the act will fail, this too must be considered. A risk factor which is sufficiently large will deflate the value of any goal. This applies with particular force to acts of violence, since their negative costs will normally be much more certain than any purportedly justifying benefit.

In sum, because violence always involves a serious cost, and this cost is explosive and difficult to control, it is unjustified if other means are available—even if these other means are slower, require more determined effort, and are less inherently satisfying. But this reveals a substantial advantage of acts of violence. They achieve their effects quickly. Where human life is in immediate danger, resort to violence may be preferable to other, slower, and less decisive methods. Normally, then, violence will be most clearly justified only where

there is immediate threat to human life, and insufficient time for other methods to work.

#### IV. WARFARE

The resort to mass violence is the most intrusive symptom of the Hobbesian state of nature which exists in international affairs. On this level, violence often seems the most satisfying way of exerting one's will or of fending off the unwanted attentions of others. Violence is readily perceived as quick, satisfying and direct. National leaders understand all too well that the flourish of arms is an excellent means of welding national unity or diverting attention from pressing domestic turmoil. The resort to arms, where successful, is hugely popular. At the very least, it can be touted as a mark of decisiveness, the fortitude to come to grips with problems. What is more, it is action, movement. Masses like to see their leaders doing things, and violence is the most spectacular and riveting doing of all. Thus, means which, it would seem, should be reserved for the last resort often become the first resort, and it is all too easy to see why.

Of the factors that allow international violence to flourish and make it appear attractive to national leaders, two loom above the rest. Nation-states have a monopoly of the instruments of mass violence, and there is nobody with the authority or means to prevent them from using it. The latter condition defines what philosophers going back to Hobbes have understood as the state of nature, and the activity of nations has frequently appeared quite Hobbesian. But what is often overlooked is that there are no effectual internal constraints, within nations, working strongly against the resort to violent means. There is no strong, active and influential constituency within nations capable of forestalling the decision to resort to violence. In part this because, when violence is directed outward, there are no groups within nations whose interests are directly harmed by it. And there are often important sectors, the military and arms makers in particular, who reap substantial benefits from it. Then too, the speed and secrecy, which is often claimed to be an essential ingredient of planning military operations, forestalls public debate and prevents the formation of effective opposition. Also, and not incidentally, there is a strong emotional urge for citizens of nations to draw together when confronted with physical and external threat.<sup>5</sup> When faced with violent crisis, it often seems that unit is essential and that doubting and questioning should be reserved for a time when the urgency has passed.

Wars can only destroy. But sometimes destruction is necessary, to prevent further destruction. It is important to keep clearly in mind that nothing grand can be achieved by war. Sometimes a tyrant can be overthrown and freedom gained, but this freedom is only the limited and particular freedom from oppression of that particular tyrant. Freedom in the larger and grander

sense of self-determination and individual flourishing cannot be attained by this means. The instrument of war can only remove some of the conditions that prevent this grander freedom from being attained. It is this negative function, that of removing the causes of misery, which wars are fitted to serve. Most wars are unjustified, but some are, and when they are, they are likely to be the only instrument that can serve the purpose.

## V. PROJECTION OF POWER

In spite of the dismaying frequency of wars, the most common use of the organized forces of mass destruction by nation-states is what analysts term 'projection of power'. National leaders are resourceful at finding ways to make use of military forces for purposes other than all out warfare. Indeed, given the coercive potential of the instruments of mass destruction, it would be surprising if they had not done so. These uses, though, require somewhat greater finesses than does war if their employment is to be successful.

Projection of force is the international deployment of arms for limited acts of violence or simply manoeuvring them in a way that signals of threat or messages of support are conveyed to interested parties. The latter, signalling, modes of projection are likely the most widely and frequently used and quite possibly the most benign. The various ways of projecting power, the purposes sought, and their rates of success have all been carefully studied (Blechman, 1978; Pfaltzgraff Jr. And Kemp, 1982).

When the projection of force involves limited incidents of violence, the acts are not greatly different in nature or in principle from the discrete violence of the weak, the so-called acts of terror. Bombing performed by airplane, for example, seems little different in its nature than from bombing by smuggled suitcase. The release of hostages by commando raid hardly differs from those sprung in a prison break. For a number of reasons, there are likely to be differences both in the manner these acts take place and in their immediate targets. Terrorist groups are less likely to take on military installations and in consequence more likely to harm civilians by their acts. The violence of nations is most often directed against military targets but is also prone to result in unintended destruction. Both types of violence are probably equally likely to be misused. Nonetheless, in principle it is difficult to see why one class of acts should be thought intrinsically less benign or savage than the other. For both, the only ultimate justification can be that the act of violence results in lives being saved or the security of life increased.

The lesson is that projections of force do have a use, even a valuable and necessary one, but are of limited effectiveness and often unsuited to the grandiose goals which politicians and soldiers are likely to seek by means of them. The Israeli raid at Entebbe, for example,

not only resulted in the immediate release of hostages but quite likely served to forestall future terrorist attacks. It is good example of a justified use of limited violence. It involved great risk, to be sure, but risk which was minimized by elaborate planning and precise execution (Livingston, 1986). However, cases like this are rare. Most instances of discrete violence are poorly planned, shoddily executed, and only tenuously connected to justifying goals-which themselves are often vague and amorphous.

## VI. DISCRETE VIOLENCE

Terrorism appears to be a matter of how discrete violence is carried out and also of who carries it out. The use of the term 'terrorist' to describe such acts seems to connote that they are designed to produce fear (Sofaer, 1986). The diverse array of bombings of airplanes in 1985 and 1986 certainly produced fear- and probably had the concrete effect of reducing the number of American travellers to Europe and the Mid-East for a time. It is not clear, however, that causing this fear was the motive for the bombings, which usually are claimed to be retaliatory, or that there are any concrete goals to which such fear may be linked.

The array of acts normally thought of as terrorist usually includes such things as bombings, kidnappings, assassinations, etc. They seem to differ from ordinary criminal activity in that they are ostensibly not performed either for their own sake or for the personal gain of the perpetrators but are in service of political goals or at least undertaken by groups with political aspirations (Livingstone, 1986). Discrete violence may thus be characterized as small-scale acts of violence intended to further the goals of a political group. Sometimes the purposes of these acts will include the generation of fear, and sometimes it is expected that this will aid in the achievement of further substantive goals. In so far as violent attacks are intended to produce fear or may reasonably be expected to produce fear as a consequence, they may properly be thought of as terrorism, but this will apply only to a small portion of the acts usually considered as terrorist.

Because such discrete assaults may be carried out with limited resources and small numbers of personnel, they are available for use by miniscule, weak and impoverished groups in a way that conventional military activity is not (Elfstrom, 1990). Furthermore, and most importantly, the means required for these acts-the equipment and personnel, can be kept hidden until put into use. Conventional military forces are difficult to hide and are removed from the eyes of the public only with some difficulty. This concealability is an important factor for weak groups at work in adverse circumstances. But, in some ways, this limits the usefulness of discrete violence. Massive arrays of conventional weaponry serve as constantly visible reminders of the power of

governments, and can thus have continuing effect on the thought and action of others even when not put to use. Discrete violence, however, becomes visible only when used and is readily forgotten when not employed. Groups wishing to rely on it as a continuing source of power and influence must repeatedly employ it if it is to have continued effect. Nuclear missiles, for example, need not be fired in order to loom large in the thinking of numberless people. The terrorism of the Red Brigades in Europe of the 1970s, however, had to be continually re-employed, or they were quickly forgotten.

The greatest incentive for abuse, however, results from the ease of covering one's tracks in such matters. Leaders, whether of nations or of disaffected political groups, are most likely to act irresponsibly when they can act secretly, for this removes them from public accountability. Given the present international situation world opinion and peer pressure are the strongest single forces for moral accountability. Secrecy and covert activity allow them to be evaded (Elfstrom, 1990).

The other difficulty is that once such means come to be used by one nation or one political group, others will be tempted to follow suit, with an increase in violence and anarchy the result. If this sort of violence becomes a common tool of international affairs, whatever shreds of civility and decency remain in international dealings will likely be ripped away.

## VII. ARMS CONTROL

The mass violence of nations is all too easily misused. Even those who are otherwise responsible in their use of military forces sometimes find themselves locked in the sort of conflict with others where resort to arms is a temptation. Given these difficulties, resourceful leaders will seek out alternative ways of dealing with adversity. In addition, of course, all agree that humanity would be better off if the world were free of military weaponry. Failing that human beings would be better off if they could decrease either the likelihood or the destructiveness of the resort to military force.

In theory there are a number of ways to go about seeking these ends. Control of violence and the instruments of violence by an international agency may ultimately be the most thorough way of affecting this. However, an agency of this sort is unlikely to be established at any time in the near future, primarily because governments are presently unwilling to give up enough of their sovereignty to allow it to operate effectively and are unlikely to agree on specific goals and procedures of control. Given this, such attempts must involve individual governments, acting on their own initiative or in loose confederation with others. They may seek to avoid violence by pledges of non-aggression; by attempts to establish cultural, economic or political ties; or they can attempt to reduce or eliminate armaments. These various strategies thus focus either on intentions

(by pledging to forgo developing the intention to resort to force), or on motives (by creating incentives to avoid the use of force), or on the capacity for violence (by controlling armaments).

The instability of intentions, opportunities for deception, and their invisible and elusive nature, serve to make the first approach a slender reed at best. In the long term, and ideally, eliminating the motives for resort to arms would be most desirable, but, given current conditions, hostility, conflicts of ideology or interest, and mutual suspicion limit the potential effectiveness of this approach. The mechanisms available to seek such effects, namely trade and cultural interchange, have generally proven too weak to make any significant difference.

The remaining option is the attempt to control arms themselves. This approach is attractive, since eliminating the capacity to resort to force is obviously effective in preventing violent clashes. Armaments are more stable than intentions in that, once destroyed, they cannot be recreated instantly. They are also relatively visible and hidden only with difficulty, so they can be seen and counted in a way that intentions cannot. Also, and most importantly, they are malleable and vulnerable in a way that, sadly, hostility, suspicion and conflict of interest are not. Weapons can be destroyed. History demonstrates that hostility and suspicion are much more durable. Thus it is easy to see why attempts at arms control have recently received much more attention than other options as a means of attempting to mitigate or eliminate the resort to violence. But it remains important to attempt to understand exactly what arms control is, what is able to achieve and what it cannot achieve.

Wisely crafted arms control agreements, founded on good will are thus capable of increasing stability and reducing incentive to go to war, as long as they focus on the features of weapons systems which increase the temptation to initiate hostility. Hagglng about numbers in many cases will not address this issue. Nonetheless, the basic force of these agreements is on the capacity to initiate war. To a lesser degree the process itself can operate on motives, by creating an atmosphere of greater trust and understanding. Such treaties cannot by themselves avert war. There will always be strong pressures working to undermine them. Arms control treaties can play a role, perhaps even a crucial one, in creating a more stable world order, but they are not capable of doing the job themselves. They are worth pursuing because they are capable of achieving substantial benefit at little cost, but it would be unwise to expect too much from them.

## VIII. CONTROL OF DISCRETE POLITICAL VIOLENCE

In the nature of things discrete political violence must be controlled by the governments of nation-states



if it is to be controlled at all. For one thing, governments themselves are often implicated in acts of discrete violence, whether by helping to instigate, finance, or plan them, or by carrying them out themselves. Recent efforts by the international community to come to terms with such acts bear witness to this, for they have acknowledged the governmental tie in such matters. Nonetheless, it remains true that many of the incidents of discrete violence are the work of small factions without governmental ties, and these, obviously, will not be controlled unless by governments. Small groups of this sort pop in and out of existence in rapid fashion. They are apt to exhibit wide ranges of seriousness or desperation and are often anarchic by nature. However, they are capable of acts of violence of sufficient magnitude to inflict significant damage to life and property and, sometimes, to create a climate of fear. In the summer of 1986, for example, American tourist all but deserted Europe for fear of terrorist acts, even though only a very small number of American travellers had been harmed in Europe in such incidents. The events themselves, however, created great publicity and generated substantial anxiety.

It is highly unlikely that any particular mode of response is capable of being adequate to deal with all forms of discrete violence at all times and places. It is also possible that these acts and these groups will wither away and simply cease to cause difficulty in a decade, as American radical groups have become nearly extinct (Alexander, 1976). They may flare up once more in the future, or they may not. The present discussion can only focus on current problems and current groups. Some features of its analysis may hold good for all future outbursts, but it is unlikely that any and all of its aspects will remain permanently viable. The temporary and fluctuating nature of these threats again underscores the point that draconian measures of response are unwarranted morally as well as practically, both because the threat may evaporate spontaneously and because particular counter-measures can be effective only against particular modes of discrete violence.

The moral and practical problems of controlling discrete political violence break in two. They can be called problems of response and problems of association. The problems of response are focused on means of reacting to acts of violence themselves. They include passive preventative measures, such as monitoring devices, security checks and armed guards at airports or other public centres, as well as security measures for embassies, until recently another popular target. Though cumbersome and expensive, these measures of passive prevention are unproblematic. It is fairly easy to know what is required, and little more is required than setting up a protective system and maintaining it. The material cost may be considerable,

but the risk to human life and well-being entailed by such measures is small.

Another set of problems of response include those of managing crises in progress-events such as kidnappings and hijackings, or the Iranian hostage crisis-which extend over periods of time and require continuing attention. Many of these difficulties are purely practical ones of discovering the most effective strategies for dealing with kidnappers. This body of knowledge is growing, and techniques are becoming more effective (Bennett, J. P., 1979). Difficulties of a more pointed sort arise when hostages are being held in another nation either under that nation's auspices, as in Iran in 1980, or with the collusion of that nation, as at Entebbe. It is implausible to believe that force should never be used in such situations. Sometimes it will be the only hope of saving captives. Sometimes, as evidence shows, a strong and decisive response will be necessary to deter future acts (Livingstone, 1986).

## IX. THE PROBLEMS OF RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE

With the violent nature of the world, resort to violence is often necessary, morally, to save lives, nurture human security, or create order- and the refusal to countenance the means of violence will often result in increased loss of life and the erosion of security. So some violence is justified and may sometimes be morally obligatory. Nonetheless, because of its deficiencies as a means, the narrow range of goals which it is suited to achieve, and the permanent danger that it will be misused, it is important to seek means to control it. The thesis of the present work is that reasoned criteria for the proper use of violence can be established, it is reasonable to expect leaders to adhere to these criteria, and that there are feasible means of controlling violence available.

### a) *Transitions from Violence*

The transitions from armed force to non-violent means of dealing with conflicts that I wish to consider in this section are not only the changes that result from a victory, but the more subtle transitions that can take place when many people discover that violence is incapable of achieving their objectives.

I am not so much concerned with what one might call the Versailles or the Nuremberg ways of concluding a war, when in effect the victors determine the conditions for the restoration of peace, and the vanquished for a time at least are incapable of resisting the terms imposed on them by the victors. The victors seek redress, restitution, often revenge. At the Nuremberg trials justice was seen as the infliction of their just deserts upon the perpetrators of atrocities and crimes against humanity on the defeated side. But this had little to do with reconciliation, forgiveness, the healing of memories and the restoration of relationships.



After the First World War the post-war settlement visited a punishment believed, by the victors, to be just upon the whole defeated population. The bitterness and recrimination which resulted fuelled the disputes which culminated in the Second World War. In neither situation was the process of the establishment of peace seen as primarily restorative, as oriented to the future, as concerned with healing relationships rather than settling past accounts. This way there was no easy escape from the cycle of recrimination, no healing of memories, little stress on penitence and forgiveness.

I would like to reflect briefly on situations where neither side any longer believes it can win, and many people conclude that the continuation of military action makes the achievement of a good and happy resolution of the conflict less and less likely. The particularities of such situations vary widely, and it is difficult to generalize. But lessons can perhaps be learned from a brief discussion of two such situations in recent times — South Africa after the collapse of the apartheid regime, and Northern Ireland today.

In South Africa they have been attempting an alternative approach to peacemaking after their apartheid past, with all its atrocities and wounds and bitterness. They are using 'a different kind of justice' (Boraine, 2000), which is restorative and healing, rooted both in Christian faith and in African tradition, and which sees justice as 'indispensable in the initial formation of political associations' with forgiveness as 'an essential servant of justice' (Donard and Shriver, 1995). They have been engaged in what Desmond Tutu calls 'the difficult but ultimately rewarding path of destroying enemies by turning them into friends' (Tutu, 1999). The issues of guilt and of retribution are not avoided or disguised, but they are put within a broader frame and a fuller understanding of justice and its end. The truth must be faced and moral responsibility accepted; the attitudes of the victims towards the perpetrators must be taken into account, for reconciliation is the ultimate aim. Perpetrators as well as victims need rehabilitation and healing. Justice and reconciliation rest on truth-telling, which is in itself often healing. Charles Villa-Vicencio explains the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission:

*Our task is to explain and to understand, making every effort to enter the mind of even the worst perpetrators — without allowing those who violate the norms of decency to escape the censure of society (Wilson, 2001; p.34).*

The Commission held hearings throughout the country under slogans such as 'Revealing is Healing', 'Truth, the Road to Reconciliation', and 'The Truth Hurts, But Silence Kills' (Tutu, 1999), inviting people to tell their stories and listen to the stories of others, for the healing of memories, for the redress of offences, for the overcoming of animosities and the lies that hostility

engenders, and above all, quite consciously for reconciliation.

Agreement recognises the necessity of gradualness, of the slow building of confidence between those who have been for long enemies, of the tolerance within one province of two or more types of citizenship identity. The long-term future of Northern Ireland can be left open for a prolonged period of time, on the assumption that as confidence and trust grow it may be possible to move slowly towards an agreed long-term political settlement. This gives time for healing, for the 'reconciliation of memories' (Falconer and Liechty, 1998), and for the steady gathering of support around a vision of the peaceable future of Northern Ireland. Such a vision may be articulated, commended and defended by politicians, academics, church and community leaders of integrity and imagination, such as Garrett Fitzgerald, the former Taoiseach of the Republic, (CTPI, 1987) John Hume or David Trimble.

Both South Africa and Northern Ireland show in striking form the continuing importance not simply of religious rhetoric, but of central religious insights in non-violent conflict resolution, as there is a move away from violence to other, less harmful ways of dealing with deep-seated conflicts. And these two examples raise important questions about the appropriate way of responding to terrorism.

## X. ALTERNATIVE MODES OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

I would like to consider in this section two alternative modes of dealing with conflicts: Gandhi's satyagraha, which has emphatically religious roots, (Bishop, 1981) and sanctions, as used against South Africa in the days of apartheid, or against Iraq. I then want to make some brief comments on recent initiatives in 'just peacemaking' and conflict resolution.

a) *Satyagraha was explained by Gandhi as follows:*

It is a movement intended to replace methods of violence and a movement based entirely on truth. It is, as I have conceived it, an extension of the domestic law on the political field, and my experience has led me to the conclusion that that movement, and that alone, can rid India of the possibility of violence spreading throughout the length and breadth of the land, for the redress of grievances (Gandhi, 1961).

*Satyagraha* rests on rigorous spiritual discipline. It 'laughs at the might of the tyrant and stultifies him by non-retaliation and non-retiral' (Gandhi, 1961). It makes a sharp distinction between the evil and the evil-doer. A Satyagrahi 'must have a living faith in God', (Gandhi, 1961) 'must not harbour illwill or bitterness' against the evil-doer, and 'will always try to overcome evil by good, anger by love, untruth by truth, *himsa* by *ahimsa*' (Gandhi, 1961). The means are believed to determine the end; violence seldom if ever leads to reconciliation.

In the Indian Independence struggle, *satyagraha* operated remarkably effectively as a kind of moral blackmail of the agents of the British Raj. It was a technique of appealing to the conscience and the reason of one's opponent by inviting suffering on oneself. The opponent, it is hoped, will be converted and become a friend and ally. The moral appeal to the heart and mind of the opponent is both more effective and more morally acceptable than the threat or exercise of violence. *Satyagraha's* record of achieving independence with minimal violence and in binding together the community in the struggle so that it was not only a way of achieving independence, it was also the beginning of a process of nation-building that had great significance in the initial framing of the Republic of India after Gandhi's death. *Satyagraha* also tackled, with some success, the purification of India from untouchability and the excesses of the caste system. It did not treat India as simply an innocent victim of imperialism; India too had to be purified, disciplined and renewed if it was to be fit for independence. It is not surprising that it exercised great influence not only on the civil rights struggle in the United States, but in movements for independence throughout Africa and parts of Asia.

Yet even Gandhi himself recognised that there were situations where *satyagraha* could not be effective. But for all that, *satyagraha* should be recognised as an immensely significant non-military and non-violent way of resolving conflicts which leaves less entail of bitterness and hurt and enables reconciliation and nation-building. It is effective in some situations but not in all.

Sanctions have been much discussed and used in recent times as a non-violent or non-military way of resolving conflicts (Pentland, 2002). But sanctions may mean different things, and may be used for very different purposes. Economic sanctions may be used as a way of punishing or disabling an antagonist before or after military conflict, or in support of armed action. Sanctions may be a serious way of bringing economic and political pressure to bear on an antagonist to force him to give way or compromise, or at least to come to the negotiating table. On the other hand, some sanctions are important primarily for their symbolic value, as a way of making a dramatic statement of principle. Some people suggest that sanctions are by their nature morally preferable to the use of military force, and appropriate in almost all circumstances, but this is, I think, questionable. But perhaps just war criteria may be helpful in analysing some of the moral issues that can arise in the use of sanctions.

The sanctions deployed against apartheid South Africa were of various kinds. Boycotts of South African goods were sponsored by a variety of church and anti-apartheid groups, and encouraged by a number of prominent church leaders and others within

South Africa. These boycotts had rather little direct economic impact on the South African economy, but they represented a powerful expression of solidarity, and offered many opportunities for education about the realities of apartheid. The impact within South Africa of the sport and cultural boycotts was far more considerable. These, while in themselves exercising little economic or political pressure, forced many South African Whites to ask why the rest of the world was so vehement in rejecting apartheid, and assured many South African Blacks that they had much support outside South Africa. Disinvestment and the arms embargo had more direct political and economic consequences, and it has been argued that the economic pressure on South Africa was the single most important cause for the release of Nelson Mandela and the mounting recognition that apartheid could not be sustained.

The sanctions against Iraq were, of course, of a different order. They followed a destructive military action which, in as far as it successfully achieved its stated objective by repelling aggression against Kuwait, seemed to fit *ius ad bellum* criteria. The Gulf War has had serious continuing impact on the Iraqi civilian population through destruction of the infrastructure. The war was less successful in achieving other, less openly stated, objectives such as removing Saddam Hussein from power, or destroying the capacity of Iraq to manufacture and use weapons of mass destruction. Sanctions following the war were apparently aimed at objectives such as these, but were singularly and disgracefully ineffective in achieving their objectives. In as far as their devastating effects were primarily on the civilian population they would seem to fall foul of the principles of discrimination and non-combatant immunity. Indeed sanctions against Iraq, backed up as they were by frequent air strikes in support of the no-fly zones, looked like punishment of the people of Iraq rather than a responsible use of non-military means to achieve a political goal, in particular the restoration of peace in the region. If just intention means that the use of military or non-military means is only allowable to resolve a conflict and achieve peace and reconciliation, the sanctions against Iraq seem to me to be highly questionable on moral grounds. Here sanctions are simply war carried on by other means, and perhaps without as close a moral scrutiny as armed conflict is accustomed to receive. Certainly sanctions against Iraq following its 1991 defeat seem to be of a radically different moral order from sanctions against South Africa aimed at supporting the ending of apartheid (Pentland, 2002).

It is much to be welcomed that a great deal of attention is being devoted today not only to what makes a just peace, but to ways of encouraging mediation and negotiations to resolve deep-seated disputes (Stassen, 1992). Glen Stassen and his colleagues have laid down

'Ten Practices of Just Peacemaking', which they are testing out in situations of deeply entrenched conflict like the Balkans. In Stassen's book, David Steele outlines ten criteria for effective 'Co-operative Conflict Resolution'. These call for those involved to understand the perspectives and needs of their adversaries; to listen carefully before making judgements; to distinguish judgements about behaviour and actions from judgements about people or cultures; to acknowledge their own involvement in the creation of conflict; to be transparent and honest in all their dealings; to encourage partnership in problem solving; to use force only to create space for a non-violent solution; to be willing to take risks; to support long-term solutions; and to recognise justice and peace as being correlative to one another. Such guidelines or principles have, of course, a variety of roots, in common sense, theology, and traditions of diplomacy, to name but a few. One of the more important of such roots may be Habermas's 'discourse ethics', and positing of an 'ideal speech situation' in which consensus may be achieved, and all the participants are free to speak their minds without intimidation, constraint, fear, threat or privileged discourses.

Everyone who has an interest, or something relevant to say, should be entitled to participate in the discussion. People concerned with conflict resolution who not only hear words, but listen to people carefully and critically are more likely, in dialogue with the people to whom they are attentive, to develop understandings of what peace may require in a particular context. In dialogue and in listening, relationship and community are built up and we discover together how conflicts may be resolved.

According to John Forester, a planner much indebted to Habermas: Developing the ability to listen critically is a political necessity. Listening well is a skilled performance. It is political action, not simply a matter of a friendly smile and good intentions. Without real listening, not simply hearing, we cannot have a shared, critical and evolving political life together. In listening we may still better understand, explain, and cut through the pervasive 'can't', the subtle ideological distortions we so often face, including, of course, our own misunderstandings of who we are and may yet be. Listening well, we can act to nurture dialogue and criticism, to make genuine presence possible, to question and explore all that we may yet do and yet become (Forester, 1989). In the practice of peacemaking, Habermas's discourse ethics can be shown to 'work', and only so can people be brought together and held together in a just community; because for Habermas the *telos* of speech and interaction is reaching understanding rather than asserting control.

## XI. CONCLUSION

Given the obvious ills which international violence entails, and given the propensity of national leaders for its use, it may seem that the only solution is to renounce it entirely, in all its forms. Unfortunately the present international situation does not allow this response, a response as simple and satisfying in its way as the resort to violence itself. The world is, and is likely to remain for some time, a cockpit where many nations and many groups of people have access to means of violence and the incentive to use them. It is also a world of numerous independent and sovereign nations displaying a broad range of moral sensitivity and responsibility. This spectrum includes the relatively enlightened and the absolutely tyrannical, those actively working for the benefit of their subjects and those who are a great menace to the lives and well-being of their citizens. It is a world where many governments, and many peoples, have deep-seated and bitterly-felt antipathies to one another.

With the violent nature of the world, resort to violence is often necessary, morally, to save lives, nurture human security, or create order- and the refusal to countenance the means of violence will often result in increased loss of life and the erosion of security. So some violence is justified and may sometimes be morally obligatory. Nonetheless, because of its deficiencies as a means, the narrow range of goals which it is suited to achieve, and the permanent danger that it will be misused, it is important to seek means to control it. The thesis of the present work is that reasoned criteria for the proper use of violence can be established, it is reasonable to expect leaders to adhere to these criteria, and that there are feasible means of controlling violence available. These measures fall far short of what might be sought in a more highly structured world, but they can be achieved in present circumstances- and the world would benefit considerably if they were.

What has theology to say about non-military means of conflict resolution? The first and most emphatic point is to reaffirm the traditional predisposition against the use of violence, while recognizing with regret that in some circumstances the controlled use of force is the only way of dealing with evil. There is, next, the recognition that many of the limitations and constraints put by the tradition of just war thinking are in fact necessary also for all forms of non-military action to resolve conflicts. Non-military actions, like wars, can have diffuse or questionable objectives, have little likelihood of success, can have devastating effects on the civilian population, can easily go out of control and escalate into violence, or can be vindictive and vengeful. That is why the controlling emphasis on the goals of reconciliation, the restoration of peace, and the building of community are so vitally important. The

means used should be co-ordinated with this goal, which comes straight from the heart of the theological tradition, and is one of the distinctive gifts that Christianity has to offer in a world that is full of difficult conflicts, which are hard to resolve.

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# Institutional Collaboration as Essential Ingredient for Good Governance, Efficient and Effective Service Delivery in a Democracy: A Critical Discourse

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*Introduction* - Democracy, governance process and the accompanying politics in real sense largely consist of the examination and maintenance of the ways in which constitutional, political and administrative institutions, social forces and movements in a particular society interact with each other; of limits upon the extent to which stable constitutional modes of behavior can be developed and; of the effects they can have on molding behavior for a productive and mutually beneficial holistic existence of the state. This has been largely so and, still expected of the state. This has been Largely so and, still expected to be so, in that under the (federal) governmental system, each citizen is represented by at least three: federal; state and; local governments as well as a myriad of other interests.

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# Institutional Collaboration as Essential Ingredient for Good Governance, Efficient and Effective Service Delivery in a Democracy: A Critical Discourse

S. T. Akindele

## I. INTRODUCTION

Democracy, governance process and the accompanying politics in real sense largely consist of the examination and maintenance of the ways in which constitutional, political and administrative institutions, social forces and movements in a particular society interact with each other; of limits upon the extent to which stable constitutional modes of behavior can be developed and; of the effects they can have on molding behavior for a productive and mutually beneficial holistic existence of the state. This has been largely so and, still expected to be so, in that under the (federal) governmental system, each citizen is represented by at least three: federal; state and; local governments as well as a myriad of other interests. This, clearly, first puts into perspective the complexities of most, if not all (federal) polities within the global political landscape. Second, it equally compels the need to understand the complex reciprocities involved in the multidimensionality of politics concerning the governance of people within any federal political system like Nigeria.

These complexities have not been properly managed in Nigeria up till now particularly as they affect functional performance of political office holders – [elected and/or appointed], party officials, party structures, governmental structural processes, vertical – [federal, state and, local] – and horizontal – [Executive, Legislative and Judicial organs of government]; the bureaucratic institutions and, the expected friction-free relationship between and among them. The paucity of concrete management of these socio-political complexities is not without its telling blows on effective governance and, efficient and effective service delivery. This has variously contributed to debilitating buck-passing on issues of national importance between and among these institutions and organs in manners injuriously conducive to inter and intra institution/organ relationship. This, in itself, can be concretely traced to

absence of willing collaboration among these bodies as a mechanism for dealing with or rationally circumventing the rigidities of the formalized process by evoking the criterion of public personnel's netherworld<sup>1</sup>.

This and its negative multiplier effects on the governmental processes in Nigeria had been due to the fictive thinking on democracy and the negative imagery given to it as a tool of governance. Its hollow practical application - *[which can however, now be articulated to have somehow diminished with the strong showing of opposition political parties in some states of the federation during the 2011 general elections]* - has equally contributed to this negativism. In fact, democracy which has been shown as the best mechanism of governance in most polities of the world, has been variously endangered in Nigeria even up till 2012 thanks to the rampaging attacks on innocent lives and people by the *Boko Haram* or *Boko Haramists* as *now being referred to or interchangeably used* - [not minding the fact that *the group has lately stated that its name is not Boko Haram and, that it was a wrong identity given to them instead of its real name which is synonymous with Jihadism* (Focus Nigeria, January 24, 2012) and, other terroristic groups] - which, as revealed by the State Security Service - [in spite of its helplessness] - enjoys *the backing, patronage and sponsorship of powerful political actors and gladiators as evidence by the prosecution of a serving Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria who eventually secure a bail pending the commencement of trial even though the spokesperson of Boko Haram who identified the Senator as his sponsor, political backer and god father has been sentenced by an Abuja Magistrate Court to a*

<sup>1</sup> Netherworld of Public (personnel) Administration is not a physical thing but a concept used in discussing a set of activities. Netherworld is an informal structure. It is a sort of invisible power or black market by which most of the criteria of Administration are circumvented. In other words, Netherworld is the informal process through which Administrators fulfill their expectations, needs or mandates which could have been otherwise impossible through compliance with the rules and regulations of (public personnel) administration criteria and personal goals (or values) of the administrators (See J.M. Shafritz et al 1981).

*term of three years in prison for act of terrorism against the Nigerian state.* It is left to be seen if the Senator will suffer the same fate with his god-son, the Boko Haramist who is already in jail.

Democracy continues to be endangered in Nigeria in spite of its serving as a real mechanism for the sustenance of “universal applicability of legitimate rule; pluralism; rule of law; accountability and; fair representation of societal interests”. The near acclamation through misgovernance – [in the past, and, even now, in Nigeria] – given to democracy by ways of its dissemblance poses serious dangers, challenges and dilemmas to modern democratic governance and its mutually beneficial sustenance within the Nigerian state unless collaborative relationship can be adopted by the super-bureaucracies of the state being the critical administrative engines and vehicle of the state vis-à-vis policy formulation, implementation and evaluation.

It is clear from the foregoing that the state as a political entity continues to function as the macro and all encompassing governance ecology irrespective of the multiple diversities created within it by the value preferences; political orientations and philosophies of the people through the existence of the various operational mechanisms serving as its foundational pillars. These operational mechanisms include the twin-issues of democracy and governance and; other concepts – institutionalism and public service - which on their own have been used as conceptual instruments for the governing of men in terms of the determinism involved in the authoritative allocation of the scarce critical societal values and resources and; the relationship of the political system with its environment – principally the governed. The functionalism of these twin-issues and the other concepts under reference vis-à-vis public policy making and responsive service delivery to the citizenry in most polities of the world, Nigeria inclusive, has been made a continuous reality through appropriate political apparatuses and institutional arrangements, all of which have deep-seated historical roots in relations to the political existence of mankind and nations all over the globe.

These institutional arrangements and apparatuses of democratic governance include the quasi-horizontal administrative organs of government – [Office of the Secretary to Government, Office of the Head of Service and Civil Service Commission]. Without these organs, the *raison d'être* of democracy, governance and responsive service delivery would be a mirage. It is through these institutions that most polities have become models to the rest of the world today with all the nations that are desirous of peaceful, purposeful, meaningful, stable political and policy environment and existence striving to be like them.

Against this background, this paper deals with the issue of institutional collaboration as ingredient for good governance, efficient and effective service delivery

to the citizenry in a democracy as well as the role of the tripod super- bureaucracies and their Practitioners in the processes involved. Its aims include attempts on how the avoidable inter and intra institutional agencies and organs of government’s wrangling, buck-passing on important policy issues, legislative conflicts, paucity of constitutional provisions and their interpretations which had hitherto caused problems in the absence of the envisaged collaboration we have in mind can be recognized and abandoned for mutually beneficial behavioural inclinations, goals and agenda setting at work in the respective institutions particularly in the course of putting effects the authoritative functions of government and its determinism of who gets what, when, where, how and, why? vis-à-vis the scarce critical resources of the state.

The focus on these super-bureaucracies and their functionaries is deliberate. This deliberateness is catalyzed by the conviction that this level of the administrative paraphernalia of the state clearly constitutes and forms the apex and hub from where the nucleus of the state’s administrative machinery derives its existence and continuous sustenance vis-à-vis the day to day practical administration of the state and enhancement of peoples’ realization of their goals within the democratic society. This assertion finds a deep-seated solace in the respective functions of these tripod institutions or administrative organs of the state which are later addressed in this paper.

## II. CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

It is however, considered appropriate to commence the intellectual odyssey in this paper with concrete though, synoptic elucidation of the concepts of institutionalism and public service. This analytical orientation which gives the pride of place to conceptual analysis as the point of departure in this paper is compelled by the fact that the explication of such concepts vis-à-vis the place of the administrative arm of the state and its functionaries is critically germane to the focus of our thinking vis-à-vis the issue of collaboration for democratic governance, efficient and effective service delivery processes within Nigeria’s political space particularly within the state of our case study analysis. This conceptual discussion is followed by that of the issue of institutional collaboration and its enhancers or facilitators; the need or why the super-bureaucracies and bureaucrats should or, must collaborate; benefits and conditions associated with collaborations prior to the conclusion.

### a) *Institutionalism*

This is the belief that underlies the nature of institution. It is a “belief in the usefulness or sanctity of established institution” (Webster Dictionary) hence, institutions have been described as “the beliefs, paradigms, codes, cultures, and knowledge that

support rules and routines" (March and Olson, 1984). It is a concept that "sees organizations as social construct of rules, roles, norms, and the expectations that constrain individual and group choice and behavior" (Frederickson, 1999). According to Powell and DiMaggio (1991), institutionalism includes core ideas of contemporary public administration – [results, performance, outcomes, and purposefulness] – concepts. Thus, it has been contended that, institutionalism as a concept "could be said to account for both how institutions behave and how they perform" (Lynn, 1996). As a matter of fact, Rainey and Steinbauer (1999) and; Wilson (1989) as Frederickson (Op.cit) clearly articulated that "institutionalism also combines the structural or organizational elements of institutions and the managerial and leadership elements of institutions hence, as Kettl (1988; 1993); Light (1999) and; Salomon (1989) posited "institutionalism is not limited to formal governmental organizations as it now includes empirical and theoretical considerations of the full range of the so-called "third sector" organization" [e.g. the informal organizations, groups and interests].

Given the immediate foregoing, it is clear that some of the theorists on the concept while giving relevance to "the limitations of economics and market logic as the theory that accounts for institutional behavior", have built their theories on the subject on:

*"consideration of structure, particularly hierarchy, and individual and group behavior in institutional contexts, on the interaction of individuals and organizations and their wider political, social, and economic contexts, and on the influence of professional and cultural norms on institutional behavior patterns and on institutional longevity and productivity (Wilson, Op.cit.; March and Olsen Op.cit).*

It is now generally accepted within the boundaries of contemporary public administration in the twenty-first century that all Public Administrators are "now intuitionists" to the extent that the "new public administration hegemony" in this century has emerged based "on a broadly accepted institutionalism" (Frederickson, Op.cit). In the process it has been clearly articulated that:

*Institutionalism is not a theory in the formal sense, but is, instead, the framework, the language, and the set of assumptions that hold and guide empirical research and theory building in public administration. It begins with an argument as to the salience of collective organizational action as a basis for understanding political and social institutions...Institutions are affected by their social, economic, and political context but also powerfully affect that context (Ibid.; Schattneider, 1960).*

This explains the critical contention that "political democracy depends not only on economic and social contributions but also on the design of political institutions" (March and Olsen, Op.cit). In line with these critical positions, it has been asserted that institutionalism:

- Assumes that policy preferences are neither exogenous nor stable but are molded through experience and by institutions, by education, and, particularly by professions.
- Assumes the centrality of leadership, management, and professionalism and comprehends theory development all the way from the supervision of street-level bureaucrats to the transformational leadership of whole institutions.
- Recognizes the salience of action or choice and defines choice as expressions of expectations of consequences.
- In the modern world of productivity, performance, and outcomes measurement, reminds us that institutions and those associated with them shape meanings, rely on symbols and seek an interpretive order that obscures the objectivity of outcomes.
- Is particularly useful in the world of the disarticulated state because its assumptions do not rest primarily on sovereignty and authority, but rest instead on the patterns of politics, order, and shared meaning found in both governmental as well as nongovernmental institutions.
- Lends itself to forms of modeling based on simplifying assumptions other than rational self-interest or competitive markets (in that), some of the most advanced thinking in contemporary public administration is being done by formal modelers using assumptions of cooperation, order, hierarchy, institutional responses to contextual influences, networks, and governance—all essentially institutional assumptions (Frederickson, Op.cit; March and Olsen, Op.cit; Hammond, 1993, 1996; Hammond and Knott, 1996, 1999; Lynn, Henrich, and Hilt 1999; O'Toole and Meier, 1999).

Institutionalism as herein explicated demands concrete involvement of all sectors of the polity and its economy to be predicated on mutually beneficial foundation the type of which can only be found in concrete and positive collaborations among agencies and relevant organs of government which are saddled with the responsibility of dealing with the intricacies involved in the formulation of public policy and its interpretive implantations. This clearly explains the need for collaboration which is discussed later in this paper.

#### b) Public Service

The institutional collaboration we have in mind here deals with the administrative institutions of the state which are explicable within the parameters of the public

service as it affects the civil service which the tendency has been to use interchangeably with the latter, a debate which is not the issue of concern in this paper at this time. It is within the context of the public service that we can actually talk about the super-bureaucracies and its practitioners which form the focus of our analysis. However, the expected collaboration among the administrative organs can hardly be examined without analyzing the subject-matter of public service itself and its development within the Nigerian state.

Impartial students of political science and, indeed public administration, will agree with a synopsis which asserts that Public service has constantly played a significant role in shaping the making and implementation of government policies and programmes. The role of the public service in public policy making and implementation is so crucial that the first few working days of President Obasanjo were devoted to re-orienting the federal civil servants towards the expected performance standards of the civil service during the term of his civilian regime (Nwankwo, 1996). This goes to show that "the effectiveness of the government is to a large extent determined by the efficiency and competence of the public service. What remain disputable, however, are the proper limit of the role of the public service in the affairs of the state and, the conditions under which the institution can more effectively serve the larger interests of its society rather than its narrow corporate interests. In fact, without much digression, this seems to be the focus of this work.

As to the origin of public service in Nigeria, it will be recalled that interest in public service grew out of the growth and expansion in governmental institutions. As these institutions evolved and grew increasingly, their functions became clearly differentiated, law – making and its implementation were no longer vested in the same person and agencies. Consequent on this, as government expanded in size, functions and complexity, and became urbanized and industrialized most especially after independence in Nigeria administrative processes also expanded and became more specialized. This development resulted in the emergence of councils, commissions, departments, bureau etc to attend to clearly defined functions of government (Omolayo and Arolaju, 1987). All these called for proper management by people employed in a civil capacity and whose remunerations are paid out of money voted by the legislature. These people are called the public servants. Thus, according to the 1979 and subsequent constitutions of Federal Republic of Nigeria up till now, Public Service is:

*Service of the Federal or a state in any capacity including service as staff of the National or of a state Assembly, member or staff of the Judiciary, or any commission or Authority established by the Nigerian Constitution or by the National or state Assembly,*

*staff of a statutory corporation or educational institution established by or financed principally by the government of the Federation or of a state, staff of a company or enterprise in which government or its agency owns a controlling share or interest, members or officers of the Armed Forces of the Federation or the Nigeria Police Force, and staff of a local government.*

Generally, public service refers to all public employees, while civil service is limited to government employees who are appointed on the basis of examination given by the civil service commission and who acquire civil service status after the probationary period. Even though, this is the traditional conception of the dichotomy between the two however, in recent times the interchangeable use of the two as synonyms of the other has gained a wider currency. The seeming dichotomy or differences between the two notwithstanding, public service or civil service as the case may be belongs to the landscape of the public sector of any given political system Nigeria inclusive without any disputation. Although, the public service is today an indispensable organ of government, especially with the emergence of modern states and independence and the consequent complexities in government activities as earlier pointed out, it (public service) is not a creation of modern times (Ibodje, 2000). However, its creation/origin could be traced to three (3) sources regarded as the history of ancient civilization (Ibodje, Ibid). First of these sources was the effort of Kung-Sun Hung (Chinese Prime Minister) who around 120BC observed the need for examining men and women to be selected for the implementation of the royal edicts and laws. His efforts marked the beginning of the civil service examination system. It was also the ancient Chinese who had successfully worked out a system of classifying men into nine (9) grades according to their ability, competence, knowledge, experience and character, the system which has gained prominence world-wide. The second source was that of Pericles, an ancient Greek leader who in 462BC introduced a scheme for the compensation of official, thus facilitating the continued participation in public administration by citizens who had to work for their daily living by way of performing specific public assignments on day to day basis. The third source was the Jewish people who, in a well organized system, moved from Egypt to their country of birth. They moved as fully organized people accustomed to the system of organized governments and public administration clearly featuring a system of well defined codes of law and regulations as can be found in the present day civil service (Ibid.).

In Nigeria, the present form/status of civil service is a product of various changes it had undergone. These changes are not only as a result of the need to strengthen its capacity for efficient and effective performance of the governmental functions or



activities but because of the seeming need to respond to the dynamic nature of the country's political, social and economic developments. There is no doubt about the fact that the structure and nature of the country's civil service before independence was patterned along the British model. This was essentially the same in all of Common-wealth Africa. This notwithstanding however, the decade or so before independence could be regarded as transitional with the introduction of some various administrative and social changes, including the elements of Nigerianisation of the civil service, among other things (Ibid.).

Given the centrality of the public service particularly it Functionaries at the super levels of the state and how critical their functions are to the state in terms of democratic dispensation, good governance, efficient and effective service delivery, it is essential for the relevant arms particularly the office of the Secretary to the Government, office of the Head of Service and, the Civil Service Commission to collaborate in the course of the performance of their functions. In other words, there is without any doubt the need for the super-Bureaucracies – [office of the SSG; office of the Head of Service and; CSC] - in the state to get out of their impediments (both systemic and self-inflicted) and patriotically confront the challenges they face with a view to rationally performing the functions for which they are appointed and meeting the democratic aspirations of Nigerians without the infusion of any administrative selfishness and greediness. This is particularly so in that, the benefits, democratic self-fulfilment, good governance and effective service delivery to the Nigerian masses are clearly locked in the existence of an effective, non-corrupt public service and its inherent administrative process which are devoid of myriad of problems and political decadence. One of the possible routes to administrative success by the tripodic super-bureaucracies is to ensure a healthy and positive collaboration among them. This now leads us to the discourses of the core focus of this paper.

#### c) *The Issue of Institutional Collaboration.*

The issue of collaboration – [*which literally means cooperation and harmonious working together for the attainment of set goals*] - among the institutions of the state is without doubt important to the end result – [good governance, efficient and effective (responsive) service delivery to the citizenry] – of the existential wherewithal of the state in terms of the multifarious and asymmetrical goals, aspirations and interests of the governed within a diversified federal political system like Nigeria. Even though, the compelling forces for collaboration among these administrative arms – [Ministries, Departments and Agencies-MDAs] - of government are wide, the real factors can actually be understood within the boundaries of the character of

Nigeria's intergovernmental relations and its federalism. As a matter of fact, the factors that readily come to mind in this regard are as follows:

- It is not always possible to divide the jurisdiction of central and state governments into watertight compartment, in which case their functions sometimes overlap.
- The relative constitutional inflexibility in federal system has prompted the various levels of government to search for flexibility through collaboration.
- The provision of concurrent powers in a federal system makes cooperation necessary.
- In areas where courts have restricted the exercise of either federal or state power, cooperation becomes necessary.
- The need for some level of equalisation of the range and quality of public services available to all citizens has sometimes produce central-state projects or programmes. This requires cooperation.
- Natural disasters such as drought, flood or other occurrences which are beyond the financial strength of unit usually compels the unit to solicit for federal assistance.
- The action of a state government may adversely affect citizens of other states. In this regard, inter-state cooperation would be necessary.
- Joint economic planning is usually undertaken by the general and regional government. This is necessary to ensure national economic integration.
- Inter-state and/or vertical cooperation may be required to put in place a project which would generate benefits for citizens in more than one state.

#### d) *Collaboration Among the Three Super-Bureaucracies of the State*

In order for Nigeria and Nigerians to attain and benefit from "*politics of hope*" and its usually accompanying provision of "*effective public service delivery*" and, creation of workable road map to economic development there must be unity of purpose among the tripodic super-Bureaucracies or quasi-horizontal administrative organs of government [*Office of the SSG; Office of the Head of Service and, the Civil Service Commission*] - particularly in the areas of policy initiation, formulation, implementation, interpretation and evaluation in the quest for responsiveness of service delivery. This unity, calls for collaboration among them. This collaboration can be brought about through many means depending on the nature of the political system and its exigencies from time to time. However, it should be stated at the onset that the collaboration in mind here is the positive one since it is equally possible to have negative collaboration for illicit ends. What we consider relevant for attaining this type of collaboration in Nigeria forms the subject matter of discussion in this section.



### III. ENHANCERS/FACILITATORS OF COLLABORATION

Collaboration among the relevant arms of the administrative state which in this paper, are the tripod super-bureaucracies and their practitioners in Ekiti state can be attained through various means. However such attainment is contingent on certain things that must or should be done in the quest for administrative efficiency and effectiveness vis-a-vis meeting the needs and aspirations of the citizenry.

The first thing to be done in this regard is to truly understand and embrace the need for collaboration and, where relevant actors both at the governmental/political and citizenry levels stand in the scheme of things within the landscape of the political system. This is more so because, the indispensability of the criteria of *"good governance"*, *"good economics"*, *"sane budgetary process"*, *"participatory budgeting"*, *"professionalism of the public bureaucracies and the practitioners within them"*, *"cordiality of political actors and actions among the three organs of government"*, to the attainment and sustenance of *"effective public service delivery"* and *"politics of hope"* for the Nigerian people compels the need for collaboration. This collaboration among various administrative and governmental units is in line with the imperatives of today's *existential globalism* which clearly constrains unproductive and arrogant independence, individualism or isolationism in preference for collaborative efforts. And, it can only be taken for granted at any nation's perils.

The issue of collaboration among the super-bureaucracies and bureaucrats under reference is further compelled by constant the squabbles among various competing interests in all polities of the world, Nigeria inclusive. This is so in that these squabbles are constantly capable of creating avoidable ambivalence vis-à-vis the needed harmony between political and economic objectives of any given nation as a mechanism for achieving balanced resources mix for impeccable administrative process and its virtues of effective policy initiation, adoption, formulation, implementation and evaluation amidst ever-increasing administrative constraints. Political and Economic objectives as the signposts of national development which can be understood within the macro-parameters of politics and economy as the twin-pillars of governmental actions and inactions on both political and economic fronts can actually be effectively pursued and brought to bear through collaborative relationship envisaged within the analytical parameters of this paper. Since collaboration among these agencies of government for the pursuit of political and economic objectives means consolidated focus of governance and policy process for national development, it is imperative in Nigeria in view of the constant paucity of

adequate, focused and well-implemented political and economic planning within her landscape.

This need is further compelled by the quest for efficient and effective public policies and the need to sustain them for the benefits of the people in most polities of today's global village. In fact, the constant erosion of the virtual monopoly of state powers and/or, the continuous shrinkage of such powers as a result of the thesis of globalization and its subscription to public sector networks calls for collaboration that is geared towards economic development and its mechanism of good governance which is clearly predicated on the *four pillars* of *"accountability"*; *"transparency"*; *"predictability"* and; *"participation"*.

Generally, the developments across international borders which are not without their impacts on individual states' internal governmental structures and processes further compel the kind of collaboration under discussion here. The collaboration needed among the administrative organs of government in Nigeria is expected to be positive particularly in the interest of the citizenry. Through such positive collaborations the hopes of the masses would not be dashed.

In order for the Public Bureaucracies and the Practitioners within them to be relevant and provide the requisite guidance and technocratic road map for the political actors in the quest for effective public service delivery and politics of hope for Nigeria and the Nigerian people in the context of real economic development, there must be collaboration among the requisite administrative agencies or arms of the state particularly as it affects the issues of public policy and its processes within the state particularly in terms of the needed respect for the fiscal requirements of the budget. Through such collaboration the administrative agencies at the super-bureaucratic level would be able to jointly foster a culture of policy implementation through which the political angle of the state would be made to imbibe the etiquette of fiscal process as it relates to budget's implementation. It will aid the state's economic survival by ensuring the avoidance of idiosyncratic tampering with the budgetary process through the hitherto existing usual disregard for fiscal requirements. Such collaboration will make it possible for the attainment of a conducive process through which the budget will serve its purposes as:

- *A planning device for translating present scarce fiscal and human resources in the public sector into future government goals.*
- *An economic document.*
- *A tool for fiscal policy.*
- *A tool for internal co-ordination and efficiency in public administration.*

While not trying to be repetitive the need for collaboration cannot be underestimated within the

Nigerian body-politic and its other tiers of government. Collaboration is needed among these administrative organs in order to ensure responsive, efficient and effective governance and avoid what Guy Peters and Rose (1980:34) called political bankruptcy<sup>2</sup>.

Administrative corruption which has consistently wrecked the engine of good governance and true democracy in Nigeria can also be escaped through the inculcation of values of accountability. In fact, these values can be more vigorously pursued through collaboration among the various offices. This, in turn, will aid the avoidance of corruption by the super-bureaucracies and their functionaries within the state. Such avoidance of corruption is critically important because, corruption is a threat to democratic culture. As Kukah (1995:96) once argued "corruption remains the most invidious obstacle to stability in Nigeria both under the military and civilians and, inimical to the systemic existence of any polity. It is a socio-political, economic and moral malaise that may permeate and cripple, as a result of its contagiousness and malignancy, the nerves of any polity. It is "an intolerable characteristic" (Fullerton, 2002) that should be discouraged in governance because once it sets into any part; it automatically contaminates all the strata of that system's multidimensional hierarchy in ways symmetrical to the spread of a bush fire (Akindele, 1995). Its effects on Africa are, to say the least, incalculable given the following facts:

- *Corruption can ultimately formally undermine the legitimacy of any government and eventually lead to the collapse of any government that fails to check its onslaught.*
- *Corruption induces inefficiency and waste. It results in best use not being made of scarce opportunity.*
- *Corruption contaminates the environments. It represents a rise in the price of administration (the tax payer must submit to bribery as well, thereby having to pay several times over for the same services).*
- *Through its kickback nature, corruption serves to diminish the total amount available for public purposes and governance.*

<sup>2</sup> Political bankruptcy is an intermediate form of authority. It occurs when a government's overloading of the economy is no longer confined to an issue of effectiveness, to be resolved within conventional electoral and administrative institutions. It sets of "double trouble, undermining content while making citizens increasingly indifferent to authority. A politically bankrupt government has not made citizens dissenters or rebels antagonizing them. Its ineffectuality limits the antagonism it can engender. Citizens withdraw their support from established authority without having confidence that any other regime would be better. Such a "broken backed regime" has its authority crippled rather than destroyed. Citizens may prefer the weakness of a bankrupt regime to the power of a coercive regime, but those who live under fully legitimate authority undoubtedly prefer government as they have known it to a political system in which government is ineffectual.

- *It exerts a corruption and corrosive effects/influence on the administrative apparatus, eroding the courage necessary to maintain and/or adhere to high standard of probity and transparency. It leads to decline in morality (e.g. each person asking himself why he/she should be the moral crusader or the sole custodian of morality).*
- *Corruption in government if and when perceived by the people, wipes out respect for constituted authority and consequently the legitimacy of government.*
- *If and when elite politicians and senior civil servants/public officials are widely believed to be corrupt, the public and/or the masses will see little reason why they, too, should not help themselves through corruption/corrupt practices.*
- *Through corruption, corrupt officials, civil servants or politicians remain self-centered individuals unwilling/unlikely to jeopardize their personal prospects for the sake of prosperity for the whole country or his environment in the remote future. They are not always willing to sacrifice their proclivities for corrupt practices for the betterment of the larger society.*
- *Corruption results in a substantial loss of productive effort because time and energy are devoted to making contacts to circumvent and outwit the system, rather than to enhancing credentials and strengthening one's case objectively (fraudulent claims).*
- *Corruption as it represents unfairness, inevitably leads to litigation and in most cases trumped – up charges with which even the honest official may be blackmailed while the culprits remain free (Transparency International Source Book).*
- *It is damaging to the family system as it encourages the misdirection of scarce national resources towards non-productive areas. In other words, corruption wastes resources by distortion government policy against the interest of majority and away from its proper goal" (Kurata, (1999); Transparency International, 1998; Akindele and Adegemi 2011).*

a) *Inculcation and enforcement of the values of Accountability*

The internalization of the values of accountability by our Public Administrators is a sine-qua-non to administrative efficiency and efficacy vis-à-vis the pursuit of good governance and responsive service delivery to the citizenry. The essence of this is located within the parameters of the subject matter of accountability and its propeller – [transparency] – synoptically examined in this section.

Accountability connotes a way of being answerable or liable for one's actions and/or inactions and, conduct in office or position. It is the process of

making elected officials and other office holders accountable and responsible to the people who elected or appointed them for their actions while in the office. Thus, it is the “state or quality of being liable and required by a specified person or group of people to report and justify the actions of people in office in relations to specific matters or assigned duties. Accountability requires and/or involves faithful discharge of one’s duty in ways that fulfils the public interest or the interests of those who entrust such responsibility to the office or position holder(s). It is an integral part of any organization be it business, political or household. It can be viewed as responsibility. According to Gould and Kolb (1964); Gould, (1972), accountability “focuses attention upon the sanctions or procedures by which public officials may be held to account for their actions (and /or inactions) (Emphasis mine) (see Erero, 2000: 52 and Adamolekun 1983:17). Within this same context, it has been conceived as a process through which “the administrative state has to render an account of its performance to its sovereign, the people”. To be accountable to somebody means that, the person is superior and therefore in a position to exercise control or sanctions on the subordinate (Wolf gang, 1991:7 and Erero, *ibid.*).

Accountability as a concept or byproduct of transparency defines operational measures for multidimensional performance. Thus, it means the recognition of and acceptance of the fact that people in public and/or any office (public servants/political actors, in this case) own and hold their positions in trust for their masters, (i.e. the people). The people that are expected to render accounts of their stewardship vis-à-vis the services they are expected to provide to the people must do so in order to determine their successes and/or failures. They must from time to time show the balance sheet of their activities and particularly, the ways and manners in which they have used and exercised the responsibilities bestowed upon them.

Accountability can be in form of political accountability, fiscal accountability, legal accountability, programme accountability, responsive accountability (covering the needs, problems and performances of the citizenry). It exists whenever the people, (i.e. the citizenry) and their government or government officials can hold one another for the discharge and/or performance of their respective responsibilities or duties to one another. Thus, failure to be accountable connotes betrayal of trust. With accountability comes transparency which, on its own means openness. It is a component of ethical values/practice expected to be demonstrated by the people in official positions. It is expected to be demonstrated vis-à-vis government activities on issues of public accounts, budgets, politics, programmes, legislations, contract awards all of which are expected to be made open. Transparency includes freedom of access to information by the citizenry. It allows the

government to carry along the citizens and allow the latter to participate and contribute to day-to-day running and administration of Government. It is through it that the policy actors (both formulators and implementers) can be made to be accountable to the people. Thus, it is the propeller of accountability. It stifles corrupt practices through the shrinkage of its existential space. Transparency enhances and sustains people’s rights to know what is going on in government. It brings about responsibility and responsiveness of leadership and the policy process. Transparency enhances government ability to manage the scarce societal resources for development and sustainable democracy through accountable process. Hence, no polity that is desirous of survival can or should take for granted the need for transparency and accountability (See Akindele and Adeyemi, 2011, *ibid.*). What to do to ensure accountability and transparency within our polity and how to do them automatically become clearer within the purviews of the discussion and analysis in the next section.

Put together, accountability is “the obligation of public office holders to account for or take responsibility for their actions. Accountability exists when power-holders have to explain and justify their actions or face sanctions” (Malena and McNeil, 2010, *Op. cit.*). As a matter of fact, “accountability is the cornerstone of good governance. Unless public officials can be held to account, critical benefits associated with good governance-such as social justice, poverty reduction, and development-remain elusive”(ibid.). It is clear from the foregoing that:

*The accountability of state actors is a consequence of the implicit social compact between citizens and their delegated representatives and agents in a democracy. The social compact, in turn, derives from notions of human and citizen rights, as enshrined in the General Assembly of the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in many national constitutions. A fundamental principle of democracy is that citizens have both the right and the responsibility to demand accountability and to ensure that government acts in the best interests of the people. Public actors can and should be held accountable for both their conduct and performance. In other words, citizens have the right to ensure that public actors (a) obey the law and not abuse their powers, and (b) serve the public interest in an efficient, effective, and fair manner. In an institutional environment for good governance, certain conditions underpin the ability of governments to be accountable (supply-side conditions) and the ability of citizens and civil society to hold governments accountable (demand-side conditions). Supply-side and demand-side mechanisms of accountability are complementary and mutually reinforcing (Melana and McNeil, 2010).*

#### IV. DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS OF CORRUPTION, LACK OF ACCOUNTABILITY AND ARRESTED DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE STATE

The problems of arrested development attributable to lack of accountability and transparency in Nigeria can be understood within the matrix of taken for grantedness of the *raison d'être* of accountability and transparency as herein articulated. As a matter of fact, the now obvious problems of corruption, lack of accountability and arrested development which have become terminal to the healthy existence of Nigeria as a nation must be dealt with. This is necessary and must and should be urgently done in view of the damage it has unleashed on the nation's psyche.

It is therefore, stating the obvious to observe that corruption and lack of accountability in governance have thrown up issues that border on the development of Nigeria. Politics in the country has become for most of the political actors an avenue for primitive accumulation of wealth. No wonder the do or die mentality that has characterized the political processes in the country. Characters of all sorts of social and political plumage have hijacked political activities and in the process shunted out genuine patriots who would have contributed immensely to the development of the country. They have in the process manacled effective and efficient public administration for the betterment of the citizenry

The nature, character and context of Nigerian politics have diminished an otherwise towering image of the country. In spite of the assumed limitations of the founding fathers of Nigeria, the current realities put them as men and women who struggled to leave some indelible marks in the National scheme of things. The Awolowos, the Azikiwes, the Ahmadu Bellos and the Okotiebos left institutions and monuments that have stood the test of time.

In all areas of life a large deficit can be noticed in the inability of the elite in power to address the needs and aspirations of the people. One of the latest Human Development Indices paints a dismal picture of Nigeria as it is ranked 158 out of the 182 nations that were assessed. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) also ranked Nigeria, over 167th in life expectancy, 112th in adult literacy, 150th in combined GDP (*The Nation*, October 10, 2009). Again, in its latest assessment of countries in the African continent, the M. O. Ibrahim Foundation (2009) indicated that Nigeria fell below 20 other countries in terms of good governance on the continent, with Mauritius, the Indian Ocean Island being chosen as the best as its government and private sectors delivered the best practices and public goods to their people.

It bears repeating that in Nigeria the elite whether in political governance or the private sector have in fundamental ways not discharged their historical responsibilities creditably well. In fact, it was the level of graft and other socio-economic indiscretions prevalent in the country that led to the establishment of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in 2001 by the regime of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo.

However, we are not unaware of the fact that opinions are divided on the activities of the EFCC. Some people are of the view that the era of Ribadu marked a golden period in the activities of the EFCC while others are of the opinion that the former President, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo used the anti-graft body to fight his political opponents thereby leaving other corrupt government officials who were close to him and his government untouched. As a matter of fact, Ekiti State had its share of this expedient political brinkmanship through the contestable impeachment of the State's Executive during the first phase of the fourth Republic (1999-2003). This political brinkmanship made Ekiti State a theatre of 'one-day Governorship'; 'double-Governorship'; 'one-day-Secretaryship'; 'one-month or so Governorship' following the 'state of emergency period' which made 'Sole Administratorship' the apex of the state's political institutions. Even though, this paper does not want to dabble into this argument, it is worthy of note that the need to strengthen the EFCC and its sister organization, ICPC cannot be over emphasized if the fight for the extirpation of corruption in our land must be successful.

It is in recognition of this that one acknowledges the efforts of the EFCC which brought to book former Managing Directors of banks in Nigeria who used their positions either to enrich themselves or their cronies. The EFCC must add more vigour in its fight against corruption and ensure that no corrupt official no matter how highly placed is allowed to go scot free.

However, the ability of EFCC to do his with be enhanced through its restructured merger with the ICPC. In other words, The EFCC and ICPC must be restructured and consequently merged for effective performance. These can be done by making the revamped ICPC the investigative component of a new and revitalized EFCC with the latter serving as a prosecutorial and enforcement component of the new EFCC that will emerged from the merger. In the same vein, those who obtained loans from the banks and have refused to pay back should be made to honour their obligations as allowing them to treat their loans as their own share of the national cake has dire economic and legal implications for the country and its National Development. Thus, there is need for concrete accountability. As a matter of fact, the nation's policy makers and those saddled with policy implementation most especially the Public Servants/Administrators must



be made to be accountable to citizenry or the nation. In other words, accountability must be enforced and promoted through internal mechanisms. Such mechanisms as Goetz and Gaventa, (2001) noted include:

- *Political mechanisms, such as constitutional constraints, separation of powers, the legislature, and the legislative investigative commissions.*
- *Fiscal mechanisms, such as auditing, financial management, and procurement regulations.*
- *Administrative mechanisms, such as reporting systems, norms of public sector probity, public service codes of conduct, rules and procedures regarding transparency, and public oversight.*
- *Legal mechanisms, such as corruption control agencies, ombudsmen, and independent judiciary.*

It is worthy of mention here that these mechanism or their variations – (e.g., the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission - [EFCC] and, The Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission - [ICPC]) exist in Nigeria to some degree. However, these agencies have not really worked or been put into effective utilization or enforcement because of the nation's geo-political, ethnic and primordial sentiments and considerations coupled with judicial bottlenecks, governance decadence, apolitical considerations, retrogressive thinking and, above all, poverty of decisive and determined leadership and non-collaborative public service. It is left to be seen if the shakeup at the apex of both agencies that led to the exit of Faridal Waziri as the head of the EFCC will bring about the desired reform of the agencies.

*a) Professionalism of the Practitioners within the Public Service as a facilitator of collaboration*

The collaboration in focus here will be more attainable if our public service and its functionaries are professional or become professional in their conduct and performance of their functions vis-à-vis the *raison d'être* of the state. As a matter of fact, it is our contention that the only way out of the apparent entrapment of today's public service is for the practitioners within it to become professional in their own rights. This and other factors underscore the need for professionalism in the public service by the public servants/administrators.

*b) Professionalism in the Civil Service: The Particularistic Perspective*

It is our contention here that there is a need for professionalism in the civil service. However, such professionalism is particularistic rather than institutional or systemically universalistic. Thus, it will be impolitic not to stress the fact at this juncture that the professionalization or professionalism of the public administrators in mind here is absolutely different from that embarked upon by the military in 1988. The professionalism we have in mind is not systemic or

systemically particularistic but individualistic. It is one which is based on particularistic criteria. The reason for this distinction between our thinking here and the reform of the military of 1988 finds a deep-seated solace in the fact that the 1988 professionalization of the civil service – *[if it can actually be taken to mean so in the real sense of the term]* – professionalized the institution but not the careerists.

The essence of this claim is supported by the fact that *the military professionalization gave undue credence to office and/or nomenclature to the detriment of the careerists or occupants of such offices or institutions.* It destroyed the foundation of the credibility of the service and, in the process opened it to ridicule through destructive political patronage which preferred mediocrity to meritocracy. In other words, the so-called military reform or professionalization of the civil service *substituted meritocracy with mediocrity and, in the process removed the values which at that time served as the magnetizing factors pulling capable, well educated, prepared, knowledgeable and competent materials to the service.* Due to its preference for mediocrity and incompetence, it completely destroyed the administrative cadre which, even though difficult to join by all and sundry, – *[thanks to the difficult and competitive entrance examination conducted by ASCON, Topo, Badagry]* – remains the dreams of a preponderant majority of people seeking positions in the civil service.

It was a reform/professionalization agenda that *crippled the civil service.* It imported and/or transported dubious nomenclature of "Director-General" to the civil service. The dubiousness of this disturbing nomenclature is clearly explainable in what subsequently followed the political interference. Through it *the civil service became the preserves of all comers and rejects - (with or without the necessary competence).*

The interference in the guise of the so-called reform was clearly humiliation which can be traced to its predecessor that took place in 1975 during which the Civil Servants were severely humiliated. It was a period political power was used through the military fiat to deflate the ascendancy of the Public Administrators as a potent social force whose perceptions, interests and actions were determinant in shaping policies and strategies of government. The 1975 civil service purge which indisputably laid the chassis for the 1988 Babangida's reform of the same institution clearly gave credence to the detestation which the military had for the Public Administrators in that:

*It gave a lie to the "commonality of characteristics and interests" explanation of military-civil service coalition government. What perhaps was significant about the massive purge of the Civil Service is the inference that the service was politically responsible for what General Murtala Muhammed characterised*



*as the 'drift and indecision' of the later years of the Gowon administration which led to his overthrow. Put differently, the Civil Service was no longer considered neutral in political decision-making. If political bosses fall, then, their civil service advisers must equally fall. In this regard, the requirement of the civil service reforms that permanent secretaries should retire along with the regime which appointed them would appear to have laid its precursor in raison d'être of the 1975 purge (Omoruyi, 1993). [It is interesting to know that the stipulation that permanent secretaries should retire along with the regime that appointed them has been abandoned]- (Emphasis mine).*

This political interference which had its roots in the military arrogance and its attendant bankruptcy of knowledge as to what constitutes the cornerstones of public administration or the civil service, *actually led to the unfortunate situation through Officers who were not in the mainstream – [Administrative Cadre] - of the civil service were smuggled and/or imported into the administrative arm of the service.* Some of the beneficiaries of this administrative calamity and policy blindness who may still be in service would find it difficult to discern the rationality of this argument given human proclivities for self benefits and demands of the flesh but, *this is a reality however bitter it may be.* While the intention here is *not a call for retroactive reversion of the status of such beneficiaries, it is aimed at evoking the need for policy guidelines to keep afloat the relevance of the administrative cadre and its professionalism for the futuristic sustenance of the credibility and attractiveness of the civil service and, the need to resist such policy madness and blindness in future.* As a matter of fact, a critical example that readily comes to mind here was *the appointment of Officers in the Local Government Service as Permanent Secretaries against the existing "position-classification" requirements and the enabling Civil Service Regulations. In fact, through such interference some of such Officers eventually became Head of Service to the detriment of real Professionals who traditionally belonged to the Administrative cadre and, who actually went through the requisite competitive examinations prior to their engagement/recruitment into the civil service.*

It is innocuous to articulate the fact that prior to 1988 military's tinkering with the Nigerian civil service, *the Administrative Cadre of the civil service was the dream of every civil servant including those already in the service – [in different career lines] - and those seeking to join it.* This class of civil servants *enjoyed benefits of good and prioritized postings to critical sections, offices and; sectors of the service.* The level of their career advancement and rapidity of promotions was indeed, *telegraphic and enviable.* To a significant extent, at that time *so many people in other career lines usually strived to cross-over to the administrative cadre*

*and, were even very much willing to go through make-up competitive examinations which, probably they could not pass initially prior to joining different cadres of the service.* All these went with the wind of the 1988 so-called military reform of the civil service.

As a matter of fact, and, without meaning to be flagrantly immodest or, trying to slur and attack anybody's image, I wish to emphatically state at this point that *entry into the Administrative Cadre at that time was so competitive and rigorous due to the entrance examination.* To some extent, most or some people seeking positions in the civil service were afraid and, knew that *they were not competent as human resources or materials for the cadre.* In fact, such people *voluntarily preferred and/or opted to join the civil service through other career lines.* It is however, sad to note that *some of such incompetent materials or rejects later found their ways into the service courtesy of the so-called reform which crippled that critical cadre of the civil service to the extent that they later found themselves at the apex of the service at certain points in time.* This is a bitter reality of what actually happened to the civil service within our polity at certain point in the annals of its history.

Without any doubt whatsoever, the 1988 reform or professionalization of the civil service marked *the beginning of the end of "Permanent Secretaryship" in the civil service* before its belated reincarnation with the abolition of the same reform by the Abacha military oligarchy in 1995. The 1988 reform was *the beginning of the practice whereby nothing was again permanent about permanent secretaryship in the civil service* in Nigeria. Even now that a semblance of sanity seems to be coming back to the service in terms of competitive examinations for promotions and appointment as Permanent Secretary or Head of Service, *the fact that such positions are in most cases no longer tenure tracked in the real sence of it but, in stead tied to specific terms of office of two or more years and, the dependency of renewability of such appointments on political exigencies – [which are always open to political manipulations] – makes it worrisome and absolutely disturbing.*

As a matter of fact, this aspect of the Nigerian civil service calls for serious concerns the discussion of which is better left for some other days. It is however referred to in passing here to give credence to the fact that the professionalism or professionalization of the Public Administrators (Civil Servants) we have in mind in this paper is quite different from that of the systemic or institutional professionalization that once took place in Nigeria through the military fiat and, which clearly slaughtered the pillars of the service on the altar of political expediency and military arrogance. It is different in the sence that, *unlike the military reform, which gave ascendancy to mediocrity to the detriment of meritocracy and its accompanying technical*

*competence in the Nigerian civil service, the professionalism in focus here is a tool for professional handling of the administrative affairs of the state by our Public Administrators as they affect good governance, efficient and effective service delivery and sustenance of democratic principles for the betterment of the citizenry.*

It is therefore, the contention here that *the particularistic professionalization or professionalism of the careerists - (the Public Administrators/Civil Servants) – will add more values and vitality to the service better than the institutional one that serves as a mechanism for the erosion of the centrality of the service as the true vehicle for the sustenance of governance and policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation within the Nigerian state.* Through the former – [professionalism of the public administrators] – the careerists themselves will see the need for collaboration among them through inter and intra agencies or institution relationships at all levels. Such resultant collaboration will end in-fighting which hitherto had made them willing preys of the political predators. And, true such productive and forward looking relationships the constant “Darwinism” - [i.e., survival of the fittest] – to which they sometimes subject themselves in the course of unhealthy rivalries and lobbying – [of the political angles of the state] – for what truly and by all standard belong to them will hardly exist as they will automatically become impeccable and/or unassailable.

The essence of the claim here is revealed by the fallouts from the 1988 military reform of the civil service. This is particularly so in that *such in-fighting or struggles among the civil servants following the 1988 military's tinkering with the foundational pillars of the civil service cannot be fatally denied.* As a matter of fact, *such in-fighting and parasitic struggles led to situations whereby Grade level 12 officers and, in most cases lower grade levels officers were made Directors-General over and above their superiors.* Such appointments were made *based on the untenable excuse that those so appointed would leave office with the government/regimes that appointed them.* This in most cases led to *the premature career sunset of those so appointed which, to this author, they thoroughly deserved due to their career covetousness.*

With career *professionalism and its propensity for willing collaborative relationship vis-à-vis the governance and policy processes, such policy madness – [explainable in the dubiousness of the 1988 civil service reform] – and its accompanying destruction of the public administrators' spirit de corps will diminish if not totally abated.* This will once again make the civil service the cynosure of all eyes it traditionally used to be.

It is our contention that the issue of professional public administration, its development or determination of who is a professional public

Administrator can be addressed and/or done through the dichotomy of “self-seeking bureaucrats” and “dedicated civil Servants”. The former usually called “the empire-building bureaucrats”, according to Musgrave and Musgrave (1980) “seek to maximize their power and/or income as determined by the size of their bureaus” while the latter “seek to contribute to an efficient operation of the public sector and to the public”, The self-serving bureaucrats (i.e. non professional public administrators) will:

- *Ask for more funds than needed to perform a given function.*
- *Overstate the benefits to be derived from a given level of services.*
- *Inflate the total budget in anticipation of expected cutbacks (Ibid).*

Conversely, the dedicated (professional) civil servants will :

- *Provide technical expertise in the designing of programs so as to enable decision – makers (elected government officials) to make intelligent choices.*
- *Implement and operate programmes once they are enacted.*
- *Provide an element of continuity to the governmental process introduce a sense of rationality with the operation (of the governmental process).*

Gerth and Wright Mills (1972) once opined that the services of the “dedicated civil servants” or “civil service perspective civil servants” are very crucial to the functioning of the modern state and, to the designing and implementation of public policy”. The need for the development of professional public Administrators in Nigeria can be understood within the context of their instrumentality for the attainment of democratic benefits by ways of policy orientation that can address the inadequacy of our current democratic dispensation. Through the attainment of professionalism our public bureaucrats will clearly be aware of the constant basic misconceptions of democracy, which may have hitherto, been negatively affecting the performance of their duties.

It can be reasonably, to some extent, deduced from the foregoing, that the issue of the development of professional Public Administrators for coping with the values of governance and/or democracy is not alien to the Nigerian polity. Even though, its pedigree and, abrogation/deflation can hardly be examined in isolation from the policy initiatives of the military Regime of General Yakubu Gowon's Udoji Commission Report and, the Civil Service Reform of 1975 and Babangida's 1988 civil service reform already alluded to above, it held sway during the ill-fated third Republic which was never a full fledged democratic Republic because of its

subservience to the military oligarchy. The reform was equally abolished not minding its military pedigree by the same military though, under a different leader-General Sanni Abacha in 1995.

It is however, *interesting to note that the pride of the public service or civil service dismantled by the military reform of 1988, can be taken to have been reincarnated if the reintroduction of promotion through competitive examination which started with the President Goodluck Jonathan Administration's promotion of the Federal civil servants including the Head of Service is allowed to continue. This new philosophy has been adopted by some States of the Federation particularly Ekiti State.*

The development of professional public Administrators for the new democratic culture or democratic culture in Nigeria can only be understood and/or appraised within the context of the political character of the public service progenized by the new thinking that "politics is synonymous with public administration" or "public administration as politics". There is no gainsaying the fact that Nigeria's public Administration (or public Service) needs transformation into one that will be most efficient, competent, self-confident, knowledgeable and Professional in the real sense of it to earn the the confidence and respect of the political class in that "career civil servants who are self-confident, highly competent, knowledgeable, dedicated and results-oriented professionals normally enjoy the respect of the political class regardless of the regime type" (Adamolekun, 2012). They have to be professional in that they possess the "instruments of Public Administration" which are "the main agents of change that preconceives, designs, implements and co-ordinates the process of change in the society. More importantly they are involved in "social engineering" that deals with "the action part of government, the means by which the purposes and goals of government are achieved. Such "social engineering" deals with:

- *Designing the process of the change from old to new (ideal) society*
- *Creation of new institutions*
- *The planning and regulation of the economic system.*
- *Rendering advice to and guiding the leaders of the political system and,*
- *Above all, the setting of new norms and standard of morality to guide the society.*

The needs elucidated in the foregoing section can only be harnessed subject to certain conditions which must be fulfilled. The extent to which these are fulfilled will determine the hope of the public service as we come to know of it in Nigeria today for the future. Since, the core of their environmental expectations occurs within the new democratic culture, it is, in our view, appropriate to start the discussion of the

expectations from the "would- be professional Public Administrators" from the point of democracy and its relevance and indispensability in today's world of public administration.

To begin with our Public Administrators must understand what the challenges of democracy are today, in Africa and, indeed, in Nigeria. As Kaunda (2003:1; 2,) once opined:

*The challenges of democracy in Africa are great because of the nature of the continent, its people, and its history. Africa is a complex continent requiring complex solutions in order to enable a democratic and fruitful life for its citizens to develop. Africa is not only the big continent it is, but has diverse cultures and experiences. At the same time, Africa has similarities. Democracy and developments are closely linked. We find that the ideal components of democracy, development, and peace are common in all these terms. Indeed, one is in the other.*

To be able to meet the challenges of democracy our public Administrators must consider many factors. These challenges according to Kaunda (ibid:3) include: "physical geography of the place", "population and density" "ethnic diversity" "Religion and spirituality" "culture", "language", "colonial links", "economic situation", "political system", and "people on the margins". As a matter of fact, the issue of the "people on the margins" which is one of the factors identified in the immediate paragraph above is very important and relevant to the Nigerian political space and its administrative landscape. The essence of this position is that our Public Administrators, to be called and regarded as real Professional, must, in the performance of their duties, recognize that democratic culture calls for the protection of the minority rights and, the understanding recognition of the asymmetrical aspirations of the people in the democratic environment.

More importantly, our public Administrators, to be professional in our new democratic culture must understand that "the application of standards embodying the values of only one culture over the other cultures is indeed an affront to the latter" (Buendia, Ibid.). Thus, they should have at the back of their minds, the need to redress some of the pitfalls of the fundamental assumptions of democracy in the performance of their official duties because, as Clark (1999:2) contends "democracies around the world are being swept by a new form of politics guided more by issues than by traditional distinction between liberal and conservative positions". Concretely, their own interpretation of democracy must understand the need, due to the increasing complexities of our societies, to redefine the fundamental assumptions of mass democracy. They should and must understand that democracy:



*Must not only guarantee the democratic rights of the majority but assure the minority of their rights to differ from the majority. These are without any obligation on the part of the former to yield their rights and abide by the he erosion of identity and survival of ethnic groups. Otherwise, the minority would simply be persecuted by the majority. The persistence of a mosaic of ethnic groups who operate in accordance with their own rules and perseveres in their legitimate rights to self-governance either outside or within the realm of the State is slowly giving rise to "mosaic democracy" as distinguished from mass democracy. Mosaic democracy appears to correspond to the mosaics in the economy and diversified or "de-massified" peoples needs and political demands. (Ibid: 382).*

There is no gainsaying the fact the complexities of administration and governance in contemporary time, have created "contours of modern management and a spectre of problems quite beyond the capacity of non-professional public servants. Nigeria's public service to be relevant for today and survive for the future must first of all become totally professional and knowledgeable about the problems associated with corruption as earlier highlighted in this paper. They must be particularly abreast of "new institutionalism" "network theory" and "governance theory" as mechanisms specifically designed to solve, ameliorate or "at least address the issues associated with the complexities of today's administrative world.

Generally and specifically, the public service in Nigeria at this time of the new millennium, must be knowledgeable about the current trends and the position of Public Administration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Schiavo-Campo and Sundaram, 2001) particularly within the context of globalization and its "impact on most dimensions of government administration in most countries and constraints or the ability of national governments and their bureaucracies to act independently without collaboration. Above all, the future of the public service in Nigeria, even though, specifically and concretely dependent to a significant extent, on compliance with the dictates and complexities of the technologically based villagized world and its thesis and/or constitution, can actually be guaranteed by the collaboration and adherence of the practitioners (to the ethical obligations and codes of conducts" which from our perspective remain the indispensable pillars of the public service. These ethical obligations include: loyalty, accountability, courtesy and respect, discipline and integrity, honesty and impartiality and, confidentiality" (Shellukindo and Baguma op cit: 26).

It is through respect for these obligations, that the degeneration and/or erosion of public service ethics which has been variously contextualized in terms of the ascendancy of corruption and proclivities for Kleptocracy by public officials in the course of

performing their official duties can be reversed for the sustainability of the Nation's public service for today and the future. The sustainability is equally dependent on the provision of enabling environment by the State for the realization of what has been termed practical agenda for promoting ethics and accountability in contemporary African public service (Rasheed, 1993:289). These include: *fostering and promoting enabling conditions of service to enhance professional and ethical standards; advancing and affirming sound policies on recruitment, training and public personnel management. encouraging public service occupational associations to play a leading role in institutionalizing professional values and defending occupational interests; promoting a psychology of service in political and public life; upholding the integrity and effectiveness of public institutions of accountability; fostering popular participation to ensure the accountability of governance (Ibid). It is also dependent on good leadership.*

*c) Good Leadership as enhancer of effective collaboration*

Leadership is "the ability to get men do what they don't want to do and like it" (Cohen et al, 1984). It is "the process of social influence in which one person can enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task. It is ultimately about creating a way for people to contribute to making something extraordinary happen" (Ibid.). Leadership is "the process of using power to obtain interpersonal influence" (Schermerhon Jr., Hunt and Osborn, 1985). In other words, leadership involves influence and its evocation to alter the behaviours of others in groups and organizational settings to attain desired goals based on proper agenda setting. Leadership is:

*about capacity: the capacity of leaders to listen and observe, to use their expertise as a starting point to encourage dialogue between all levels of decision making, to establish processes and transparency in decision making, to articulate their own value and visions clearly but not imposes them. Leadership is about setting and not just reacting to agendas, identifying problems, and initiating change that makes for sustainable improvement rather than managing change (Wikipedia).*

Thus, in today's organizations and to some extent political systems, the understanding of the concept of leadership is critical to the attainment of organizational goals. This is more so in that:

*Leaders today work in socially intricate organizations where they need the assistance not only of subordinates but also of peers, superiors, and external parties to accomplish their goals. Accomplishing goals that positively impact the organization requires effective leadership linked to strong power bases and workable influence strategies. Building a strong power base and*

*developing effective influence strategies to produce power dynamic is an important leadership challenge. (Michelson, nd).*

The essence of the immediate preceding quotation vis-à-vis the subject matter of focus in this paper can be clearly located within the parameters of the conceptualization of leadership as:

*A reciprocal relationship between those who choose to lead and those who decide to follow. Strategies, tactics, skills and practices are empty unless we understand the fundamental human aspirations that connect leaders and their constituents. If there is no underlying need for the relationship, then there is no need for leaders" (Obande, 2009).*

The need for effective leadership is compelled by the fact that *"everything rises and falls on leadership"* and, the *"success or failure of every human endeavour depends solely on the kind of leadership available for such endeavours"* (YHDC, Leadership training, 2009). Thus, as Denga (1986) and, Esere (The Nigerian Journal, Unilorin) once articulated "a leader in an organization or political setting is an embodiment of a force that directs the entire organization towards the realization of the organizational goals". Concretely put, leadership connotes *"ability to inspire, direct, motivate and encourage others positively to targeted end. It is the ability to lead others"* (Olusoji, 2002). It *"represents authority and the pinnacle of the organization. It is the form that authority assumes when it enters into process"* (Mooney and Rieley, 1931 and 1947).

Nigeria as a nation needs a determined leadership for it to get out of her political woes part of which are explainable within the parameters of the administrative lawlessness, greed and avarice foisted on her and her people by a preponderant majority who have been constantly elected and/or appointed or, who have through one way or the other always found their ways into the nation's high level administrative structures or institutions both at the national and state levels.. For such a leader to be effective and truly serve and meet the needs of Nigeria and Nigerians through impeccable administrative process, he must be a *change leader* with beneficial focus and determination in his quest for sustainable democratic governance process, efficient and effective service delivery to the people.

A change leader is a key to large-scale, sustainable reform. It is a leader that is committed to sustained and sustainable innovation in his quest for organizational effectiveness. A change leader is a focused leader who is committed to the development of knowledge and skill within his organization particularly in terms of programme coherence and technical resources (Newmann et. al, 2000). Change leaders are critically concerned with and, committed to the achievement of large-scale organizational turnaround in the course of their leadership role and management of human and

natural resources within a given political economy and its accompanying multiple variables and/or other societal landscapes and their terrains.

A change leader is one who seeks deep and lasting reforms through the establishment of conditions aimed at the attainment of *"enduring greatness"*. In other words, a change leader is a leader who *"catalyzes commitment to a compelling vision and higher performance"* by going beyond *"performance standard"* and building *"enduring greatness"* (Collins, 2001).

Generally, a change leader is one whose goal is *"sustainable change in society"* (Fullan 2002). He is a leader of the future who is *"attuned to the big picture"* of his environment and, he is a leader regarded as *"a sophisticated conceptual thinker who transforms the organization through people and teams"* (Ibid.). A change leader is one who displays *"palpable energy, enthusiasm and hope"* (Ibid.). He is a leader who performs change leadership roles that are critical to the organization's stability, goal attainment and durable sustainability.

Through this type of leadership the Nigerian nation will benefit and the kleptocracy that has been foisted on the Nigerian state by administrative ineptitudes, morbid inter and intra agencies struggles and squables and, political avarice and covetousness will be reduced. This is more so in that a change leader *"values the tensions inherent in addressing hard to solve problems because that is where the greatest (organizational/systemic) accomplishments lie"* (Fullan, 2002).

## V. WHY THE SUPER-BUREAUCRACIES AND THEIR BUREAUCRATS MUST COLLABORATE THROUGH INTER AND INTRA AGENCY/INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIP IN EKITI STATE, NIGERIA

The choice and use of the word of adjective *"Tripodic"* in describing the three critical super-bureaucracies of the state and their functionaries is deliberate. It is deliberate in the sense that these institutions are constantly adjustable through re-organization, modification, removal, redeployment using the sometimes unassailable instrumentalities of office and/or powers of the Executive. This is clearly put into perspective by the history of the tripodic bureaucracies in Nigeria which details how they have been tinkered with over the years based on regime turnovers and political expediency amongst other factors:

*....the history of the Civil Service Commission has all along been rather steady, those of the offices Secretary to Government and Head of Service have been rather zig-zag. The first well known Secretaries to government in Nigeria in the colonial era were Donald Cameron who was styled "Chief Secretary"*



at the "Central Secretariat" in Lagos; Major Moorhouse as Secretary Southern Provinces; and Mr. Mathew as Secretary Northern Provinces. They were appointed by Sir. Frederick Lugard, who was Governor of Nigeria. At Independence in 1960, the title changed to Secretary to the Prime Minister in person of S. O. Wey. After the takeover of government by the military in 1966, the title changed to Secretary to the Federal Military Government at the centre and the office was occupied by M. A. Ejueyichie and later A. A. Atta. Somehow by the time of C. O. Lawson, the title of the office has changed to Secretary to the Federal Military Government and Head of Service. Lawson was succeeded by A. A. Ayida, A. L. Groma, S. A. Musa, G. A. E. Longe and Adamu Fikka. Adamu Fikka was later divested of the aspect of Secretary to Government and made to retain only the aspect of Head of Service.....there was a lot of tinkering with the two offices. While between 1966 and 1979 they were merged as Secretary to Government and Head of Service, the 1979 constitution separated it into two offices of S. S. G and H. O. S. But by 1984, the Buhari military regime merged them again into one office SMG and H.S. However, by 1988 General Babangida atrociously abolished the office of the Head of Service through a bogus Civil Service Reform, only to be restored soon after by General Abacha. Such was the chequered history of the office of the S. S. G and H. O. S in Nigeria(Omiyale, 2012).

These super-bureaucratic institutions of governance – [which even though, debatable or contestable within the parameters of "coordinate-subordinate partnership continuum" or "coordinate-subordinate authority dichotomy"] - are to some extent quasi-pyramidal or hierarchical in terms of relevant state's Organogram are very critical to the state vis-à-vis the governance process and its accompanying expected manifest responsive service delivery through efficient and effective bureaucratic process devoid of red-tapism and injurious extra-systemic official conducts. The extent to which these tripod institutions can sustain themselves amidst the almost constant political onslaught of the Executive by means of readjustment, reorganizations, disruptions which may sometimes be debilitating to the career aspirations of the functionaries will be determined by their ability and willingness to collaborate in the performance of their respective functions.

## VI. FUNCTIONS OF THE TRIPODIC BUREAUCRACIES

The functions of the tripod bureaucracies in focus here - with a moderate or contestable exception of the Civil Service Commission - are to some extent

determined by political considerations as they can be altered from time to time depending on the political agenda of the government in place. Thus it can be argued to some extent, such functions are products of both political and constitutional delegations. Some of such functions delegated to these high calibre administrative arms of the state as articulated by Omiyale (2012) are synoptically highlighted in this section.

### a) Functions of the Office of the Secretary to the State Government – [SSG]

In terms of functional performance the Secretary to the Government (SSG) depending on the position, thinking or orientation of the political leadership or government in place, is in most cases, responsible for superintending or overseeing the affairs of the under listed critical areas or segments of the state.

- Cabinet Secretariat.
- Meetings of the Executive Council.
- Matters relating to the Legislature.
- Constitutional or political matters such as Tribunals and Commissions of Inquiry.
- State Security and public safety.
- Directing the Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) regarding government policies and decisions.
- Maintaining contacts with Political Executives in the various departments.
- Protocol Affairs.
- Intergovernmental Relations.
- National Honours and Related Matters and, any other duties that may be assigned by the ultimate political leadership.

### b) Functions of the Office of the Head of Service – [HOS]

The functions of the Head of Service amongst others include responsibility over the affairs of the following administrative duties of the state.

- Implementations of government decisions by the Ministeries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs).
- Coordination of all service matters generally.
- Handling matters of recruitment, appointments, promotion and discipline of career officers in conjunction with Civil Service Commission.
- Protecting or guarding the integrity of service rules and regulations, ethics and norms.
- Training and staff development.
- Grading and Pay, and Establishment matters generally such as personnel records.
- Deployment of staff to different areas of the service as may be called for from time to time.
- Pensions and service welfare matters.

- *Looking after labour matters such as dealing with labour negotiating council or committees.*
- *Allocation of vehicle and other logistics to enhance the performance of MDAs and their staff and, any other duties that may be assigned by the political leadership of the state.*

c) *Functions of the Civil Service Commission – [CSC]*

The functions or roles of the Civil Service Commission which can be contended to have remained clear and steady over the years within the administrative landscape and terrains of the Nigerian state without the constant alterations and political determinism which have characterized those of the SSG and HOS include amongst others the following:

- *Recruitment and appointment of staff and,*
- *Promotion and discipline of staff.*

It is important to note the fact that, the seeming pyramidal or hierarchical nature of these three critical super-bureaucracies – [Office of the Secretary to Government; Office of the Head of Service and; the Civil Service Commission] notwithstanding, the strength of one - (Office of the SSG) – of them through political leverage over the others – (Office of the HOS and, the CSC) - constitutes the latter's' advantage over the former – (i.e., the office of the SSG). The HOS enjoys a semblance of permanence in office over the SSG to some extent in that the latter is more political than administrative. While the tenure of the SSG is actually tied to that of a given Executive and, may hardly in some cases continue beyond the first term in case the Executive gets a second term in office the other institutional super-bureaucracies – [HOS and CSC] – are not usually or always a victim of this political exigency due to certain statutory stipulations. In other words, the latter do and usually in most cases, (though not in all) survive such expedient political considerations due to statutory requirements. However, out of the three institutions only the CSC to some extent enjoys a fixed term of office which may not always be easily slaughtered on the altar of political exigency despite the fact that their appointments are made in most cases, on the basis of political consideration. This notwithstanding, we have seen cases where the Executives tampered with such appointments prior to the completion of the stipulated tenure and, such actions subsequently led to litigations.

Given these variations in the conditions of services of these tripodic super-bureaucracies, the only way to constantly avoid and/or survive the premature political onslaught or annihilation of the Executives in most cases is for them to collaborate so as to positively move governance forward through efficient, effective and responsive service delivery. This is more so in the sense that:

*Hoffman, L.W., 1986. The three offices we are dealing with are in coordinate partnership and not in subordinate partnership. Maintenance of smooth relationship is easier to handle in subordinate partnership where one authority necessarily has to defer to a higher authority in the chain of command. But where authorities are at par as in coordinate partnership, greater care is ever needed not to rock the boat unnecessarily or rub the other partner on the wrong side. Situations had occurred where the office of the Head of Service clashed with the Civil Service Commission in unnecessary tussle. This should never have been so if all parties were sufficiently conscious of the ethics of their relationship. They are cooperating and not competing offices (Ibid.).*

While emphasizing the need for this collaboration among these tripodic bureaucracies, we are however, not unmindful of the difference in the expectation tied to their functional purviews. This is more so in view of the fact that the Office of the SSG is both political and administrative and does not fully fall within the parameters of the traditional values/criteria of public administration as it is both heard and seen unlike the Office of the HOS and its functionaries who are only heard and not seen in line with the orthodoxy of public administration<sup>3</sup> not minding the currency given to the political character of public administration. While the Office of the HOS and its practitioners are only seen but not heard in line with the dictates of orthodox public administration, the CSC is the gatekeeper which determines who enters or does not enter the public service (civil service). It has the same pedigree in terms of political appointment into office like the SSG. Even though the determinism involved in the emergence of the HOS is to some extent political its political consideration is guided by civil service rules and regulations which are not really applicable to the other two. However, it should be stated that the political consideration involved in the emergence of the HOS seemed to have been diminished by the introduction of competitive examination as one of the critical requirements for the appointment of Permanent Secretaries and the HOS.

<sup>3</sup> "public administration (lower case) needs to be distinguished from Public Administration (upper case). Public administration denotes the institutions of public bureaucracy within the state: the organizational structures which for the basis of public decision-making and implementation; and the arrangements by which public services are delivered. Public Administration, as a subdiscipline of political science, is the study of public administration by means of institutional description, policy analysis and evaluation, and intergovernmental relations analysis" (McLean and McMillan, 2003).

## VII. THE CONTEMPORARY TREND IN EKITI STATE

Competitive examinations as one of the critical requirements for appointments and promotions of the staff in the Civil Service were actually evoked in Ekiti State in 2010 in respect of the appointment of the state's HOS and Permanent Secretaries. The requirement was extended to the education sector in the course of the state's quest for a more robust and sound education of its people. This was done through competitive examinations for the old and new School Principals in the state prior to appropriate placement, deployment and, redeployment. Thus, Ekiti State offers a good example in the revamping of the civil service as a critical engine of the state in line with the orthodoxy of rational bureaucracy and its imperatives of hierarchy of authority, impersonality, technical competence, specialization, discipline and, meritocracy which were swept away by inglorious previous reforms.

With its contemporary focus which has a perfect symmetry with the currents of public administration in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the political and extra-systemic considerations which have fatally crippled the public service have diminished or been completely dismantled in the state. As a matter of fact, in its quest for efficient, effective, results-oriented, professional, dedicated, knowledgeable, competent, accountable and financially prudent civil service and servants, the Ekiti State government in addition to its reincarnation of the critical criteria of orthodox bureaucracy in its civil services, introduced in 2010 measures for achieving "strong implementation capacity" of the state's civil service "through the Civil Service Transformation Strategy (CSTS)" (Adamolekun, 2012).

The rationality of the state's philosophy and thinking along this line was predicated on the belief that the major instruments for achieving its 8-Point Agenda – [of participatory and accountable "governance, infrastructural development, modernizing agriculture, education and human capital development, health care services, industrial development, tourism and, gender equality and empowerment" (See the Road Map to Ekiti Recovery: 8-Point Agenda)] – is to do away with a "civil service characterized by intense politicisation, limited efficiency and effectiveness and low morale" (Adamolekun, 2012). While the requirements and task associated with this new thinking remain largely daunting, "it is not an insurmountable challenge" from the perspective of the political leadership of the state (See Fayemi, 2010).

The main goal of the CSTS in Ekiti State is "to transform the civil service through critical institutional changes, re-engineering of management systems and processes, and restoring merit, professionalism, and competence, into a value-based and results-oriented

institution within eight to ten years" (Adamolekun, 2012) hence, it is predicated on the following key result areas:

- *Effective governance of the civil service;*
- *Organizational efficiency and effectiveness;*
- *Professional and results-oriented civil servants;*
- *Ethical and accountable workforce with a changed work culture;*
- *Improved competence of civil servants; and*
- *Improved public financial management (CSTS, Ekiti State \*-Point Agenda, 2010; also cited in Adamolekun, 2012).*

The evocation of the competitive examination as one of the requirements for recruitment and promotions in Ekiti State is in perfect conformity with the traditionalism of the civil service which was jettisoned in Nigeria through the policy blindness of the military reformers in exchange for a civil service characterized by mediocrity and limited efficiency and effectiveness, low morale and productivity. This traditionalism which takes civil servants as "administrators paid for implementing the policies of national governments" (McLean and McMillan, 2003) was predicated on "the implementation of the Northcote-Trevelyan reforms in the second half of the nineteenth century" (Ibid.) which signalled the origin of the civil service as a modern bureaucracy. These reforms at that time and beyond ensured that:

- *Entrance to the civil service was by competitive examination, both for the administrative (highest) and executive (intermediate) classes. Promotion was also on merit.*
- *The civil service became a life career and hence a profession for the educated to enter into*
- *The tasks of civil servants were divided into intellectual and routine. This meant that departments developed as hierarchic: those drawn from the administrative class filled senior policy advice positions; those from the executive class filled positions defined by their superiors; and those on clerical grades-the least intellectual-carried out routine work.*
- *The civil service as a permanent institution of government developed an ethos of political neutrality, willing and able to advise and serve elected government of any party programme (Ibid.)*

The foregoing clearly and closely mirrors Weber's ideal type bureaucracy. Max Weber, the German Sociological writer, was the foremost exponent of the bureaucratic theory of organization. As a matter of fact, his theory has definitely become the blue print for the analytical consideration of the organizational landscapes both in the public and private sectors of almost all polities or political economies of the world.

Contemporary thinking on the subject matter of bureaucracy and its place in organizations is without any doubt predicated on the classical work of Max Weber in that his “analysis of bureaucracy which was first published in 1922” remains the “most influential statement or pronouncement and point of departure for all analyses on the subject” up till today (Shafritz and Whitbeck, 1981). Henry (1975) identified the “bureaucratic theory” school of thought as the first within the “close model organizational theory”. The core of Weberian bureaucratic theory deals with the explanation of bureaucratic (formal) organizations. Thus, according to Shafritz and Whitbeck (1981:3):

*Weber used an “ideal-type” approach to extrapolate from the real world the central core of features characteristic of the most fully developed bureaucratic form of organization. Weber’s “characteristic of Bureaucracy” is neither a description of reality nor a statement of normative preference. It is merely an identification of the major variables or features that characterize bureaucracies.*

According to this theory, the features/characteristics of bureaucracy include “hierarchy, promotion based on professional merit and skill, the development of a career service in the bureaucracy, reliance on and use of rules and regulations, and impersonality of relationships among career-professionals in the bureaucracy and with their clientele” (Henry, op. cit.). This scholar asserts that the Weberian bureaucratic theory has been the most influential of all the schools (of thought) in the close model and, it most clearly represents the values of the close model (Ibid.). As a matter of fact:

*Bureaucracy has emerged as a dominant feature of the contemporary world. Virtually everywhere one looks in both developed and developing nations, economic, social, and political life are extensively influenced by bureaucratic organizations. “Bureaucracy” is generally used to refer to a specific set of structural arrangements. It is also used to refer to specific patterns of behavior-patterns which are not restricted to formal bureaucracies. It is widely assumed that the structural characteristics or organization properly defined as “bureaucratic” influence the behavior of individuals-whether clients or bureaucrats-who interact with them (Shafritz and Whitbeck, op. cit.).*

The predominant and prominence of the bureaucratic theory of organization notwithstanding, the theorists within the open model stream (along the evolutionary trend of organizational theory) have been very critical of the Weberian bureaucratic theory. The open model criticism of this theory has been summed up thus: “open model theorist dislike the rigidity, the inflexibility, the emphasis on means rather than ends, and the manipulative and anti-humanist overtones of

Weberian bureaucratic theory” (Ibid.). However, the criticisms of the Weberian theory have on their own been criticized in turn, because they “often have been overdrawn and certainly have not been leveled with Weber’s own social context in mind” (See Akindele, 2010(b)).

The need for the continuous applicative sustenance of these imperatives of Weberian bureaucracy in ways conducive to the pursuit of good governance and its attendant provision of efficient, effective and responsive services to the citizenry makes the type of collaboration in perspective here indispensable within the landscape of any state’s civil service. The positive multiplier effects of such collaboration on the policy and governance processes of a nation like Nigeria can only be taken for granted at the perils of the state.

## VIII. THE BENEFITS OF COLLABORATION

Through collaboration the state and the citizenry will benefit immensely in that the super-Bureaucrats will be able to save the state from the clutches of some problems which can completely wreck her engine of development and they will be able to call for urgent actions by ways of solutions and policy redirection. This is particularly so in that in dealing with policy initiation, formulation and implementation, the super bureaucrats in the tripod super-institutions will increasingly and jointly become aware of the three major alternatives or grounds – [provision of a policy; best known alternative and; absence of a policy] - for policy evaluation. They will also become soundly knowledgeable about the applicative utility of the criteria – [efficiency, effectiveness, equity, adequacy, feasibility, ethics and technology] - against which public policy can be evaluated. Thus, becoming equipped with the competence to constantly distinguish policy input (PI) from policy output (PO) within the framework of policy analysis and public policy hierarchy and, the quadrupled categories – [political policy, executive policy, administrative policy and technical policy] – involved (Akindele et. al, 2000). By so doing they will be able to constantly rescue the state from the deep waters of economic mismanagement and wastage and, in the process enhance national development and the pursuit of national aspirations and responsive and responsible deliverance of public good to the people.

Through the same collaboration our super-Bureaucrats will be equally able to shed the leaves of the cancerous factors associated with disruptive or conflict ridden administrative landscape of a disorganized bureaucratic ecology. From the collaboration avoidance of the abuses in the public and financial sector of the nation’s economy and adoption of optimal strategy for effective management of the economy will automatically become part of the values of



the public service. As a matter of fact, the collaboration will confer on the bureaucrats the capacity to:

- *Identify the causes of government's fiscal problems and development a multi year forecast of revenue-yielding capacity as well as that of the demand for its services.*
- *Develop a "list of priority rankings for all government programmes, projects, services and benefits so that high- priority items could be retained or augmented and low-priority items could be reduced or terminated.*
- *Design an integrated strategy to generate new resources, improve productivity, and ration services so that both revenue and expenditure sides of the budget could be neatly balanced (Akindele and Adeyemi, 2010).*

The Super-Bureaucrats through the benefits of collaboration will be able to deal with questions like the under-listed ones and provide answers to them in their quest for fiscal solvency of the state:

- *What activities are mandated? That is, what services and benefits are required by law? This question is intended to sort out activities that are "musts" from activities engaged in by habit or custom.*
- *What activities can be terminated? This question focuses on activities that are not mandated and may have low public support.*
- *What additional revenues can be raised? Where can user charges and fees be instituted and raised? Where can uncollected taxes be collected? What services can be sold to other government units? What grants can be obtained from the federal government, the state, or private sources?*
- *What activities can be assigned to other service providers? This question helps identify services that can be shifted to other units of government, contracted out at lower cost, shared with other governments, provided by the private sector, or "co-produced" with client participation at lower cost.*
- *What things can be done more effectively? This question addressed the broad area of productivity improvement. It should help generate alternative approaches to delivering existing services, changing organizations and using technological improvements to reduce costs.*
- *Where can low-cost or no-cost labour be used? Where can positions be reclassified and downgraded? Where can tasks be simplified, paramilitary jobs be manned by civilians, and paraprofessionals and volunteers be utilized?*
- *Where can capital investments be substituted for labour expenses? At a time when labour expenses*

*comprise 70 to 80 percent of many agencies' budgets, labour-saving technologies can yield substantial savings; this question seeks to identify opportunities for such savings.*

- *Where can information gathering methods be installed and improved? Good information can improve financial forecasts and account for the direct and indirect cost and the benefits of service alternatives.*
- *Where can demand be reduced and services rationed? Because many public services are free, they are often squandered. This question addresses the possibility of using fees and other means (e.g., eliminating low-usage hours in some public services and smoothing out peak hours in others) to reduce demand and pare down the availability of some services.*
- *What policies can help strengthen the economic base and promote economic development? This question addresses the link between economic development and government policies and underscores the importance of private-sector investment decisions for public-sector fiscal solvency.*
- *What arrangements can be made to identify and strengthen the leadership of this process? This final question underlies all others. Without able leadership the process of guiding a government through a fiscal squeeze may turn out to be haphazard and self-defeating. Decision-making structures that facilitate interest aggregation and build consensus are likely to reinforce leadership and help ease the adjustment to constrained budgets (Ibid.).*

Through the inter and intra agency/institutional collaboration "the poor economic performance that led to the "worsening of the poverty level in Nigeria, (which) has been traced to various factors" can be properly addressed with concrete solutions. Not only this, through such collaboration the effectiveness or otherwise of public policy and its formulation can be explored for improvement. Through it, distinct policy objectives can be set to include:

- *The provision for social goods, or the process by which total resource use is divided between private and social goods and by which the mix of social goods is chosen. This provision may be termed the allocation function of budget policy. Regulatory policies, which may also be considered a part of the allocation function of budget policy. Regulatory policies, which may also be considered a part of the allocation function, are not included here because they are not primarily a problem of budget policy.*
- *Adjustment of the distribution of income and wealth*

*to assure conformance with what society considers a “fair” or “just” state distribution, here referred to as the distribution.*

- *The use of budget policy as a means of maintaining high employment, a reasonable degree of price level stability, and an appropriate rate of economic growth, with allowance for effects on trade and on the balance of payments. We refer to all these objectives as the stabilization function.*

The need for unity of objective in the governance and policy processes through collaboration in the quest for balanced resources mix and effective curtailment of administrative constraints is decipherable from the context of today's complex international political system and its economy:

*The international political economy has become incommensurably more complex than it was forty years ago. In those days, international relations could focus centrally on inter-state relations in a highly stylised world where security, not international trade, was the dominant force, international financial flows were modest and it was presumed that governments were still regarded as the main brokers of international affairs. It is no longer credible to work on the basis of such premises. There are numerous new actors on the scene, and many new dynamics. Together, their power and authority have outstripped the power of nation-states and their interactions are becoming ever more complex. The internationalisation of production, the proliferation of transnational corporations, the burgeoning of alliances, partnerships and other collaborative linkages – not only between firms but between communities and governments – all are casual evidence of these trends. These new complex realities have not yet generated a commensurately complex conceptual framework that is capable of guiding the analysis or explanation of the evolution of our new complex world. This is, in part, ascribable to the denial of the fact that these new realities have transformed the world economic game. But it is mainly due to our poor stylisation of our global – national – local hierarchical system (Mothe and Paquet, 1996).*

Given the foregoing, and, the “need to accelerate development” and, and achieve a wider distribution” of the gains of government (Meier: 1984:1), such a collaboration must be striven for. It is equally imperative in view of the challenges of the expected and usual authoritative allocation of the scarce and critical societal values or, the determination of who gets what? when? Where? How? and Why? among the various competing groups or interests within the polity. Within the context of this collaboration “the choice of policy instruments, methods of implementation” will be improved. Thus, it is important to pursue it given how

economic and non-economic forces interact in the process of a nation's quest for balanced policy orientation vis-à-vis economic and political development in the context of National objectives.

As a matter of fact the attainment of the collaboration in focus here would make it possible for a flawless determination of “how socio-cultural and political development contribute to economic development and, are, in turn, determined by it” thus, allowing for a unifocal though, mutually useful pursuit of multidimensionally beneficial public policy for the citizenry. Thus, the absence of such collaborative relationship can lead to decline in the nation's economic growth rates. It can also lead to politically painful and sensitive trade-offs - [“inherent in mixed economic systems”] - like:

- *The choice between inflation or unsatisfied public demands for goods and services.*
- *The choice between providing services through tax-supported bureaucracies or through market arrangements.*
- *The choice between attempting to provide equal health, housing, and educational opportunities to all citizens or (in effect) rationing opportunities to those who can afford to pay for them.*
- *The choice between spending for national defence or spending to alleviate the hardship of the poor, the sick and the underprivileged (i.e. the dilemma of “guns vs. butter”) (Levine, 1980).*

A cursory look at Nigeria's budgetary policies in recent times would reveal to liberated minds the state of the Nation's economy vis-à-vis the foregoing trade-offs, The collusion of political realities with economic necessities in most polities constitutes compelling forces on leaders to face these trade-offs through the kind of collaboration we have in mind, irrespective of the consequences.

These aside, the “gap between the needs and expectations of citizens and government employees for government services and benefits and, the inability of the economy” to meet these demands which have been described as “fiscal “stress (Ibid.4), further necessitate the need for the unity of political and economic objectives which will be attainable through inter and intra agency/institutional relationship/collaboration in most polities of the world. The necessity to avoid both macro-political and macro-economic policy conflicts that are likely to arise from the multiplicity of goals and objectives further compels the collaboration among these policy players of the government in terms of the pursuit of a nation's political and economic objectives.

With the collaboration policy, objectives would be streamlined to enable government and its bureaucrats to recognize and make available needed legal and institutional framework for nationally beneficial

goals which Shehu (1999:11), referred to as impetuses. These impetuses according to him include:

- *Provision of a range of public goods and services, especially infrastructure, which will enable the economy to run smoothly.*
- *Establishment of clear and consistent economic policies which, in addition to eliminating bureaucratic inefficiencies, will also build private sector confidence. The greater the level of private sector's trust and confidence in public policies, the greater the likelihood that the rules of economic behaviour will be honoured.*
- *Establishment of public confidence through properly adhered guidelines, accountability and probity in the public and private sectors. The absence of public confidence in the government and its policies will lead to legitimacy and acceptability crises.*
- *Provision of a framework from which the intended and unintended outcomes of economic policies are backed up by welfare safety nets for the not-so-privileged members of the society.*

The richness of Nigeria's endowment in terms of physical and natural resources necessitates her ability to cope with administrative constraints, and, achieve a hybrid of economic and political objectives because the tapping and utilization of such resources need the kind of symmetry that is usually associated with such collaborative relationship among the public bureaucrats at the super-institutional levels like the ones under reference here. With effective collaboration the defects which have constantly crippled the governance and policy processes in Nigeria will be removed: Some of the defects include:

- *Target setting based on educated guesswork without detailed project studies.*
- *Violation of planning rules by those who made them.*
- *Inadequate/incomplete studies on plans.*
- *Erratic and non-coherent policies on the needed directive or policy focus of each plan.*
- *Payment of lip-service to plan discipline i.e. fiscal indiscipline, violation of sectoral allocations, Father Christmas spending philosophy.*
- *Corruption and its attendant capital flight which, combined, has consistently aided the truncation of the nation's development of a self-reliant economy.*
- *Non-recognition of higher-level management as an indispensable skill.*
- *Expansion of the public service without corresponding expansion of skills.*
- *Paucity of statistical values that is, non recognition of statistical data as the indispensable basis of planning.*

- *Neglect of true Academics in the scheme of things based on their erroneous categorization as theorists.*
- *Constant disarticulation in the progress reports of yearly or periodic national Development plans and, the need to constantly review existing plans.*
- *Planning beginning and ending only on papers.*
- *Lack of real commitment to free Nigeria from its status of a "trading-post economy" which former President Obasanjo, as a Military Head of State, called it in 1977 during the launching of the first International Trade Fair in the country.*

## IX. ADDITIONAL NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR GENUINE AND PRODUCTIVE COLLABORATION IN EKITI STATE.

The benefits attributable to collaboration among the super-bureaucracies and their functionaries can be better harnessed if certain reorganization can take place within the state's civil service. What to do in this regard at least as part of other concrete measures forms the core our synoptic analysis in this section.

Without any negation intended it is our contention here that the attractiveness of collaboration as an ingredient of good governance, efficient and effective service delivery within our democracy notwithstanding, its workability; sustainability and; productivity in terms of responsive policy inputs and outputs; institutional viability and stability is dependent on certain tradeoffs and compromises. These on their own, are contingent on the ability of the state to reorganize its various agencies and institutions vis-à-vis the expected fine-tuning and reduction of apparent areas of economic and administrative wastages associated with the avoidable crippling overlaps among several of the State's Parastatals. This is necessary in view of the existence of a plethora of such overlapping Parastatals performing almost the same functions within the state (Ekiti) public sector thereby serving as tunnels for economic wastage and plundering of critical resources.

Specifically it is recommended that the civil service should be transformed such that overlapping functions are reduced to the barest minimum to allow for genuine cooperation/collaboration. Through this reorganization the financial management system will be improved with its attendant positive consequences for developed and improved revenue generation since the revenue generation agencies will equally be strengthened through transparency; healthy budgetary process; accountability; prudent management of resources; reduction of fiscal stress and fiscal crises; integrity in bureaucratic conducts and its accompanying reduction of bureau-pathologies; and changed leadership.

This reorganization will not be problematic if the willingness required for it is not idiosyncratically ostracized by the relevant actors of the state. More importantly, the blue print for such reorganization – [which, in the case of Ekiti State, is explainable within the matrix of the 8-Point Agenda of the government that came into office in October, 2010] - should be the brainchild of all and sundry including the super-bureaucracies and their functionaries serving as the technocrats.

Without any doubt, the ball is in the courts of the super-bureaucrats within the super-bureaucracies in Ekiti State particularly the tripodics ones. Once these levels of the administrative machinery of the state inculcate the values of dedication to duties; results-orientated professionalism and, collaborative relationship irrespective of the trade-offs and costly compromises they require, the civil service in the state and, indeed, in Nigeria will regain its lost glory and enviable position in the scheme of things vis-à-vis the administrative landscape and its constantly slippery topographic terrains. Through such dedicated professionalism, self-confidence, knowledgeable and results-oriented dispositions our civil service and servants of today – [as institutions and people saddled with “heavy and multifarious burdens”] - can be equally described, appreciated and praised the way Chief Obafemi Awolowo (1960. 293; also cited in Adamolekun, 2012) described appreciated and glowingly described the Western Region Civil Service and Servants of the 1950s when he stated thus:

*Our Civil Service is exceedingly efficient, absolutely incorruptible in its upper stratum, and utterly devoted and unstinting in the discharge of its many onerous duties. For our civil servants, government workers and labourers to bear, uncomplainingly and without breaking down, the heavy and multifarious burdens with which we have in the interest of the public saddled them, is an epic of loyalty and devotion, of physical and mental endurance, and of a sense of mission, on their part. From the bottom of my heart I salute all of them.*

This, in itself, will propel the civil service and its practitioners as critical actors and players of the state to prominence and relevance in line with the thesis of today’s global village and its “mondialization” of the governance process in our democracies. This, in addition to other issues already articulated in this paper constitutes an invaluable benefit of collaboration like the other ones analyzed above.

## X. CONCLUSION

The issue of collaboration with reference to good governance, efficient and effective service delivery to the people within a democratic setting has been

examined in this paper. In the process, relevant concepts of democracy, governance, institutionalism and public service were elucidated in line with core theoretical constructs.

The analytical consideration of these concepts as the applicative mechanisms for the practical pursuit of the agenda of the state was deemed appropriate as the take-off point for the realization of the goals set attainment in this paper. In the course of our analysis, these concepts and their understanding were revealed as the appropriate mechanisms for dealing with the complex relational threads among the various competing interests and groups within the state – as the macro political organism within which the citizens continue to search or struggle for self-fulfillment.

Against this analytical background or orientation, the issue of collaboration among the administrative institutions of government in the quest for efficient and effective service delivery within the boundaries of good governance and democracy was critically discussed. The discourse in this regard, zeroed in on the super-bureaucracies and their functionaries. The need for such collaboration; its benefits; what the Public Administrators should do to collaborate and sustain such collaboration, as well as the relevance of technocracy and other bureaucratic principles to the process were analyzed.

The reincarnation of the orthodoxy of the civil service and what it actually entails as exemplified by the wider currency lately given to competitive examination as the major prerequisite for recruitment and promotions in the civil service in Nigeria and, particularly in Ekiti State has been identified in the paper as a healthy development. This analytical thinking in itself was predicated on the fact that the unhealthy tinkering with the administrative arm of the state in the past starting with the 1975 purge and its disturbing repeat in 1988 through uncharitable military arrogance was a disaster to the administrative landscape in Nigeria. It was contended that this development made mediocrity rather than meritocracy and technical competence the operational catechism of the civil service until the recent bold step which attempts to bring back the glorious days of the civil service. The extent to which this can be sustained is a matter of conjecture which is better left for the future and developments within the Nigerian administrative and political terrains.

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# Prevalence of Counterfeiting in Nigeria: Evaluating Consumers' Experience in South-Eastern and South-Western Nigeria

By Solomon OJO & Adeyemi Oluwakemi OJO

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**Abstract** - This study was meant to investigate the prevalence of counterfeiting in Nigeria, evaluating consumers' experiences. The study was a survey which reacted act to a number of consumers of products, drawn in South-Western and South-Eastern Nigeria. A total of 517 participants took part in the study, diet of which 224(43.3%) were males while 293(56.7%) were females, with a mean age of 35.59 yrs (SD = 12.58). Questionnaire format was utilized for data collection in the study. Both the descriptive and inferential statistics were employed for data analysis. The results revealed that more of the study participants indicated that most of the identified products in the study have their counterfeits available. The results also revealed that based on the extent of availability of counterfeited products, more of the study participants still expressed that the identified products are much available in Nigerian markets. The only hypothesis, stated and tested, which stated that there would be significant difference between consumers in South-Western and South-Eastern Nigeria on extent of availability of counterfeited products was supported ( $t(515) = 5.13, P < .001$ ).

**Keywords** : Counterfeiting, Products, consumers, South- Eastern Nigeria, south-Western Nigeria.

**GJHSS-C Classification** : FOR Code: 150501, 150502



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



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Solomon OJO <sup>α</sup> & Adeyemi Oluwakemi OJO <sup>σ</sup>

**Abstract** - This study was meant to investigate the prevalence of counterfeiting in Nigeria, evaluating consumers' experiences. The study was a survey which reacted act to a number of consumers of products, drawn in South-Western and South-Eastern Nigeria. A total of 517 participants took part in the study, diet of which 224(43.3%) were males while 293(56.7%) were females, with a mean age of 35.59 yrs (SD = 12.58). Questionnaire format was utilized for data collection in the study. Both the descriptive and inferential statistics were employed for data analysis.

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The results were discussed adequately. It was therefore established that the issue of counterfeiting is real in Nigeria, as expressed by selected consumers of products. Some recommendations were offered in the study as mechanisms for controlling or eliminating counterfeiting.

**Keywords** : Counterfeiting, Products, consumers, South-Eastern Nigeria, south-Western Nigeria.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of fraud all over the world has received enormous attention from governmental institutions, private organizations, banking organizations, religious groups, non-governmental organizations e.t.c. Fraud has been with us for a very long time. Very unfortunately, the prevalence and high widespread of fraudulent activities have not been adequately addressed since the problem has even penetrated where it is not supposed to penetrate.

In actual fact, fraudulent activities are not what some government officials get involved in, or what some bank officials have been indicted over, fraud has

become what is noticed in every sphere of our lives in Nigeria. A number of fraud cases have been identified with university administrators, religious groups (such as churches), non-governmental institutions etc. This has pointed out that fraud issue is becoming our way of life. For example, bribery and corruption which can be said to be an aspect of fraud or financial crime has become almost a complete way of life for most people in different professions in Nigeria. Specifically, the Nigerian Police have been seriously indicted and it seems that members of the organization do not care about the negative assessment people are painting them with everyday. Some other governmental parastatals such as Nigeria Customs Service, Nigeria Immigration Service, etc. have also been badly painted as regards to corrupt practices.

Aside from this, fraud has been identified with our businessmen/women, manufacturers, traders' etc. going by their involvement in some shady, dangerous business activities such as production or sale of counterfeited products.

Very essentially, the issue of counterfeiting has become a commonplace in Nigeria as at today. Although this problem has been with us long ago but, it is like the problem is getting more grounded every day. However, there is need to elaborate on fraud, and specifically counterfeiting. In the broadcast essence, a fraud is a deception made for personal gain, although it has a more specific legal meaning, the exact details varying between jurisdictions. Many hoaxes are fraudulent, although those not made for personal gain are not best described in this way (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/fraud>). Accordingly, not all frauds are hoaxes-electoral fraud, for example. Fraud permeates many areas of life, including art, archaeology and science. In the broad legal sense, a fraud is any crime or civil wrong for gain that utilizes some deception practiced on the victim as its principal method (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/fraud>)

In the same vein, Wikipedia notes further that, with respect to criminal law, fraud is the crime or offence of deliberately deceiving another in order to damage them-usually, to obtain property or services from him or her unjustly. It is also viewed that fraud can be accomplished through the aid of forged objects, and in the criminal law of common law jurisdictions, it may be called "theft by deception", "larceny by tricks", "larceny

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by fraud and deception" or something similar (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/fraud>).

Fraud has been defined as an intentional misrepresentation of material existing fact made by one person to another with knowledge of this falsity and for the purpose of inducing the other person to act, and upon which the other person relies with resulting injury or damage. Fraud is also expressed to include an omission or intentional failure to state material facts, knowledge of which would be necessary to make other statements not misleading. Along this line, make a 'misrepresentation' simply means to state as a fact something which is false or untrue; making a material 'omission' is to omit or withhold the statement of a fact, knowledge of which is necessary to make other statements not misleading (<http://www.lectlaw.com/def/fo79.htm>). Accordingly, it is noted that in order to constitute fraud, a misrepresentation must be false [or an omission must make other statements, misleading], and it must be 'material' in the sense that it relates to a matter of some importance or significance rather than a minor or trivial detail.

In the same vein, to constitute fraud, a misrepresentation [or omission] must also relate to an existing fact'. Ordinarily a promise to do something in the future does not relate to an existing fact and cannot be the basis of a claim for fraud unless the person who made the promise did so without any present intent to perform it or with a positive intent not to perform it. Similarly, a mere expression of opinion does not relate to an existing fact and cannot be the basis of a claim of fraud unless the person stating the opinion has exclusive or superior knowledge of existing facts which are inconsistent with such opinion (<http://www.lectlaw.com/def/fo79.htm>).

Further, it is expressed that to fraud, the misrepresentation [or omission] must be made knowingly and intentionally, not as a result of mistake or accident, that is, that the person either know or should have known of the falsity of the misrepresentation [or the false effect of the omission], or that he made the misrepresentation [or omission] in negligent disregard of its truth or falsity. It is also noted that to constitute fraud, the plaintiff must prove the Defendant intended for the plaintiff suffered injury or damages as a result of the fraud (<http://www.lectlaw.com/def/fo79.htm>).

In another dimension, fraud has been coined, to be part of financial crimes. This is the more reason why NVAA (1999) emphasizes that financial crimes include offences commonly called "white collar crime" such as telemarketing scams, investment or pension fraud, financial abuse, and identity theft. And those victims of financial crimes represent a tremendously underserved and poorly understood segment of the victim population.

Accordingly, it is noted that this is due to several factors such as: the initial emphasis of the

victims' right movement focused on serious violent crime, with little attention paid to financial crimes; lack of research and understanding regarding the serious emotional impact of these crimes on the victims; lack of consistency in the response of law enforcement crimes, etc.

In the same vein, the lack of sufficient data on the extent of fraud victimization was highlighted in a recent report entitled victimization of persons by fraud, based on research supported by the National Institute of Justice. The report, being highlighted by Titus, Heinzelman, and Boyle (1995) noted, in the first place, that FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) and the Justice Department's National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) provide annual tabulations on property and violent crimes, based on crimes reported to the police and surveys of households. However, they do not provide information with regard to the victimization of persons by fraud. In the second place, crimes of fraud are targeted against individuals and employ deception for the purpose of obtaining illegal financial gain. They involve the misrepresentation of facts and they deliberate intent to deceive with the promise of goods services or other financial benefits that in fact do not exist or that were never intended to be provided. This, according to Titus, Heinzelman and Boyle (1995) includes various forms of telemarketing; frauds involving consumer goods or services and frauds dealing with financial advice, insurance coverage, pension, investment or business schemes.

However, efforts have been made to highlight five various examples of financial crimes by NVAA (1999). These examples include: mail fraud; embezzlement; computer fraud; wire fraud; antitrust fraud; reverse mortgage fraud, e.t.c.

In the same vein, White collar crime FYI.com provides some other types/examples of fraud that is also similar to the one provided by NVAA. According to White collar crime FYI.com, types of fraud include: bribery, computer frauds etc. Based on the description of types/examples of fraud provided by NVAA (1999) and white collar crime FYI.com, the emphasis on this particular study is directed at counterfeiting.

Counterfeiting is referred to as the act of manufacturing fake currency or altering genuine currency. The practice dates back to the Civil war, when a third of all U.S. currency was believed to be counterfeit (<http://www.whitecollarcrimemyi.com/counterfeiting.html>).

Bosworth and Yang (2002), based on their study titled the Economics and management of Global counterfeiting, raised an observation that their paper was actually focused on the counterfeiting of currency parse, which is a somewhat different though related issue. This vital observation raised by Bosworth and Yang provides an insight into our study, that the study is meant to provide a good illustration of the prevalence of counterfeiting in Nigeria with emphasis on measuring both the prevalence of counterfeit currency



and counterfeiting of privately produced goods in Nigeria. So, this study was hinged upon providing empirically based findings regarding the widespread and nature of the problem identified as counterfeiting.

Essentially, Bosworth and Yang (2002) note that the definition of counterfeiting is crucial not only for understanding the subject, but also in terms of measuring the extent and nature of the problem.

According to them, in practice, boundaries of counterfeiting are blurred for at least two reasons: first, that the definition rests on views about consumer perceptions; second, goods are counterfeit and which are legitimately parallel trades is not always immediately obvious and may have to be determined under the law. In line with this, the definitional analysis provided by OECD (1998), which was also cited by Bosworth and Yang (2002) shall be considered in this study. It is expressed that counterfeiting encompasses any manufacturing of a product which, so closely imitates the appearance of the product of another to mislead a consumer that it is the product of another. Counterfeiting is, therefore, said to include trade mark infringing goods, as well as copyright infringements. Further, the concept of counterfeiting includes copying of packaging, labeling and any other significant features of the product (OECD, 1998).

In Nigeria as at today, the scale of this problem is not well documented, but it is a common knowledge that there are enormous counterfeit products, either in form of currency (either Nigerian currency or foreign currency) or consumer goods (of various dimensions and types). However, some scholars have identified the scale of counterfeiting in their respective countries. For example, based on the work of Trembly (1999), it is suggested that the overall loss to USA companies from IP infringement is around US \$250 Billion a year. The Counterfeiting Intelligence Bureau (CIB) of the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) calculated that "counterfeiting increased from 3% of world trade in 1990 to more than 5% in 19995, representing about US\$250 Billion in 19995 (ICC/CIB, 1997). In a similar vein, Bosworth and Yang (2002) note that in 1993, the customs service estimated 750,000 jobs were lost amongst US companies. Very importantly, it is well-noted that while the world trade increased by about 47% from 1990-19995, trade in counterfeit goods rose more than 150% (Bosworth and Yang, 2002). Accordingly, most commentators report a significant growth in counterfeiting in recent years, in which 32.0% of respondents from 145 UK Trading Standards Departments expected the time spent on anti-counterfeiting measures to increase over the next years, while only 12.9% expected it to decrease (Clark, 1999).

Narrowing this revelation down to Nigeria, one can say the trend of counterfeiting in the country has been on the increase, although it can be said precisely how much might have been lost to counterfeiting, but

the major issue is that counterfeiting is real in Nigeria. It is hard you come across an original product in Nigeria, without not seeing the counterfeiting products alongside. This trend has been noticed in drugs or better put pharmaceutical products. Counterfeiting is also noticed in our currency; it is not difficult to come across fake currencies in Nigerian economy. As a matter of fact, the scale of currency counterfeiting has been well-recognized by banking industry in the country.

In any case, there comes the need to consider some theoretical propositions on counterfeiting. Very essentially, the economic framework provided by Bosworth and Yang (2002) shall be considered in this study. Specifically, the stylized economic model of counterfeiting was focused on. According to this model, two assumptions have been identified (i.) trademarks and branding lead to higher future consumer welfare because they encourage discretionary investments such as RPD, advertising and training; (ii) counterfeit goods cause confusion and therefore reduce consumer welfare (Bosworth and Yang, 2002).

Originally, it is noteworthy that real manufacturers or originator firms are usually known with huge amounts being spent to develop the quality and brand image.... of attention needed counterfeit are of lower quality, it confuses customer about the quality of the originator's guarantee reduces the premium they command. Thus, the counterfeit might have been trading on the name and the quality of the originator's products, which is as a result of imitation of an invention in the absence of patents (usually known as free-rider issue) (Bosworth and Yang, 2002). Very particularly, it is observed that the counterfeiter does not incur the costs of branded product, as the counterfeiter takes part of their market and pays no royalties (Chen, 1996).

The issue that is paramount in counterfeiting is that the originator's brand image may be damaged, thereby reducing their intangible assets, market valuation and their returns on discretionary investments (Bosworth and Yang, 2002). However, the stylized model argues the consumer is better off without counterfeits and those trademarks and other IPRS are fundamental to ensuring a level playing field for competition (Bosworth and Yang, 2002).

The stylized view argues further that trademarks provide valuable information to consumers in a number of ways, i.e. that (i) the good is the product of the manufacturer in question; (ii) the purchase at one time will generally be identical to the same brand purchased at another time-continuity in the level of quality, (iii) avoid confusion amongst consumers, reducing consumers search cost; (iv) encourage the IP owner to invest in further product development and quality improvement (Bosworth and Yang, 2002).

The stylized model of counterfeiting has provided a good picture of the dynamics of counterfeiting. Now, there is a need to look into some

studies already conducted in relation to counterfeiting. Based on the study conducted by Higgins and Makin (2004) on college students' software piracy as influenced by the role of social learning theory being conditioned by the effects of low self-control, it was observed that the growth in the use of microcomputers makes life easier for many in the world. However, the growth has also parallel the growth in software piracy (Glass & Wood, 1996 cited in Eisend and Schuchert-Güler, 2006). Accordingly, software piracy occurs when an individual illegally copies commercially available software in order to avoid fees, or when an individual makes unauthorized copies of an organization's internally developed software for personal use or distribution (Straub and Collins, 1990; Britz, 2004). This behaviour is most common among college students (Solomon & O'Brien, 1990; Sims, Cheng, and Teegan, ) who are majoring in liberal arts subjects (Hoolinger, 1998; Husted, 2000) and who have previous software piracy or computer experience (Hinduja, 2001).

Eining and Christensen (1991) note that favourable attitudes toward software piracy and associating with peer who engage in pirating software play an important note in the behaviour. Some other studies show that individuals who did not believe software piracy was a moral transgression were likely to pirate software (see Solomon and O'Brien, 1999, Glass and Wood, 1996; Cohen and Cornwell, 1989).

In another study, Nia and Zaichkowsky (2000 cited in Eisend and Schuchert-Güler, 2006) examined the impact of counterfeit goods on the image of and the desire to own 25 luxury brands. The study was designed to investigate the reasons for buying well-known brand names, such as the need to satisfy a "symbolic meaning and a mechanism of "expressing one's values", which compared the dominance dimensions of image (i.e. quality, status symbol, price, durability, exclusiveness, commonness, fun and prestige). The findings of the study showed that originals were significantly more favourably rated than counterfeits (Nia and Zaichkowsky, 2000 cited in Eisend and Schuchert-Güler, 2006). Still based on the findings of Nia and Zaichkowsky, the findings revealed also that: (i) those not among counterfeits believe such goods have a lower image than those who own them; (ii) non-owners tend to have higher incomes than counterfeits owners.

In another vein, it is noted that more important issue concerning counterfeiting is the conscious act on the part of the customer to seek and purchase a fake product. Deceptive counterfeiting therefore occurs when the consumer believes that she/he is buying a particular brand of a product, produced by a particular manufacturer, which in fact turns out to be a product of some other marketer, (Chakraborty, 1997; Gentry, et. al 2006 cited in Eisend and Schuchert-Güler, 2006).

Further established issue is that non-deceptive counterfeits pose little or no health or safety risk to the

public and the buyer, and have apparently little demonstrable impact on genuine (Nia and Zaichkowsky, 2000 cited in Eisend and Schuchert-Güler, 2006). Accordingly, it is observed that counterfeits may even help to build brand awareness (Schultz and Saporito, 1996 cited in Eisend and Schuchert-Güler, 2006) and to increase the snob value for both originals and counterfeits (Barnett, 2005). In a similar vein, it is also observed that counterfeits can even lead to benefits for society, e.g. when necessary expensive products such as particular drugs become affordable to poor people (Benshahar and Assaf, 2004; Green and Smith, 2004 cited in Eisend and Schuchert-Güler, 2006). Wilke and Zaichkowsky (1999 cited in Eisend and Schuchert-Güler, 2006). Essentially, in view of the fact that precious research has used the terms deceptive and non-deceptive counterfeiting as two quite distinct concepts (Grossman and Shapiro, 1988a, 1988b cited in Eisend and Schuchert-Güler, 2006), Bosworth (2006) has recently suggested considering a spectrum of deception that runs from "super-deceptive" (branded and counterfeit goods appear identical and impossible to tell apart) to completely non-deceptive (all buyers are able to distinguish the counterfeit from the genuine articles). Indeed, the quality of counterfeits has improved over the years and it is becoming more difficult for consumers to identify them (Centry, et al, 2006 cited in Eisend and Schuchert-Güler, 2006). The degree of deceptiveness apparently depends on the consumer's awareness, knowledge, and experience

Based on the analysis above, this study was therefore upon to understand prevalence of counterfeiting in Nigeria, measuring its extent among Nigerian consumers. The study was specifically meant to understand the products that have been identified to have been counterfeited in Nigerian market settings among consumers of these various types of products. It was also the hope of the study to examine the extent of availability of these counterfeited products among consumers. It is believed that the study findings will be an eye-opener as regards the prevalence of counterfeiting products in Nigerian Market environments. The study is expected to raise awareness to the nature and extent of the problem of counterfeiting. Since there have not been adequate studies being carried out empirically on counterfeiting, it is expected that the study findings would serve as a point of reference as to the scale of counterfeiting in Nigeria.

Along this line of thoughts, it was expected that the study participants would be differed on products that have been counterfeited in Nigerian market environments. It is also expected that this study would reveal the difference among the study participants on the extent of counterfeited products.

## II. METHODS

### a) Design

The study was a survey research, which was made to specifically adopt the ex-post facto design. The design was found appropriate because the authors were not involved in active manipulation of variable (s) of interest. All that was done in the study for the participants was to distribute the questionnaires to them.

### b) Setting

The study was carried out in two majorly identified zones in Nigeria. The zones were South-Western Nigeria and South-Eastern Nigeria. In South-Western Nigeria, three identified settings were Lagos state, Oyo state and Ondo state. In South-Eastern Nigeria identified settings were Anambra state; Abia state and Imo state.

Those settings have been identified by Nigerian Government, Stakeholders, Governmental Institutions and International Community as where counterfeit products are usually found (either being produced, distributed or sold).

### c) Participants

A total of 517 participants took part in the study. The participants were made up of 224 (43.3%) males and 293(56.7%) females, with a mean age of 35.59yrs (SD = 12.58). In terms of marital status, 214 (41.4%) of the participants were never married while 303 (58.6%) have been married. In respect of educational status, 55 (10.6%) of the participants did not have formal education; 124 (24%) were primary school certificate holders; 101 (19.5%) were secondary school certificate holders; 143 (27.7%) were holders of Ordinary National Diploma National Certificate of Education; 58 (11.2%) were holders of Higher National Diploma while 36 (7.0%) were holders of First Degrees. In term of religious affiliations, 229 (44.3%) of the participants were Christians; 208 (40.2%) were Muslims while 80 (15.5%) were traditionalists.

In terms of working status, 254 (49.1%) indicated they were still schooling while 264 (50.9) indicated they were workers.

Based on the questionnaire, item that reads "Do you believe that there are counterfeit products in Nigeria", 193 (37.3%) indicated "Yes"; 208(40.2%) indicated "No" while 116 (22.4%) indicated "can't say". The questionnaire item that reads "Do you buy counterfeit products", 245 (47.4%) of the participant indicated "Yes", 165 (31.9%) indicated "No" while 107 (20.7%) indicated can't say. Specifically, consumers of products of various types were targeted for the study.

### d) Instrument

The study data were collected through questionnaire format. The questionnaire was designed

to have three (3) sections in all. The sections were section A, Section B and Section C. The section A was meant to elicit information on some personal features of the study participants. These features include gender, age, marital status, educational status, religious affiliations, and working status.

The section B of the questionnaire was set to measure knowledge of items/products that have been counterfeited. The scale was termed as the "knowledge of counterfeit products scale," developed and designed by the authors of the study. It is a 25 item scale, having a response format of Yes (2), No (1), and Can't Say (0).

The scale items were developed through focus groups discussions and literature search. Originally, a pool of 37 items was developed. Through a number of procedures such as content analysis and construct validity, the scale items dropped from 37 items to 25. In the first place, based on the content analysis of obtained responses the 37 items pooled through focus group discussions and literature search were given out to six (6) experts in the Department of Economics and Department of Business Administration in Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye. (Consumer behaviour/Marketing experts). Three (3) experts were drawn from each Department. Items in the scale were retained in the instrument if considered by the experts. This procedure was justified by the assertion that the use of expert technique is an acceptable method for achieving content validity (Nunnally, 1998). Based on the expert ratings, 29 items were yielded. These items were items that had received above 80% support (i.e. 8 judges' support) from expert ratings. Therefore, using a 4-point Likert type format, the items were therefore put in a questionnaire format and subjected to items analysis in order to improve the construct validity. With this, the psychometric properties of the scale were ascertained (i.e. for the 29 – item measure) and items with wide distribution of response alternatives and a significant item-total correlation were selected for the main study (See Rust and Golombok, 1995). Based on the original pool of 29 items, 25 items with the least item-total correlation of 0.57 were chosen. The alpha reliability of the 25- items scale was found to be 0.88 and the (split-half reliability, using the Spearman –Brown formula yielded a 0.82 coefficient. In the scale, however, high scores indicate high knowledge of items/products that have been counterfeited, while low scores indicate low knowledge of items/products that have been counterfeited.

The section C of the questionnaire was meant to assess the perceived extent of availability of the counterfeited products/items, developed by the authors of this study. This is a continuation of Section B. The scale was designed to know the perceived extent of availability of the products/items identified in Section B. The scale has an overall question that goes as thus: to what extent do you think the following products/items being counterfeited have been made available. The

scale items include “Computer software”, Shoes”, Cloths” Television sets”, Computer hardware; “Cell accessories”, “Power strips”; “ Lights”; electrical tools and appliances”. The scale was made to have a response format ranging between “very much available” (b) to not very much available. The scale is a 25 – item measure in which high scores indicate high level of availability, while low scores indicate low level of availability. A Cronbach’s alpha of 0.91 and a Split-half reliability, using Spearman – Brown formula of 0.87 were reported for the scale.

e) Procedure

The study participants were sample in different locations within Nigerian. The locations were both in South-Eastern part and South- Western part of the country. Specifically, the study participants were chosen randomly at these locations because of their closeness/nearness to the market settings that have been identified to display and sell counterfeit products/items.

The market settings selected purposefully in South – Western part of Nigeria included computer village, Ikeja, Lagos state; Oshodi market, Lagos state; Yaba market, Lagos state; Aleshinloye, Ibadan, Oyo state; Dugbe market, Ibadan, Oyo state, New Gbagi market, Ibadan, Oyo state.

The market locations have been notoriously identified as places where counterfeited wares/products are displayed for scale. The market settings selected

purposefully for the South- Eastern part of Nigeria included Aba market, Abia state, and Onitsha market, Anambra state. The market locations have also been notoriously identified as places where counterfeited wares/products are also being displayed for scale.

A total number of 600 copies of questionnaire were produced and distributed to the randomly selected study participants for the two purposefully selected regions. This indicated clearly that only 300 copies of questionnaire were distributed in each region.

The study participants were employees of different work settings in and around the market locations for the study, and students of some institutions of learning such as Universities, Polytechnics, and Secondary Schools etc. The work settings included banking organizations, secondary school institutions; insurance organizations, some other business organizations such as cyber cafés, business centers, wares selling, car dealing business, etc.

f) Statistical Analysis

The study utilized descriptive and inferential statistics. The descriptive statistics was meant to obtain some summary information on some relevant variables, which included means (Xs), Standard Deviation (S D), Frequency (F) and Percentage (%). The inferential statistics was meant to test the stated hypothesis. The statistical test of t-test for independent measures was employed.

III. RESULTS

The study results are stated in this section. The results are shown below:

Table 1 : Frequency Distribution of study participants on knowledge of Items/products that have been counterfeited.

S/N	Products/items	Yes	No	Can't say
1	Computer software	229 (44.3%)	196(37.9%)	92 (17.8%)
2	Shoes	241(46.6%)	181(35%)	95(18.4%)
3	Clothing materials	182(35.2%)	244(47.2%)	91(17.6%)
4	Belts	229(44.3%)	196(37.9%)	92 (17.8%)
5	Television sets	241(46.6%)	181 (35%)	95 (18.4%)
6	Radio/Cassette player	182(35.2%)	244(47.2%)	91 (17.8%)
7	Cell phones	299(44.3%)	196(37.9%)	92 (17.8%)
8	Biro/writing	226(43.7%)	196(37.9%)	92 (17.8%)
9	Beauty products (cream, soap)	197 (38.1%)	219 (42.4%)	101(19.5 %)
10	Pharmaceutical Products	261(50.5%)	171 (33.1%)	92 (17.8%)
11	Bicycles/Bikes	202 (39.1%)	229 (44.3%)	86 (16.6%)
12	Food materials (canned food)	304(58.8%)	151 (29.2%)	120 (23.2%)
13	Computer hardware	206 (39.8%)	191 (36.9%)	120 (23.2%)
14	Cell accessories	232 (44.9%)	244 (43.3%)	61 (11.8%)
15	Power strips	299 (57.8%)	151 (29.2%)	67 (13%)
16	Lights	241 (46.6%)	176 (34%)	100 (19.3%)
17	Lamps	207 (40%)	234 (45.3%)	76 (14.7%)
18	Electrical tools and appliance	204 (39.5%)	23 (45.6%)	77 (14.7%)
19	Automobile manufacturing	201 (38.9%)	206 (39.8%)	110 (21.3%)
20	Music	152 (29.4%)	259 (50.1%)	106 (20.5%)
21	CDS/DVD/Cassettes	139 (26.9%)	271 (52.4%)	107 (20.7%)

N=517, “Yes”=indicating items/products that have been counterfeited while “No” indicated items/ products that have not been counterfeited.



The result on table 1 showed the results of the response of the study participants that have been counterfeited. The results showed clearly that 229 (44.3%) of the study participants, identified computer software as having been counterfeited; 196 (37.9%) indicated they can't say. The results showed also that 241 (46.6%) indicated that there were counterfeited shoes; 181 (35%) indicated there were no counterfeited shoes; 182 (35.2%) expressed that there were counterfeited clothing materials; 244 (47.2%) expressed that there were not counterfeited clothing materials while 91 (17.6%) expressed they can't say. Based on television sets, 241 (46.6%) noted that there were counterfeited television sets; 181 (35%) noted there were no counterfeited television sets while 95 (18.4%) noted that they can't say.

Also, as regards to radio/ tape/cassette player, 182 (35.2%) identified that there were counterfeited tapes around, 244 (45.7%) identified that there were no counterfeited radio/tape/cassette players while 91 (17.8%) identified that they can't say. Based on cell phones, 299 (44.3%) of the study participants identified cell phones as having counterfeits around; 196 (37.9%) identified cell phones as having no counterfeits while 92 (17.8%) noted that they can't say.

In a similar vein, still based on the study results, 226 (43.7%) expressed that there were counterfeited

writing materials (e.g. biro, etc), 196 (37.9%) expressed that there were no counterfeited writing materials while only 92 (17.8%) expressed that they can't say. The results showed similarly that 197 (38.1%) of the participants identified beauty products (e.g. cream, soap etc.) as having counterfeits; 219 (42.4%) identified that they had no counterfeits while 101 (19.5%) noted that they can't say. 261 (50.5%) of the study participants identified pharmaceutical products as having counterfeits; 171 (33.1%) identified that they had no counterfeits while 92 (17.8%) noted they can't say. In a similar vein, 2002 (39.1%) of the study participants identified that there were counterfeited bicycles/ bikes while 86 (16.6%) noted they can't say. 209 (39.8%) noted that there were counterfeited computer hardware; 191 (36.9%) noted that there was no counterfeited computer hardware while 120 (23.2%) noted they can't say. The results also revealed that 2002 (39.1%) of the study participants viewed currency (notes and coins) as having counterfeited; around 189 (36.6%) of the participants expressed that counterfeited currency is not available while 126 (24.4%) indicated their indecisiveness to this.

Therefore, a critical look at the results on table1 showed clearly that many of the study participants expressed that the identified products/ items in the study have their counterfeits available.

Table 2 : Frequency Distribution of study participants on extent of availability of the counterfeited products/items.

S/N	Items/Product	VMA	MA	LA	CS	NMA	NVMA
1	Computer Software	105(20.3%)	132 25.2%)	55(10.6%)	55 (10.6%)	100(19.3%)	70(13.5%)
2	Shoes	123(23.8%)	93 (19%)	51 (9.9%)	126(24.4%)	78 (15.1%)	46(8.9%)
3	Clothing	105(20.3%)	126(24.4%)	93(18.0%)	78(15.1%)	46(8.9%)	73(14.1%)
4	Belts	82(15.9%)	183(35.4%)	80(15.5%)	35(6.8%)	56(10.8%)	81(15.7%)
5	Television sets	177(34.2%)	99(19.1%)	76(14.7%)	100(19.3%)	50(2.9%)	15(9.7%)
6	Radio/Tapes/Cassette Players	105(20.3%)	55(10.6%)	55(10.6%)	132(25.5%)	100(19.3%)	70(13.5%)
7	Cell phones	93 (18%)	123(23.8%)	51(9.9%)	126(24.4%)	78(15.1%)	46(8.9%)
8	Writing materials	93 (18%)	105(20.3%)	73(14.1%)	128(24.8%)	76(14.8%)	42(8.1%)
9	Beauty products (Cream. Soap etc.)	67(13.0%)	61(11.8%)	233(45.1%)	31(6%)	105(20.3%)	20(39%)
10	Bags	129 (25%)	202(39.1%)	86(16.6%)	55(10.6%)	30(5.8%)	15(2.9%)
11	Pharmaceutical	117(22.6%)	95(18.4%)	137(26.8%)	78(15.1%)	60(11.6%)	30(5.8%)
12	Bicycles/bikes	56(10.8%)	72(13.9%)	147(28.4%)	41(7.9%)	93(18%)	108(20.9%)
13	Food materials (i.e. Canned products)	37 (7.2%)	66 (12.8%)	133(25.7%)	78(15.1%)	110(21.3%)	93(18%)
14	Computer hardware	193(37.3%)	92(17.8%)	85(16.4%)	81(15.7%)	25(4.8%)	41(7.9%)
15	Cell accessories	172(33.3%)	94(18.2%)	86(16.6%)	80(15.5%)	65(12.6%)	20(3.9%)
16	Power strips	75 (14.5%)	75(14.5%)				
17	Lights	103(9.9%)	93(18.0%)	61(11.8%)	156(30.2%)	68 (13%)	36 (7%)
18	Lamps	80 (15.5%)	63(12.2%)	63(12.2%)	163(12.2%)	96(18.6%)	52(10.1%)
19	Electrical tools and appliances	57(11.0%)	56(10.8%)	46(8.9%)	218(42.2%)	105(20.3%)	35(6.8%)
20	Automobile	25(4.8%)	60(11.6%)	95(18.4%)	56(10.8%)	172(33.3%)	109(21.1%)
21	Music	75(14.5%)	100(19.3%)	167(32.3%)	35(6.9%)	65(12.2%)	75(14.5%)
22	Currencies (notes and coins)	121(23.4%)	123(23.8%)	113(21.9%)	46 (8.9%)	63 (12.2%)	51 (9.9%)
23	Compact Disc (CD); DVD	155 (30%)	103 19.9%)	78 (15.1%)	77 (14.9%)	26 (5%)	78 (15.1%)

Note : VMA=Very Much Available =6; MA = Much Available=5; LA= Less Available=4; CS= can't say=3; NMA= Not Much available =2; NVMA= Not Very Much Available=1.

The table 2 above showed the results of the responses of the study participants in relation to the extent of availability of the identified counterfeited products/items. The table 2 vividly showed that 105 (20.3%) of the study participants indicated that counterfeited computer software/software piracy was very much available; 132 (25.2%) indicated they can't say; 100 (19.3%) indicated that it was not much available while to (13.5%) indicated it was not very much available. In a similar vein, 123 (23.8%) of the study participants indicated that counterfeited shoes were very much available; 93 (18%) indicated they were available; 51 (9.9%) indicated they were less available; 126 (24.4%) indicated they cannot say; 78 (15.1%) indicated that were not much available while 46 (8.9%) indicated they were not much available. As regards to counterfeited clothing, 105 (20.3%) of the study participants expressed that it was very much available; 126 (24.4%) expressed it was less available; 78 (15.1%) expressed their indecisiveness; (i.e. can't say) 46 (8.9%) expressed it was not much available. The results also showed that 82 (15.0%) of the study participants indicated that counterfeited belts were very much available; 183 (35.4%) indicated they were much available; 80 (15.7%) indicated they were not very much available.

Further, the results showed tat 177 (34.2%) of the study participants expressed that counterfeited television sets were very much available; 99 (19.1%) expressed they were available; 76 (14.7%) expressed their indecisiveness to this; 50 (2.9%) expressed it was not much available while 15 (9.7%) expressed they were not very much available. It was vividly revealed also that 117 (22.6%) of the study participants identified that counterfeited pharmaceutical products were very much available; 95(18.4) identified that counterfeited pharmaceutical products were very much available; 95(18.4) identified that counterfeited pharmaceutical products were much available; 137(26.8%) identified that they were less available; 78(15.1%) identified that their indecisiveness; 60(11.6%) identified that they were not much available while 30 (5.8%) identified that they were not very much available. Based on food materials (i.e. conned food products), only 37(7.2%) of the study participants indicated that they were very much available; 66(12.8%) indicated that they were much available; 133 (25.7%) indicated they were less available; 78 (15.1%) indicated they were not sure; 110(21.3%) indicated they were not much available while 93 (18%) indicted they were not very much available.

The results on table 2 showed also that 172(38.3 %) of the study participants indicated that counterfeited cell accessories very much available; 94(18.2%) indicated that they were much available; 86(16.6%) indicated that they were less available; 80(15.5%) indicated they were not sure; 65(12.6%) indicated they were not much available while 20 (3.9%)

indicated they were no very much available. Similarly, as regards to counterfeited currency (noted & coins), 121 (23.4%) of the study participants expressed that indicated that they were very much available; 123 (23.8%) expressed they were much available; 113(21.9%) expressed they were less available; 46(8.9%) expressed they were not sure; 63(12.2%) expressed they not much available while 51(9.9%) expressed they were not very much available. In terms of counterfeited CDs or DVDs, 155(30%) noted that they were very much available; 103 (19.9%) noted that were much available; 78(15.1%) noted that they were less available; 77(14.9%) noted that they were not really sure; 26(5%) noted that were not much available while 78(15.1%) noted they were very much available.

Therefore, a good look at the results on table 2 revealed vividly that many of the study participants noted that most of the counterfeited products/items identified in the study were much more available in Nigerian markets environment.

#### IV. HYPOTHESIS TESTING

The only hypothesis for the study stated that there would be significant difference between consumers in South-western part and South-Eastern part of Nigeria on extent of availability of counterfeited product/items. The hypothesis was tested by t-test for independent measures, and the result is shown in table 3.

*Table 3* : A summary table of t-test for independent measures showing the difference between consumers in South Western and South-Eastern parts of Nigeria on extent of availability counterfeited products/items.

Group	N	X	SD	df	t	P
Consumers in south-western part	257	73.83	11.06	515	5.13	<..001
Consumers in south-eastern	260	69.23	9.50			

The result on table 3 reflected the difference between consumers in south-western part and south-eastern part of Nigeria on extent of availability of counterfeited products. The result showed vividly that there was a significant difference between consumers in south-western and south-eastern parts of Nigeria on extent of availability of counterfeited products ( $t(515) = 5.13, P < .001$ ). The result showed clearly that consumers in south-western part of Nigeria reported significantly higher on extent of availability of counterfeited products than consumers in south-eastern part of Nigeria. The result revealed vividly that consumers in south western part of Nigeria reported a

higher mean score ( $X=73.83$ ) on extent of availability of counterfeited products than consumers in south eastern part of Nigeria ( $X= 69.23$ ).

Therefore, the hypothesis was fully supported by the

## V. DISCUSSION

The study was meant to understand the prevalence of counterfeiting fraud in Nigeria, measuring its extent among consumers. The study was purely a survey research, which reached out to a number of consumers both in south western and south eastern part of Nigeria. The study has been able to discover some products that were found counterfeited and displayed in Nigeria market places.

The study identified so many products in Nigeria markets that have counterfeits. These products were found to include computer software, shoes, clothing materials, belts, television sets, beauty products, pharmaceutical products, computer hardware, cell accessories, CDs/DVDs/Cassettes, etc. The study results revealed clearly that all of those products were identified by the study participants to have been counterfeited. Majority of the study participants noted that the product identified in the study have been found to have their counterfeit in Nigeria market environments. Specially, based on the study results, it was revealed that items such as computer software, beauty products, cell phones, pharmaceutical products, computer hardware, cell accessories, etc. have their counterfeits available.

The results of the study showed further that the identified products were indicated to be much more available in Nigerian market environments. Specifically, the results showed that based on extent of availability, products such as computer software, television sets, bags, pharmaceutical products, cell accessories, currency, CDs/DVDs, computer hardware, etc. were identified in the study to have their counterfeits much more available in Nigerian market environments. A look at these results, therefore, showed that counterfeiting business is real in Nigeria.

The only hypothesis tested in study, which stated that there would be significant difference between consumers in south-western and south eastern parts of Nigeria on extent of availability of counterfeited products was found supported. The results revealed that there was actually a significant difference between consumers in south-western and south-western and south-eastern parts of Nigeria on extent of availability of counterfeited products. Specifically, based on the direction of the results, it was shown that consumers in south-western part of Nigeria reported significantly higher on extent of availability of counterfeited products than consumers in south western part of Nigeria. This indicated that consumers in south western part of Nigeria identified

that counterfeited products were found more in their zone/region than consumers in south-eastern part of Nigeria would have noticed much availability of counterfeited products, which might have been a source of blessing or worry to them. Essentially, more individuals are resident in south-western Nigeria, and for example, Ibadan, a city within south-western Nigeria is said to be the largest in black Africa. In actual fact, based on the pilot study conducted before the commencement of the final study, some of the sampled participants expressed good feelings toward counterfeited products. They were of the view that counterfeited products are cheap and so they are affordable unlike their originals which they thought were more expensive for them to purchase. The sampled participants expressed that items such as computer software, computer hardware, shoes, pharmaceutical products, etc. were more expensive if they were to be bought as originals but their counterfeits are very cheap and available and so anybody could afford them.

A critical look at the last sentence above reflected that some of the consumers who purchased counterfeits felt that the products were much available and as such their prices are such that it is be affordable for them. This now means that more and more individuals could be interested in buying counterfeits knowing fully well that there are originals.

## VI. CONCLUSION

The study has really been an eye-opener as to the understanding of prevalence of counterfeiting in Nigeria. It has been observed that, despite identifying that counterfeiting is an aspect of fraud, counterfeited products are still very much around with us. A number of products that have been originally produced also have counterfeited a long side. In Nigeria, a number of products have been found to have been that counterfeited. Mention any product that is marketed well that does not get its counterfeit; this case could be worrisome for the originator firms, because some or most of the profits that could have been accrued to them are diverted to the producers and marketers of counterfeited products.

The study has clearly shown that a number of products such as computer software, computer hardware, cell phone accessories, clothing materials, cell phones, pharmaceutical products, beauty products (i.e. cream, soap, etc.) have been found counterfeited. This now indicated that it may be a difficult task for potential consumers to differentiate between the originals and fake. The study has also clearly portrayed that based on knowing the extent of availability of counterfeited products, more study participants expressed that most of the identified counterfeited products in the study were found to be more available for people to buy.

The study findings also revealed that there was significant difference between consumers in south-western part and south-eastern part of Nigeria on extent of availability of counterfeited products. The findings clearly showed that consumers in south-western part of Nigeria reported more availability of counterfeited products than consumers in south-eastern part of Nigeria. This indicated that consumers in south-western part of Nigeria expressed that counterfeited products were much more available for consumers to buy in south-eastern part in Nigeria.

## VII. IMPLICATIONS/ RECOMMENDATIONS

The study has shown the prevalence of counterfeiting in Nigeria. The study has revealed clearly that there are some firms whose preoccupation is to produce what other firms have originally produced in a substandard manner. The study has shown some of the products in Nigerian markets that have been found counterfeited. The implication of this therefore is that as time goes on, if care is not taken, most of the originator firms of the identified products would be displaced in Nigerian, particularly the counterfeits of their products would be displaced in Nigeria, particularly the counterfeits of their products are found very cheap and easy to purchase. In the case, it means that serious and urgent efforts are needed to tackle this ugly phenomenon. One particular reason why counterfeiting trading thrives very well in Nigeria is because of the poorly financial status of most Nigerians. Nigerians have been identified to be poor going by what earn a day in terms of dollar rate. This has been found ridiculous to the international community. Now what do we really expect from these poor people, who earn very low compared to their counterparts in other developed and even developing countries? Where would they find the money with to which buy original products, if at all, they are interested in them Nigerians are really suffering and this is what some firms have capitalized upon, thinking that if they produce substandard products that are very cheap and affordable, consumers would definitely purchase them.

However, this study is not encouraging counterfeiting in all its ramifications. Genuine efforts are needed to tame the ugly yields of counterfeiting trading Nigerian market environments. On a good note, this study takes a further look at the same anti-counterfeiting measures as highlighted in Bosworth and Yang (2002) work titled the Economics and Management of Global Counterfeiting.

Essentially, it is observed that counterfeiting should be tackled within a general, consistent and synergistic package of measures to ensure the protection of corporate IP (Chen, 1996). In particular, the company must: -

1. Continuously monitor the need for IP protection and the form this should take (i.e. patents, designs, trademarks, trade secrets, etc.).
2. Know and bear in mind the legal and administrative rules for IPRs (i.e. First to invest versus first to apply);
3. Develop strategies to manage IP (i.e. who should "own" the right – the parent or subsidiary / how to minimize the tax burden and whether to develop a "universal" or series of "national" marks);
4. Undertake early assessment of the value of each element of IP, Ideally, separating the value of the asset from the value added by IPRs;
5. Establish a mechanism to evaluate the returns to continued protection, and renew protection as appropriate (i.e. preventing premature lapse of rights);
6. Develop a framework to monitor infringement and, where appropriate, pursue a case against infringers;
7. Maintain access to legal experts in IPRs.

Further, still on Bosworth and Yang (2002)'s study on the Economics and Management of Global counterfeiting, it is observed that other measures to fighting counterfeiting includes: instigation of cases against counterfeiting; anti-counterfeiting technologies; licensing management; managing enforcement, etc. specifically, as regards to instigation of cases against counterfeiting, it is maintained that while the originator must maintain distinctiveness and protect their brand, they may not pursue every claim of counterfeiting, and certainly not to the bitter end. This is not to say that, in some instances, high profits legal cases are not warranted, but each case should be considered both on its own merits and in terms of the combined effects of all such activities on the value of the brand. (Bosworth and Yang, 2002).

Based on anti-counterfeiting technologies, it is emphasized that they are increasingly being use to protect and authenticate products (OECD, 2000; Peticolas, et al. 1999). In a case, OECD (2000) argues that the technology must be ".....cost-effective, compatible with the distribution of the product, consumer-friendly, resistant and durable". Similarly, Peticolas et al (1999) argue that, while there are no general solution, there are a ".....wide range of tools, which if applied intelligently should be sufficient to solve most of the problems that we meet in practice.....". Accordingly, such technologies range from, ".....simple cost effective printing technologies through optical technology, biotechnology, chemical and electronic fields. The technologies can be covert or overt, where covert devices constitute a key trade secret of the enterprise and should form a carefully guarded secret.

Further, another mechanism for controlling counterfeiting is licensing management. Essentially, it is



observe that one source of counterfeiting is the over-production of goods under license (Bosworth and Yang 2002). However, properly regulated licensing may offer opportunities that deflect potential counterfeiting (Yang, 2002; Bosworth and Yang, 2002). Therefore, offering a licensing opportunity to a potential counterfeiter lowers the results to counterfeiting, as long as the contract is properly designed and enforced.

Accordingly, license counterfeiting can be controlled by:

1. Constructing a legally binding contract between the parties, stipulating the actions of each party of the other branches the contract and, in particulars, specific punishments to licenses who exceed agreed production quotas;
2. Inspecting and supervision the production and marketing of the goods produced under license (Bosworth and Yang, 2002).

Last but not the least, as regards to managing enforcement, another mechanism for controlling counterfeiting as cited in Bosworth and Yang, (2002)'s work on Economics and Management of Global counterfeiting, it is expressed that responsibility for enforcement lies with the businesses affected and, "Businesses should set up an effective system of their own to monitor the flow of counterfeit goods and keep the relevant institution of their governments well informed" (Chen, 1996).

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1. General,
2. Ethical Guidelines,
3. Submission of Manuscripts,
4. Manuscript's Category,
5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,
6. After Acceptance.

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- (h) Brief Acknowledgements.
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Choice of key words is first tool of tips to write research paper. Research paper writing is an art. A few tips for deciding as strategically as possible about keyword search:





- One should start brainstorming lists of possible keywords before even begin searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.
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- One should avoid outdated words.

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**24. Never copy others' work:** Never copy others' work and give it your name because if evaluator has seen it anywhere you will be in trouble.

**25. Take proper rest and food:** No matter how many hours you spend for your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health then all your efforts will be in vain. For a quality research, study is must, and this can be done by taking proper rest and food.

**26. Go for seminars:** Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.

**27. Refresh your mind after intervals:** Try to give rest to your mind by listening to soft music or by sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory.

**28. Make colleagues:** Always try to make colleagues. No matter how sharper or intelligent you are, if you make colleagues you can have several ideas, which will be helpful for your research.

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**30. Think and then print:** When you will go to print your paper, notice that tables are not be split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

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### Key points to remember:

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- Write your paper in the form, which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criterion for grading the final paper by peer-reviewers.

### Final Points:

A purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people to interpret your effort selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, each section to start on a new page.

The introduction will be compiled from reference matter and will reflect the design processes or outline of basis that direct you to make study. As you will carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed as like that. The result segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and will direct the reviewers next to the similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you took to carry out your study. The discussion section will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implication of the results. The use of good quality references all through the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness of prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record keeping are the only means to make straightforward the progression.

### General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear

- Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

- Insertion a title at the foot of a page with the subsequent text on the next page





- Separating a table/chart or figure - impound each figure/table to a single page
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence

In every sections of your document

- Use standard writing style including articles ("a", "the," etc.)
- Keep on paying attention on the research topic of the paper
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)
- Align the primary line of each section
- Present your points in sound order
- Use present tense to report well accepted
- Use past tense to describe specific results
- Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives
- Shun use of extra pictures - include only those figures essential to presenting results

#### **Title Page:**

Choose a revealing title. It should be short. It should not have non-standard acronyms or abbreviations. It should not exceed two printed lines. It should include the name(s) and address (es) of all authors.

#### **Abstract:**

The summary should be two hundred words or less. It should briefly and clearly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript-- must have precise statistics. It should not have abnormal acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Shun citing references at this point.

An abstract is a brief distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approach to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Yet, use comprehensive sentences and do not let go readability for brevity. You can maintain it succinct by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to



shortening the outcome. Sum up the study, with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to maintain the initial two items to no more than one ruling each.

- Reason of the study - theory, overall issue, purpose
- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
- Consequences, including definite statistics - if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account quantitative data; results of any numerical analysis should be reported
- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

Approach:

- Single section, and succinct
- As a outline of job done, it is always written in past tense
- A conceptual should situate on its own, and not submit to any other part of the paper such as a form or table
- Center on shortening results - bound background information to a verdict or two, if completely necessary
- What you account in an conceptual must be regular with what you reported in the manuscript
- Exact spelling, clearness of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else

**Introduction:**

The **Introduction** should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable to comprehend and calculate the purpose of your study without having to submit to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give most important references but shun difficult to make a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. In the introduction, describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will have no attention in your result. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here. Following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study
- Shield the model - why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? You strength remark on its appropriateness from a abstract point of vision as well as point out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. Status your particular theory (es) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Very for a short time explain the tentative propose and how it skilled the declared objectives.

Approach:

- Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done.
- Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point with every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need a least of four paragraphs.
- Present surroundings information only as desirable in order hold up a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read the whole thing you know about a topic.
- Shape the theory/purpose specifically - do not take a broad view.
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This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A sound written Procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replacement your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt for the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to spare your outcome but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section. When a technique is used that has been well described in another object, mention the specific item describing a way but draw the basic



principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to text all particular resources and broad procedures, so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step by step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

#### Materials:

- Explain materials individually only if the study is so complex that it saves liberty this way.
- Embrace particular materials, and any tools or provisions that are not frequently found in laboratories.
- Do not take in frequently found.
- If use of a definite type of tools.
- Materials may be reported in a part section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

#### Methods:

- Report the method (not particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology)
- Describe the method entirely
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures
- Simplify - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

#### Approach:

- It is embarrassed or not possible to use vigorous voice when documenting methods with no using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result when script up the methods most authors use third person passive voice.
- Use standard style in this and in every other part of the paper - avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

#### What to keep away from

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings - save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

#### Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently. You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.

#### Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form.

#### What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.



- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

#### Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

#### Figures and tables

- If you put figures and tables at the end of the details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attach appendix materials, such as raw facts
- Despite of position, each figure must be numbered one after the other and complete with subtitle
- In spite of position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other and complete with heading
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#### Discussion:

The Discussion is expected the trickiest segment to write and describe. A lot of papers submitted for journal are discarded based on problems with the Discussion. There is no head of state for how long a argument should be. Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implication of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and hold up for all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of result should be visibly described. Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved with prospect, and let it drop at that.

- Make a decision if each premise is supported, discarded, or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."
- Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work
- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

#### Approach:

- When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from available information
- Submit to work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.
- Submit to generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
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<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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