

## **Good Governance and Sustainable Development in the Context of Healthcare Delivery, Youth Employment and Poverty Alleviation In Nigeria: a Supposition of Civil Society Solution from the Literary Perspective**

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**<sup>1</sup>Francis Ibe Mogu, PhD & <sup>2</sup>Mr Moko, Finian Igbede**

*<sup>1</sup>Department of English and Literary Studies,  
University of Calabar - Calabar,*

*<sup>2</sup>Department of Philosophy,  
University of Calabar, Calabar,*

### **Abstract**

This essay seeks to strike a nexus between Sustainable Development and Good Governance within the context of Healthcare Delivery, Poverty Alleviation Youth Employment, and Social Service Delivery in Nigeria with a view to suggesting from a variety of Political Literatures, especially, that of John Locke, a paradigm shift from the current Presidency-driven Paradigm to a Civil Society-driven Paradigm made possible by the literary tools of media and legal activism. The essay is critical of the current paradigm which it identifies as largely based on the Philosophies of the country's Four National Development Plans and the current 1978 Federal Character Principle of Governance in Nigeria. It rejects the Singaporean Paradigm pointing out that Nigerians calling for the Singaporean example should be ready to tolerate some level of benevolent dictatorship from President Muhammadu Buhari. The essay is largely prompted by the ugly realization that Nigeria is still rated as "underdeveloped" despite huge financial and natural resources. The paper adopts a non-empirical method, to recommend with justification from the NADECO experience of 1993 and from the literatures of John Locke and others, the grooming of Nigerian Civil Society by Public Universities in Nigeria into a "fourth arm" of government and a "second political party" in a two party state run no longer between APC and PDP, but inclusive of Civil Society, "the law" and "the press" as their fellow stake holders.

**Keywords:** *Good Governance, Sustainable Development, Poverty, Healthcare, Education, Employment and Organized Civil Society*

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### **Background to the Study**

The fact that Nigeria continues to be rated among some of the world's underdeveloped nations, despite Four National Development Plans, together with its huge financial and Natural Resources, both of which are also supported by an existing Federal Character Principle of 1979 as the Country's blueprints for Good Governance and Sustainable Development. The factors mentioned here and other development indices in Nigeria clearly call for a sober reflection. This has been made worse by the fact that despite all these indices Nigerians still recall with shock that, in 2012, Mo Ibrahim's Index Rating of the Performances of Countries in terms of Good Governance and Sustainable Development, rated Nigeria 14 out of 17 in West Africa and 48 out of 52 in Africa in terms of good governance, accountability and sustainable development (Mo Ibrahim, *Index Rating among Africa's Powerhouses*, October, 2012). Although the current administration of President Muhammadu Buhari has made some efforts at rebuilding the country's image, nothing has significantly Mo Ibrahim's rating first made three years ago. Botswana, which at the time of this rating had a census population of 2.021 Million, was rated as the best performing country in Africa. Although, it might be of interest to know that the variables used were those of Poverty Alleviation, Youth Employment, Healthcare Delivery and Social Service Indices which, incidentally, form the subject-matter for considerations in the current Study, the implication, thereafter, is that the current rating of governance and development in Nigeria, has done no less than raise two attitudes to development with far reaching implications on the country's present performances which could be accepted as future paradigms for governance and development in Nigeria.

Apparently, this first response to the current rating of Nigeria as one of the "least performing governments" in the world and the seeming lukewarm attitude of government to work to improve the country's current external image in this regard is vexing innocent Nigerians who appear to have no depths of the dictatorial intents of the Singaporean example. For them to be calling on President Buhari's current administration to adopt the Singaporean model without their readiness to accept the fact that this would mean also a call on President Muhammadu Buhari to return the country back to the military days, even if this is to be for 16 years as was the length of dictatorship which the Singaporean example of Lee Kuan Yew endured. Instances clearly abound, which prove that adopting the Singaporean story in the middle of the current democracy would imply curtailing the Nigerian governmental and developmental expectations too far. Perhaps, the most popular of them was that of a YOU-Tube Video of May 12<sup>th</sup>, 2015 showing the conviction of a Singaporean teenager for obscenity and insulting of religious feelings after allegedly criticizing the Prime Minister. It is surprising that the video could not be published during the lifetime of Prime Minister Lee. But this merely shows how

benevolent a dictatorship it was which gave Singapore the sort of miracle which Nigerians are asking President Muhammadu Buhari to replicate in Nigeria. The teenager was only 16 and Singapore had expected kind words from the Prime Minister. But, accordingly to reports, the Prime Minister boldly said “let the minor face the Law”. This is because a Singapore-type model of development places tight limits on press freedom (A. Ramzy 2015).

There was then a real absence of democracy in Singapore. Government was both sentimental and power drunk and while it used defamatory suits to tame the fearless media, it rendered bankrupt its critics to earn zero opposition to unilateral policies (Lee Kuan Yew's Singapore” [www.economist.com/blogs/...](http://www.economist.com/blogs/)). Meanwhile, Bryan Caplan explained that the often not emphasized point was that Singapore till today, is attention-seeking economy with tyrannical immigration policies which often force-out foreigners on yearly basis (Caplan, 2009:34). What the Singaporean example can do for Nigeria's Economy is enormous. But, it would first of all become a traitor to the rights of citizens, scuttle press freedom, and make Nigeria a regional terror – so, is this what Nigerians want? It is against this backdrop that the Nigerian Senate which may have seen through the needlessness of the Singaporean paradigm has been asking successive governments in Nigeria to return the country's blueprints for governance and sustainable development to the Four National Development Plans without, in a second thought, consider the far reaching implications of the exercise (Omololu Ogunmade, *This Day*, March 11, 2013:24)

In Nigeria where, to this day, checks and balances are merely a matter of lip-service among the three arm of government and the number of political parties seem to have out-numbered the number of development projects in the country, it has become imperative to imagine a solution to the current underdevelopment levels in the country outside of the grooming of the organized civil society into a “fourth arm” of government and into a “second political party” in a two-party state which would no longer be co-ruled between the PDP and the APC but between the organized civil society community and the government of Nigeria-with the court and the media as their common judge. The paper gives examples with these two experiences in Nigeria's recent and past history. 1) The transition from colonialism to independence. 2) The transition from Military Rule to the current Democracy. The paper argues that both situations were addressed by the same civil society activism relying on the human right dimension of the law and the media. In addition to two significant examples in the country's history, the paper justifies its stance from political literatures of a global nature selected to include both Nigerian-African works of Prof. Chinua Achebe, English-European works of John Locke, and Brazilian-American Literature of Prof. Paulo Freire as here indicated in the following paragraph.

1. Chinua Achebe's *"The Trouble With Nigeria"* (1983). Achebe does not say it but implies Nigeria's solution lies in the pressure of Civil society pressing outside the house of power
2. Paulo Freire's *"Pedagogy of the Oppressed"* (1968). This Brazilian educator and astronomer presents us in this text with how the oppressed civil society can apply the learning into civil pressures to ensure good government & development of the country
3. John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1689). Here, Locke's teaches us how to make forms of representative democracies including our presidential system deliver on Good Governance, Accountability & Sustainable Development.

### **Nexus between Sustainable Development & Good Governance: Theoretical Considerations**

#### **What is Sustainable Development?**

The term "sustainable Development" is a compound word which literally speaking ought to mean the sort of development which sustains the life and destiny of the community. But this is only as it is seen from the etymological point of view. However, like every other concept sustainable development is multidimensional that its definition remains a subject of debate among academic authors. According to the Nigerian Wikipedia, sustainable development is a general term which refers to the ordering of resources into achieving such fit as higher living standards, poverty reduction, elimination of unemployment and better housing facilities ([www.nigeriawiki.com/...](http://www.nigeriawiki.com/)). This explains why some authors have identified the five ingredients of sustainable development to include the following: 'poverty Alleviation, Effective Healthcare services, Rising levels of Employment, social service Delivery and the provision of quality and affordable education (Afigbo A.E. in Ajare.M. O. 1991:52). Yet, in terms of the government and management of companies sustainable developments is more elusive a concept of sustainable than first meet the eyes (Aras and Crowder, 2011:268). In Nigeria, and Africa where mismanagement of funds is a recurrent story the concept of sustainable development extends to the link between external aids rescued and the management of it by government (Carlos Santisa & Paul. H. [www.Lexusnexus.com/...](http://www.Lexusnexus.com/)).

This means that the globalization of views about development and governance does not amount to sustainable development (Weiss, 2008:795). It is therefore not surprising to see that despite having occupied different heads of international organization such as the OAU, the AU and NEPAD, Nigeria is still ranked among the underdeveloped nation of the world because sustainable Development is not about the Globalization of views about governance and development. A summary

of sustainable development variables indicates that in a political community, it is not the number of political parties that matters but the measure to which governance has affected lives in terms of poverty alleviation, youth Empowerment, political accountability level of per capital income, and Healthcare delivery (Ibrahim M.O, 2012:1). From the foregoing efforts by authors a few things have become clear. First sustainable development defies a unilateral definition. Second, the five elements clearly stand out as the basic indices for assessment of the measure of governance and sustainable development of any given country or society in the world.

### **Some Nigerian Indices on Good Governance and Sustainable Development First National Development Plan (1962-1968)**

Described as an ambitious economic plan, it was given an investment base of #2.132billion that was spread between public and private sector development. In all, it was able to build Kainji Dam, construct Ajaokuta Iron Ore & steel industry, the Northern Rail Way Corporation. It also built three regional universities in the country OAU Ile-Ife, UNN NSUKKA, and ABU Zaria but failed for lack of continuity from supervising out-burst of civil war in 1966.

### **Second National Development Plan (1970-1975)**

After the Civil War, the new government of General Gowon, emerged on entirely new National Strategy for Development justifying his lack of continuity on the need to rebuild the country after the civil war. Looking at the first national plan as driven by ethnicity Gowon's new strategy rebuilt broken roads and bridges and went on to create the NYSC scheme for National Integration.

### **Third National Development Plan (1975-1980)**

At the advent of the Third National Development plan in 1975 it had become clear that development in Nigeria would always be based on the priorities of government unless otherwise. This plan had an investment base of #43.3billion which was spread between Agriculture, Unemployment and Housing. It built Basin Authorities in selected parts, Otta Farm & Many Gen Hospital.

### **Fourth National Development Plan (1980-1985)**

It focused on Socio-Economic & Political Development but failed from corruption and a sudden military coup.

### **Implications of Nigeria's Four National Development Plans for Poverty and Poverty Alleviation in Nigeria**

Poverty and poverty alleviation have always gone hand in hand (Aras & Crowder, 433). The point is that Nigeria would hardly be called a rich country for purposes of

development. Despite having had four National Development Plans together with its rich natural resources in the country, the country still rots in abject poverty and gross underdevelopment (Jabin & Wilson, 2011:268-emphasis is that of the authors of the paper). With the realization that an average Nigerian still lives with less than a dollar per day is complemented by massive hunger suffering starvation, street-begging and street-hawking. Some of the causes of poverty in Africa (Nigeria) been identified to include (Jabin & Wilson 2011:270 the following:

1. Neocolonialism – Here, poor countries are poor because they only received political without economic liberation
2. Economic Depression: for instance, economic meltdown of a regional power in the continent
3. Incessant Civil Wars: Over the past four decades, a great number of African countries have been into war leaving citizens with hunger, sickness and starvation

The 4th and Major cause of poverty has, perhaps, been identified by almost every author and thinker as corruption in its different shades and kinds;

1. Ideological corruption : the adoption of perverse ideas, e.g. communism, Apartheid, and most popularly, authoritarianism by Africa leaders
2. Corporate Corruption : A situation where a system imbibes the idea of corner-cutting
3. Financial Corruption : This involves mismanagement of public funds, looting & diversion of public funds to private coffers
4. Bureaucratic Corruption: This refers to the involvement of too many procedures in public matters for selfish government interests.

Responding to the interface between forms of corruption & the poverty or development indices in Nigeria, Senator David Mark was apt to contend as follows (See ThisDay March 11<sup>th</sup> 2013:24). In Nigeria.

*“Our budgets over the years have not really brought growth: they have not improved employment rates: they have not brought dividends of democracy as much as the people expect; and I think the problem is with the envelop system [by which he either meant bribery or demanding]*

The story of poverty is one which has been linked to many factors in the country other than the absence of money. Apart from corruption, poverty is largely linked to underdevelopment, and indeed, “the rural question” in Nigeria, the cities and urban settlers are fairly cared-for. The real faces of poverty are that of rural settlers and in its women and children seem to be the worst-hit victims made possible by their vulnerability. According to the IFAD report of Feb 2015 titled “Rural poverty in Nigeria”, the Nigerian state which currently has a population of over 160 millions

and in which over 90% of its rural dwellers are farmers and petty-traders, has a compounded story of poverty which has expanded victimization by “preventable diseases” such as malnutrition. Yams and cassava are produced while the vegetables the fishes and the livestock that these rural dwellers produce are sold to ensure children school fees and other household demands. One would have expected Nigeria by now to have given free education to all citizens at all levels but this has always been an issue of political promise-and-fail with rising poverty of the rural nature and consequent problems of rural-urban migration for better living conditions. Although the World Bank Report of July 2014 expressed fears that despite huge finances in the country poverty levels have remained permanently high (“Nigeria: Country Brief” July 2013, [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org),2014/ ...)

Having thus said much about poverty as a development problem in Nigeria, we now come to what most people would tend to see as paucity of efforts and an embarrassing government-centered solution to poverty in Nigeria. Perhaps, the earliest effort at directly confronting poverty as an isolated case of development was the establishment of the National Directorate For Employment in 1985 by the government of General Babangida. Prior to this effort poverty was tackled as subsumed under road, health, education, illiteracy and social service development. The main point and meaning of the commission was Section 1 of the NDE Act of 1985 which empowered the NDE to engage in poverty alleviation through entrepreneurial development. Most Nigerians saw it as a welcome development. But like all national policy plans, the NDE was riddled with ethnicity, corruption, religious affiliation and poor management hence; it died a natural death not long afterwards. Effort directly aimed at tackling poverty have been among other things the Following:

1. The National Directorate for Employment: Established in 1985 it was aimed at poverty alleviation through building of entrepreneurship skills. it died of mismanagement.
2. Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) was introduced by the government of president Olusegun Obasanjo(1999-2007) aimed at poverty alleviation through loan schemes. Its biggest problem was and still remains that of funding.
3. Cash Transfer Credit Scheme: This has been established this year, 2015, by the government of president Muhammadu Buhari. It is aimed at poverty alleviation through a monthly stipend of #5,000 payable monthly to the poorest of the poor.

From the foregoing discussion, although, only three of government's efforts at poverty alleviation have been selected and discussed in the current paper, the reason is obvious. Each of these tends to present us with a different style or approach to poverty alleviation. While the NDE believed in building Nigerians to solve their own poverty problems, and SMEs believed in Loan Schemes, the Buhari's solution is that of gifts and stipends from government. Thus, the majority of Nigerians would agree with the current study that almost every effort at poverty alleviation has ended embarrassingly, being in issue that they have all been presidency-driven(government-driven), hence, based on what government assesses to be the needs of the people and the extent to which he(government) wishes to respond to them. with no checks and balances, government of Nigeria would run in eternity or in perpetuity without sustainable development and good governance. If it must respond adequately to the doctrine of poverty alleviation without replicating the dictatorship of Singapore which sacrifices the fundamental rights of its citizens, then, it must be ready to seek effective checks and balances from an organized civil society community in Nigeria

### **Healthcare Delivery in Nigeria**

The term "healthcare delivery" refers more directly to healthcare in terms of public "health financing", and in Nigeria, healthcare delivery has been a shared responsibility between the three tiers of government. Thus, while the responsibility of building, supervising, and maintenance of all teaching Hospitals and special hospitals like the Pole, Naval and Customs hospitals, etc, belongs to the Federal Government, and those of the General Hospitals belong to the state governments while the Local Governments and their councils control maintain and coordinating the dispensaries. In Nigeria, healthcare delivery has been classicized into the following:

1. Primary Healthcare or Local-Funded Health schemes
2. Secondary Healthcare or State Government funded health schemes
3. Tertiary Healthcare or Federal Government Funded health schemes

The means and methods of healthcare delivery differ from their classification. In Nigeria, these three means and methods of healthcare delivery have been seen to be the most popular:

1. Empirical Means and Method -Here, Healthcare delivery is done through physical contacts
2. Database or internet-based healthcare delivery system - Drugs are sold and delivered on-net, prescriptions are sent through e-mails, surgical operations are sometimes conducted with instructions on-net, while health funds are solicited and received through electronic means despite these two models, poverty and illiteracy have not allowed efficient delivery that even in this



electronic age, patients in Nigeria still die of treatments that could have been prevented electronically.

### **Relationship between Water Supply and Healthcare Delivery among Nigerian Rural Communities**

Clean water supply is required to overcome water borne disease such as Cholera. And according to the World health Organization Report of 2010 on the nexus between water supply and healthcare delivery among the rural communities of the world, the predominant impact of clean water supply on rural healthcare delivery cannot be over-emphasized. However, the report went on to produce indices which shows a tremendous improvement on clean water supply among the rural communities in Nigeria between 1999-2010. According to its official figures, while clean water supply upon urban dwellers in Nigeria dropped from 80% between 1999-2006 to 65% between 2006-2010, that of rural dwellers increased from 48% between 1999-2006 to 52% between 2006-2010 respectively (WHO/UNICEF, Oct, 2010). This could have been fantastic if figures often represent reality. Unfortunately, this improvement has been announced since 2010, but the majority of Nigerians among the rural communities are yet to feel the impact of these figures. The question which this paper raises is how this impact can be felt through pressures brought by civil society to influence the implementation of policies and recommendations by international bodies like the WHO and UNICEF

### **Creation of the National Insurance Policy in Nigeria**

Policies sometimes are guiding principles which help to direct the thinking of governments on ensure affecting the people. to effectively ensure healthcare delivery in Nigeria, the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in 2005, created the National Insurance Scheme. This was based on the national Insurance Act of 1999 which reas as Decree No 33 of 1999.

### **Main Objectives for Creating the National Insurance Scheme**

Some of the main objectives of the scheme included the following:

- 1 ensure adequate access to healthcare services at a reduced cost
- 2 to protect citizens from the burdens of high medical bills
- 3 to subsidize cost of medical treatment for Nigerias in all sectors
- 4 to maintain high standards of healthcare delivery to citizens
- 5 to facilitate private and public sector adherence to the NHIS

### **Achievements of the National Health Insurance Scheme in Nigeria**

Among other things, the policy has been able to achieve the following:

1. Reduced the costs of medical bills through direct and constant subsidy paid over medical prizes. Patients are made to pay only 10% of the total costs of medical bills payable.

2. Ensured private sector adherence to the NHIS directives to the extent that private clinics are now been made to conform to the 10% target, although, this has happened only in a few instances.

### **Criticisms of the National Health Insurance Scheme Policy**

Despite achievements of the NHIS in the course of healthcare delivery in the country, lapses are found here and there. Critics more popularly opine that the policy has largely been hindered by factors like lack of adequate health information, the existence and operations of alternative medicines healthcare delivery such as herbalist practices and miracle centers in the country, the biggest obstacle to the scheme in the opinion of the current study is the enforceability of the policy in the private sector. In the current sector where the country's private health sector in Nigeria has remained significantly large, the NHIS would remain ineffective without its enforcement in the private sector. This brings us to the need for a formidable civil society pressure to ensure private sector compliance.

### **Regulation of Pharmaceutical Companies in the Nigerian Health Industry**

The need to stay clear from fake and substandard drugs in Nigeria, called for the creation of the National Directorate for Food and Drug Regulation and Control (NAFDAC) to ensure safety in the area. The Directorate was established in 2004 but this was based on the NAFDAC Act of 1999. Its objectives were cogent and strategic

**Objectives of the Commission:** Its objectives were to regulate and control drugs in the country, ensure compliance with safety standards, investigate production sites for food and drugs, see to the safety of packaged water and drinks, and to specify guidelines for production of drugs to ensure the non production of fake standard drugs

**Achievements and Impacts of the Nafdac Commission:** Within its existence from its 2004 date of creation, the NAFDAC Commission has been able to restore some measures of sanity among the pharmaceutical industries and health sector in general. Through its recommendations the country has become more aware of the hazards of producing and consuming fake drugs in the country. But despite efforts, the commission still has a multiplicity of challenges including the usual question the lack of doggedness and poor leadership of the commission ([www.nafdacnigeria.org/achieve...](http://www.nafdacnigeria.org/achieve...))

**Criticisms and Challenges of Nafdac:** Although the commission is said to have been facing administrative challenges nothing has become more challenging to its current leadership than widespread complacency ([www.nafdacnigeria.org/achieve...](http://www.nafdacnigeria.org/achieve...)). This has been said against the backdrop if the

spirit of the commission's founding Director General, Prof. Dora Akunyili. In the current circumstances of widespread complacency and lack of doggedness to confront producers and distributors of fake and substandard drugs who happen to be in the main, some of the richest and fearless men to confront, it has become imperative to create a new platform based on the collaboration of a network of Nigerians who are ready to sacrifice their own lives to achieve the Nigerian project and its consequences on good governance and sustainable development

### **Implications of a Civil Society Solution for Rising Medical Profiles IN 21st Century Nigeria**

The implications of suggesting the civil society solution to Nigeria's is how it may be said to have affected a rising profile in the medical sector in the following areas

#### **a) Bone Marrow Transplant:**

In 2012 the Nigerian state entered world records by becoming the second country in Africa to establish a bone marrow programme and site. The said bone marrow technology was discovered or improved-upon from existing Western technologies by private efforts of Nigerian doctors not funded or sponsored by the Nigerian government. With these technologies, practitioners extract DNA webs from willing donors, and through other laboratory processes, they are able to solve problems ranging from Leukemia, Lymphoma, sickle cell anemia and assorted bone ache

#### **b) Medical Breakthrough in Siamese Technology:**

Earlier on in 2009, the same Nigerian Medical Profession conducted successfully the first Siamese operation from private efforts of medical doctors not sponsored or funded by government. The operation, seen by many observers as one of the longest surgical operations in the history of medical practices in the country, successfully separated a set of twin who were joined together, brain and head. This, did not only add to the vision of a developed Nigeria, it greatly increased the research rating and fame of the Federal University of Ife Teaching Hospital forthwith.

### **Quality and Affordable Education in Nigeria as an Index of Development in Nigeria**

What is the Main Issue With the Question of Quality and Affordable Education For The Nigerian Child?

Perhaps, it is best to begin with the heart-breaking question which Nigerians have often asked: In Nigeria, how many parents have enough money to send their children to good schools? As it stands, the question is but only about quality and affordability but also most critical amongst other things is the question of having access to them? The dilemma is such that private schools in Nigeria which seem to

teach well being in issues that since they belong to the organized private sector they have to do simply that to keep parents as customers, tend to charge too high for the common man in Nigeria. On the other hand, the Nigerian constitution has in a bid to make up for the teeming Nigerian children from poor homes has in Section 18 of the current 1999 constitution, mandated the Nigerian government to provide "free" and "quality" education at all levels in Nigeria. But to this day, while the Nigerian students have continued to cry over incessant increment in school fees, the state of education infrastructures are hardly good enough to provide quality education. This then raises the ultimate question of the Nigerian child itself whose right to quality and affordable education is under siege?

### **Meaning and Definition of Quality and Affordable Education for the Nigerian Child**

The term "quality and affordable education" has been conceived differently by different writers. Perhaps, the most comprehensive of them is one provided by Kaine Agary. According to this author, quality and affordable education means having both the opportunity and the money to acquire for oneself quality education (Punch, August 24, 2015:12)

### **Right of all Peoples to Quality and Affordable Education**

The right of the Nigerian child to quality and affordable education is a universal right which has been recognized in Art. 13 of The United Nations International covenant on Economic, social, and Cultural Rights of 1966. This international right has in Nigeria, been domesticated in Section 18 of Nigeria 1999 constitution. Both of these are a confirmation of the fact that the right to education is an extension of the right to life as it can be implied from Art I and Art 3 of the 1948 United Nations Charter on the Declaration of Human Rights. If this right of the Nigerian child to quality and affordable education has been so recognized locally and internationally and further domesticated in the country's constitution, why is education in Nigeria so grossly underfunded? Why do we have frequent and multiple strikes in the education sector? Why is the level of illiteracy still a big question among the rural communities in Nigeria? It is one thing to blame it all on corruption; the truth is that the question of quality and affordable education for the Nigerian child is more complex than meet the eyes

### **Obstacles to the Right of the Nigerian Child to Quality and Affordable Education**

Almost every author that has waded into the subject has agreed that the obstacles to achieving the right of the Nigerian child to Quality and Affordable education are numerous. However, these five obstacles seem to be the most common:

### **Lack of Policy Implementation by Government**

The facts before us are those of the consistent lack of political will-power by the government of Nigeria to implement policies. In particular, the 1978 National Policy On Education is one policy which, as it has been rendered explicit in the course of our discussion in the current study, both intends to effect the sustainability of the right of all peoples to quality and sustainable education as well as solve the Nigerian poverty story through scientific and technological development of the country. But riddled with selective implementation the policy has hardly achieved its expected goals 37 years after its publication.

### **Poor Funding of the Education Sector Amidst Mismanagement of Education Funds**

The poor state of the art facilities among public Universities viewed against those of their counterparts is a living testimony of the poor funding state and mismanagement of resources allocated to education. Private Universities all belong to the organized private sector, and they have no option than do their best to influence the choices of parents to sent their children to them. But what does the government not have that it should be bothered it loses parents as investors in the education sector? This may seem like a strange way of looking at poor sanding of public schools, what is more serious is that even the little funding that government gives to education is mismanaged between the ministry of education and the different governing bodies of schools. How hence is the country hoping to produce quality and affordable education in the country in the absence of political pressures from the very citizens of Nigeria who are being cheated out of their legitimate rights?

### **Too Many Strikes in the Education Sector:**

Both the education sector and the health sector are fast becoming a parallel body to the Nigerian Labour Congress and their incessant strikes are among the causes of the falling standards in the two areas or sectors

### **Corruption in the Body Polity:**

Among public universities in Nigeria, for instance, it is becoming commonplace for staff of educational institutions to complain about the non-payment of staff benefits. Often times, the problem is not that of non-funding by government but one of misappropriation or of diversion of funds meant for institutions into private pockets.

### **Strategic Response to Nigeria's Education Problem by the 1978 National Policy of Education in Nigeria**

As a way of positioning Nigeria's education objectives in line with international and domestic expectations, the Nigerian State in 1978, created a National Policy on Education to guide the mind of government towards international educational standards. The philosophy of the said National Policy on Education was, thereafter, enshrined into the 1979 constitution and it now exists as Section 18 of the current 1999 constitution. Although the contention of the policy was to respond to international regulations guiding the right of all men to adequate and affordable education, yet, its ultimate aim was to develop the country through a science-based education. To achieve these laudable objectives, the policy created the current 9-3-4 system of education in the country. The calculation was that after the first 9 years of studies corresponding with primary and junior secondary school education, the child would have acquired sufficient skills in a specific area of interest to enable the child either become a bread-winner or a self-sponsoring pupil without need for the funding of his/her education. The following are some of the implications that could be deduced from the said policy;

#### **Child-Centered Education:**

We see this in the fusion of Primary and Junior Secondary education together into the first 9 years of education

#### **Entrepreneurship-Oriented**

This is seen in its emphasis on skills as seen in the fact that a child should after the first 9 years of education should be able to acquire sufficient skills to be his own manager.

#### **More Laboratories and Workshops in the Country**

Government was expected to build more workshops and laboratories even if free education at all levels be an impossibility

#### **Implementation Automatic not under Compulsion**

It was calculated by the drafters of the policy that government would automatically implement its objectives, hence, they did not see it as necessary to attach to a document as well-meant as this a compulsory non-selective implementation clause in the policy. Therefore, putting one and two together to get three, it could correctly be concluded that the policy was aimed not only at enforcing the right of the Nigerian child to quality and affordable education but fostering as well the country's age-old vision for sustainable development from the point of view of scientific and technological development. Theory is often different from practice. Although the drafters intended good for the country, the building of quality

laboratories and well-equipped workshops to facilitate the objectives of the policy, etc, does not seem to fall on the priority list of government, hence, it is largely implemented to the very evil end that despite 37 years of this laudable policy it is far from curing the country's education problem let alone putting Nigeria among the lists of developed country though its science- based curriculum.

### **The Need for a Paradigm Shift to Good Governance and Sustainable Development in Nigeria**

From the foregoing discussion, it may be correctly concluded that the non-involvement or more particularly, the absence of checks and balances in governance among Nigeria's successive governments impacting negatively in the paucity of developmental projects in the country, has constantly kept the country rated among the underdeveloped nations of the world despite Four National Development Plans in the country's history. Perhaps, a more passionate appeal calling for a paradigm shift is that of the rising profile of medical practice by the coordinated effort of individual Nigerian doctors who believe in the Nigerian project.

### **Paper Recommends a Modified Version of Nadeco-type Civil Society Paradigm Composition and Need Assessment:**

All Nigerians not holding political offices in Nigeria. Members of the group who do not yet believe in the Nigerian project would acquire it through the productivity of civil pressure. It is as saying that seeing is believing.

### **Objective and Primary Target:**

Good Governance and Sustainable Development

### **Qualities Expected of the Nigerian Civil Society**

This paradigm does not intend to form a parallel government out of the Nigerian civil society. Hence, qualities expected of citizens are those of: Humility, Honesty, Selflessness, Integrity, Doggedness and Fearlessness

### **Remuneration and Sponsorship**

Both of these are out of the question

### **Tools for Operation:**

Fearless Media Reporting

Activists Interpretation of our Current Military Laws

### **Mode of Operation**

This paradigm is expected to proceed through active inspection and self-imposed investigation of any and every project whether developmental, social, political or religious. Private investigation of developmental projects in the country is to be accompanied by fearless media reporting, objective litigation against defaulters for others' learning, follow-up of government policies, writing, reading, reviewing and publication of critical literatures anywhere one finds himself/herself in the country.

### **Comparative Advantages of the New Paradigm over the Nadeco Attempt**

Paradigm shall be coordinated by a network of public universities rather than socio-cultural groups

### **Justification of Civil Society Paradigm from European, American and Nigerian-African Literatures**

a)ACHEBE'S: "*The Trouble With Nigeria*"(1983)

The book is simply and squarely an assessment of the failure of governance and its development objectives as seen under one of the most unsuccessful presidential system and leadership of president Shehu Shagari in 1983 under which the text, "*The Trouble With Nigeria*" was conceived and written. Here, the current presidential system as it was then conceived, was metaphorically captured as a house in which the three arms of government represented as 'indwellers' are shown to hijack development and governance and by paying lip-services to checks and balances thereby collude among themselves to keep the civil society community from enjoying good governance and adequate development. By this "cartel" the people of Nigeria who are seen outside constantly mounting pressure to get in together with all their expectations and needs, are systematically kept outside of this metaphorical building which does not incidentally represent Nigeria but governance in the Nigerian state. Although Achebe does not say it in plain words, but his house of words, tend to convey the unspoken idea that Nigeria's socio political and economic solution lie in the quality of civil society pressures brought against bad governance in Nigeria.

PAULO FREIRE'S: "*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*"(1968)

The text was published by this Brazilian professor of education and astronomy in 1968. In it, the professor makes the point. He was particularly interested in how the oppressed civil society community in the country, can apply their learning's into forming a positive kind of civil pressure for purposes of ensuring good governance and quality development of the country. The book explains that education, as we see it anywhere in the world, can never be neutral;- it either functions as a tool for change or as an instrument for maintenance of the existing *status quo*. Hence, it is up to any country, nation, or society to adapt its school curriculum to the best



advantage of the socio-economic and political circumstances which the country finds itself (Pedagogy, 1968:12-13)

But the question of moving from theory to practice is always the primary point in any theory, and to this end, Freire was very pragmatic or result-oriented. Freire did this by going about training and convincing other lecturers into what he termed 'train the trainer' non-conventional curriculum and system of teaching that was likeable to 'grooming of university staff and students into grooming others in the wider world'. He went practical, in particular, he took time to convince lecturers with like mines as him, and beginning with their own undergraduates, they went out in turn to *brainwashed* members of the public in their normal natural businesses and places of work on a new consciousness of suspecting government policies and being critical of the polity. The new consciousness so made the country politically aware that it became impossible for the Brazilian government to tell the same old lies, even to most illiterate of the people. This drama is what eventually became in the 1960s the Singaporean story of Brazil as we know it today. Account of it can be read in any textbook written about the adventures of Brazil in the 1960s

JOHN LOCKE'S: "*Two Treatises of Government*" (1648)

Within the contexts of his *Two Treatises of Government*, Locke was able to give an account of how to make all forms of *representative democracies* including the so-called *presidential system in Nigeria*, deliver on good governance and socio-economic development while relying on civil society pressures. Both his First and Second Treatises make the citizens the real owners of the powers of governance, and civil society community of any country a "fourth arm" of government. Locke in the First Treatise, gives us a foundation to this so-called civil society participation by rejecting dictatorships in the guise of monarchies, especially, the sort of pagan and Christian monarchies taught separately by Thomas Hobbes and Sir Robert Filmer. It is in his Second Treatise that he discussed the so-called "check-matting function" of civil society in Chapter 4 & Chapter 6, dealing with tyranny and revolutions respectively. The privilege of acting as a "fourth arm" and a constitutive of checks and balances that ensures good governance and a kind of development sustained through successive governments. He gives the impression that governments come and go but civil society is always there, and if governance must ensure continuity and replicate or build on the good works of previous leaderships, then, this constant factor of "civil society checks on government" has to be made into a committed reality. And how this is to happen is by civil society community fearlessly voicing-out against any digression from the common vision by which governance is a (social) contract which civil society and government as the two parties that must make this contract work.

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