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# NIGERIAN FEDERALISM: IMPLICATIONS AND OPTIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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### **ABSTRACT**

The federal principles requires arrangement of mutual convenience and for peace, progress and definite sacrifice by the units through federalisation or unification of the state by giving up power and authority to the created central government, simultaneously retaining for themselves other power and authority at federating units on behalf of their separate and distinct communities. This is the classical precept of federalism which contrary to Nigerian federal system, since the adoption of formal federalism in 1954 by Lyttleton Constitution, the country continues to operate the system with push and pull and even Nigeria had to fight a civil war to preserve the system. People of different background were merged together under one system; these can tend to pull people apart. The federal precept is suggesting that the federating unit shall operate according to their peculiarities brought about by their historical, traditional and cultural background. Unfortunately, the Nigerian federal system is contrary to the above precept; in view of this, the forces of ethnic pluralism, cultural diversity, clamour for political space, demand for state police and Boko haram insurgency continue to pull the country apart with partial failure. These have greater implications to our sustainable development. Looking at devastating effects of this arrangement anomalies that emerged out of evolution of the system in Nigeria, this paper set out to analyse some of these dislocations and suggested that a new federal structure is required; a structure in which the component parts of the central government can operate according to their peculiarities, though coordinate, if our development is to be sustain . This paper relied on secondary sourced data.

**Key words:** Federalism, Implications, Sustainable development.

### INTRODUCTION

Since the adoption of formal federalism in the 1954 Lyttleton Constitution, Nigeria continues to operate a federal system with push and pull, especially with the military intervention of 1966 in which the country was turned into unitary system. In an attempt to preserve the system, the counter-coup emerged which generated intense hostility that culminated into the civil war; Nigeria was structured into 12 states to prevent the country from pulling apart. Since independence, there are people; in fact, leaders like Awolowo had called for a new federal structure in Nigeria, for this will minimise the problem of diversity. Awolowo, (1947)

The federal principle requires arrangement for mutual convenience and for peace, progress and definite sacrifice by the units through their unification, by giving up their power and authority to the created central government, simultaneously retaining for themselves other power and authority on behalf of their separate and distinct communities. This precept is suggesting that the federating units shall operate according to their peculiarities brought about by their historical, traditional and cultural background. This will go a long way in giving them opportunity to take care of all their interests, goals and aspirations vis-a-vis their development objectives. But unfortunately, the Nigerian federal system is contrary to the above precept; in view of this, the forces of ethnic pluralism, cultural diversity, clamour for political space, demand for states police and Boko haram insurgency continue to pull the country apart with partial failure. It is the nature and the structure of system that unleash these tendencies, which glaringly, has devastating consequences on our sustainable development, as more and more resources would be wasted in violence and paralysed policies. The centrifugal and centripetal forces are likely to inhibit our progress and growth since development is a child of stability. The objective of this paper is to analyse this structural and system dislocation inherited in the Nigerian federalism through its evolution with the opinion that pristine formulation of federal system could serve as better option for our sustainable development. Nigeria requires a new federal structure; a structure in which component parts of the central government can operate according to their peculiarities, though coordinate.

### **Conceptualising Federalism**

Federalism is essentially voluntary political arrangement that can sufficiently accommodate diverse nationalities. According to Omotola (2005:223) federalism has been generally seen as an institutionalized devised for managing plural societies with the primary aim of engendering unity in diversity, this concurred with Alapiki (2005) conceptualisation that seen federalism as advance human cooperation in which partners preserve their respective integrities with a common framework for securing a common ends. Similarly, the most prominent Federalist views it as constitutional arrangement whereby the central government and the constituent units are each within sphere, independent but coordinate. wheare, (1964). This ultimately means that the units have autonomy and

independence though under the coordination of the central government. Therefore, the federating units can operate according to their peculiarities, and should be strong and self-sufficient most importantly in term of financial aspects to get rid of the subjugation of center. Also according to Oyovbaire (2008:9) this assumes that powers available to the level of government should be constitutionally balance.

Federalism has virtues and features which includes among others, resources distribution shared rule, balance or shared responsibilities and territorial base, this clearly shows that financial and responsibility autonomy help consolidate the system, by given the units avenue to decide on their own in the sphere of their jurisdiction. This leverage will ultimately culminate in development and growth of the units.

Nigeria is supposedly a federal state in which all aspect of federalism is supposed to be entrenched. But actually, reverse is the case, and it is since from the inception of federalism to date, and this because it was an imposition. This scenario has led to the violent clashes that are devastitating to the development, and this is more pronounce in term of fiscal relation, political space, power and ethno-religious cleavage among others. Though, generally anywhere in the world federalism is practice, there exist some limitations, but we still contend that a good political arrangement that is done freely and willingly could solve the problem and sustain development. Before analysing some of the problems let trace the history of evolution of federalism in Nigeria.

### **Evolution of Nigerian Federalism**

Until we go back to history, we can never understand the delicate arrangement of Nigerian federalism, which provided sufficient room for centre fleeing forces that over years affect the practice of federalism in Nigeria.

Osuntokun, (1979:91) has analysed two basic perspectives on the evolution of Nigerian federalism. The first perspective which is Nationalist view holds that the British deliberately imposed a structurally imperfect federal system on Nigeria with a view to ensuring continued interference in the internal affairs of the country even after it gained independence. The other school of thought emphasised the significance of historical and geographical factors on the evolution of Nigerian federalism. Though to him, the two views are not mutually exclusive, for the constitution evolution of Nigeria is a function of historical and geographical factors of the British imperial objectives. To succinctly capture and understand the deepening crises of centre-fleeing forces within the Nigerian federalism is to bear in mind that it evolves largely through the process of disaggregation. The basis of this disaggregation was laid by the British colonial government with series of aggregative restructuring culminating in the present federal structure of the country.

The introduction of federal system in Nigeria was aimed at bringing people of different religious beliefs and culture together, with a view of fostering peaceful co-existence among them. The colonial efforts were geared toward the emergence of federal Nigeria, and to achieve this, Lugard amalgamated northern and southern protectorates in 1914 with two lieutenant governors for each protectorate located in Kaduna and Lagos respectively. This political structure was an imposition and "does not lay solid foundation for evolution of Nigerian federalism, rather it was a fragile arrangement" (Alkali, 2004:47). This was to bring the country into unified institution, and also this explains why Lugard refused to subscribe to the alternative proposal of restructuring the northern and southern Nigeria into units. In 1939, the Nigerian constitutional drive towards federalism started specifically when Bourdillon split the southern protectorate with Enugu as headquarter into two separate regions with River Niger demarcating the boundary between East and the West with tripartite political structure in the country: East, West and North with headquarters located at Enugu, Ibadan and Kaduna respectively. This was adopted and legitimised by Richard's Constitution and provided a central legislature for the whole country and a House of Assembly for the regions. The adoption of this arrangement by Richard's Constitution caused a rigid regionalism in the country which created a problem to the operation of federal system by giving more power to the region than the central government (it may be proper today with the situation of the country). Richard's Constitution was subjected to a review that culminated into Macpherson Constitution of 1951 in which each region was vested with legislative and executive powers. The Macpherson Constitution despite its massive consultation with popular interest across the country, did very little to redress the problem (Omotola, 2005:226).

Formal federalism was introduced in 1954 by the Lyttleton constitution. The constitution provided for three sets of legislative lists, namely: exclusive list (power belonging exclusively to the federal government), the concurrent list (power shared by both the federal and regional governments) and residual list (power that could be exercised by regions) (Alkali, 2004:49). This was negotiated by regional political class within themselves on one hand and the British class on the other, that the federal system should be established. Nigeria continues to operate the federal system with push and pull even though the centripetal forces are higher than the centrifugal ones, but the origin and political process of the federal system has defects, and ever since Nigerian federalism has experienced conundrum which ultimately retards it development.

### Framework of Analysis

The approach of this paper is to view Nigerian federalism within the framework of centrifugal and centripetal forces inherent in the Nigerian federation. Groups of different background, diversity, outlook, culture and custom among others were brought together under one system unwillingly. This can tend to pull people apart. A delicate arrangement of this kind, where carefully worked out, provides

sufficient room for the co-existence of centre-seeking and centre-fleeing forces (Dan'iya, 2008:92). The viability of any federal system of government depends upon the shifting balance of centrifugal and centripetal forces in the society (Muazzam, 2008:7).

Classical federalism that achieved moderate balance emerged through mutual convenience and definite sacrifice by its units to the created central government, given it some of their powers, thereby retaining the rest for their distinct communities. The case with Nigeria is different, as Alkali (2004:50) stated Nigerian experience as a federation is such that it is the centre which creates the federating units and not the other way round. The frequency with which the constituent units of the federation have been disaggregated is in marked contrast with what obtained in other federal states. This is with a view to address the problem of centrifugal forces and diversity. Nigeria fought for war 1967 – 1970 to preserve the federal system. The "excision" of five northern states is clearly discontent with the federal structure. Indeed, it is considered view that the process of imposition of 1914 amalgamation laid by the British colonial government could be an issue of explaining the dislocation of the Nigerian federal system. According Adebayo, one of the direct causes of the civil war of 1967-70 can be traced to the nature and structure of the federalism of 1954 (Adebayo, 1981:204).

## Nature, Contours and Re-organisations of Nigerian Federal Structure

The amalgamation of Southern and Northern Protectorates in 1914 and other processes of administrative decentralisation and the devolution of regional power prepared the ground for formal federal structure in 1954 under the Lyttleton Constitution. According to Alkali under this arrangement, "Over years, successive regimes have re-organised the Nigerian territorial structure with a view to addressing the problem of diversity" (Alkali, 2004:50).

In 1939 under Bourdillon, the Southern Protectorate was divided into East and West which according to Gana "completed the processes of constructing the tripod structure that was consummated in the 1954 Constitution (Gana 2003). From the independence period to date, the territorial boundaries of the federation were re-structured six times.

Table: 1 Re-organisation of Territorial Boundaries in Nigeria from Independence to Date. (Region and State creations).

S/No.	Year	State/Region	Administration/Regime
1	1963	4 Region	Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.
2	1967	12 State	Gawon Regime
3	1976	19 State	Murtala Administration
4	1987	21 State	Babangida Administration
5	1991	31 State	Babangida Administration
6	1996	36 State	Abacha Regime

Source: The Presenter.

Indeed, the above restructuring and reorganisation of the Nigerian federal system was a response to the agitation of the aggrieved groups which was brought by certain structural imbalance in the Nigerian federation that characterised the dynamics of the federal arrangement.

A number of factors would seem to be the reasons why specific structures continue to come out in Nigeria for a long time. Three regions dominated by three ethnic groups, each with ethno-cultural diversity and every one laying claim to its own part of Nigeria. Unfortunately, among these 3 regions, one is perceived to be twice bigger than the other two regions put together in terms of population and territory.

As articulated and observed by Yakubu Gowon:

The component parts of the federation were such that one of the regions was bigger than the other two put together in population as well as in size. This very fact was contributory to the instability of the country. This provided rationale for review of the federal structure.

It is obvious from the above, that the structural imbalance that characterised Nigerian federalism has the capacity to retard our development. Similarly, January 15, 1966 coup and the subsequent emergence of Decree 34 of 1966, the counter-coup by Yakubu Gowon coupled with 30 months civil war have the same effect. Nigerian Federalism is characterised with clamour for political space and feeling of marginalisation and domination as it has become a passing ball in the political arena. The advocating of State right to have certain autonomy such as power to have State Police, resource control, and power to create Local governments among others have deeply characterised the federal system of

Nigeria. The potentially explosive argument over revenue allocation and derivation is also one of the key factors over our federal system. Then you have different debates ranging over Ogoni people, Biafra, the threat posed by Boko haram activities, the size of the federating units and even the unduly concentrated powers, responsibilities and functions at the federal centre. There is also issue of demand for rotational presidency and consequently the call for 'sovereign' national conference. In fact, the proliferation of ethnic militias and other groups render Nigerian federalism in contradiction. For Adagba, "the attempt in Nigeria towards democracy has created more contradiction and uncertainties. On the local front, several exigencies have seen the emergence of the ethnic identification groups such as the Odudua Peoples Congress (OPC), Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF), Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Egbesu Assembly and militia groups, Bakassi Boys and Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force, amongst others (Adagba, 2006:164).

Another very significant event that signalled a problem was the "excision" of five northern states from the Nigerian federation by the late Major Gideon Orkar, during his 1990 aborted but bloody coup, and most surprisingly, by military officers that claimed to be safeguarding and unifying the country, if not because of the failure of the coup, we might have had something rather than Nigeria today. The current clamour for resource control that led to serious crises of the Niger-Delta region is a tremendous threat that portends the continued survival of the country. Likewise, the inability of government policies to solve the problems ranging from commissions/committees to review the fiscal relation that would tally with the constitution and functional roles of government, to the Yar'adua Amnesty declaration policy is a great predicament that signals centre-fleeing forces. Currently, not less than 13% of oil revenue is being transferred to the oil producing states, according to their production. Since January 2000, the practice has been to apply this derivation to onshore oil production (Mato, 2008:10). Despite this and the creation of Niger-Delta Ministry with it 3% set aside (federal government of Nigeria report 2002) there is still agitations which cast doubt weather this amount of money is translated through actual development programs. The onshoreoffshore dichotomy has also been called to question by aggrieved group; all these posed serious crises to Nigerian federalism and have direct consequences to our sustainable development.

The last but not the least, the indiscriminate killings and maiming of citizens by the security operatives as a result of complicated social violence in the north has worsen the situation. These and others have been the tradition and had characterised our federal system for long.

### Methodology

This study relied mainly on library materials, especially secondary sources of data, such as textbooks, journals, conference papers, workshops and seminar materials.

### Implications for Sustainable Developments

Sustainable development is all about stability, 'it has been defined as a process which enhances people's capacity to create and consume wealth on lasting basis' (Amali,2006:176). For development to take place this indicates that political system has to be stable, though the federal idea is popular and was accepted as panacea for a larger political units capable of fostering unity and economic development among the federating units, but recently, the period between 1960 and late 80's, it became apparently clear that the system needs to be revisited as many countries faced problem in their federal project, as Watts put it: "Most of the post-war federal experiments experienced difficulties and a number were abandoned or temporarily suspended. Examples are the continued internal tension and the frequency of resort to emergency rule in India, the succession of Bangladesh from Pakistan, the separation of Singapore from Malaysia, the Nigerian Civil War and the subsequent prevalence of military regimes, the early dissolution of the federation of the West Indies and the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the disintegration of the federal efforts in former French colonial areas of Indochina, West Africa and equatorial Africa, the eventual demise even of the East Africa Common Services Organisation (Watts, 2000). However, from the above examples, of which Nigeria was not excluded, the trends towards to centre-fleeing is global phenomenon, Although the conditions and process that led to the breakdown or attempt to secessionists in various countries differs, but particular kind of federal structural arrangements may give rise to problems.

Fundamentally, the implication of this is that the breakdown of any state may render it former component parts fragile and weak and their development may not be sustained. Furthermore, confusion regarding the nature and character of the federation of Nigeria is some time find ventilation in ethnic and religious violence, in case of damages and lost of life it has direct consequence on capital flight and investment, this on the other hand has security implication, lack of security deter investment, thus, no investor knowing fully the situation of insecurity would venture into business activities in any country. Closely related to this is that violence limit economic growth and change government spending, which would prevent future growth and development. Another implication in connection with this is drain on public treasury and country economy through re-construction of destroyed structures and provision of relief materials to the victims of violence, shouldn't this happen the resource would be utilise for human and structural development.

Again over centralisation of responsibilities and functions at federal centre has similar effect because as it partly reduce income in both public and private

sectors, Azeez (2004:36) has similar opinion when he stated that the collapse of income in both sectors was facilitated by the increase centralisation of administration masterminded by long years of military rule. Strong federal centre hardly enhance equal opportunity, even development and fair play, the present revenue allocation favours the centre "the sub-national governments operate under a serious financial handicap since their share of statutory allocation is insufficient in discharge of their constitutional responsibilities" (Mato, 2008:14). Especially the Local governments which were subjugated by the states, this would go a long way in instituting poverty at a grassroots, as Kahinde (2005:248) admitted that "the inequitable revenue allocation formula has thrown up two categories implications, namely: unviable and unproductive states and local governments and the agitations for resource control and true federalism". Also the problem of imbalance between responsibilities and revenue power at lower level of government can degenerate into crisis and general instability, Enyi, (2005:). And it is obvious that with a good federal system, the political units are supposed to have autonomy as this will reduce agitation, and this could be the reason why there have emerged calls for a sovereign national conference and constitutional review.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

The present state of Nigerian federation demands a radical restructuring of the system to reflect the principles of federal practice and ensure the continued existence of the Nigerian federal project (lhonvbere, 2003). The fundamental basis of federation as posited by Enyi (2005:295) is coming together of group of people with the aim of solving common problem without losing their identities. Deriving from this definition Enyi considered federal system as the one which each unit can operate according to it values. Also to Wheare (1964) the two level of government should be co-ordinate and independent in status. United States could be referred to as a model of the federal system, with a simple constitution which provided for presidential system at the centre and each unit has its own constitution that gives it the right to operate according to its peculiarities; "Unfortunately, our political leaders went for a federal system of government based on centrifugal arrangement as opposed to centripetal arrangement" (Enyin, 2005: 297). Nigerian federal arrangement has several anomalies that impact negatively on the country, it need to be re-structure, the following in my candid opinion is considered as option for sustainable development.

The Component states should come together negotiate and dialogue freely and willingly on the nature of their co-existence. This would provide genuine political arrangement for harmonious relationship between people of different background; peaceful co-existence enhances development as dispute may be minimized, one cannot see Nigeria engaging in pragmatic development until the component units wittingly agree to live together in a federation where the relation is built on fairness.

- 2. Each State should have it simple constitution peculiar to its cultural and historical background.
- 3. State and L.Gs should be empowered both in functions, responsibilities and financially this would poster development at lower level. Kehinde (2005:240) subscribed to the reduction in power and responsibilities of central government. Implicitly this means weak central government and strong component units.
- 4. State and L.Gs should be given autonomy through constitutional amendment, because they are closer to people than the central of government, autonomy here refers to the capability of the units to take a concrete decisions using its own discretion without undue intervention from other units of government. Oyovbaire (2008:8) talked about developmental federalism as the one in which there is autonomy and dependence of the component states or regions vis-a-vis the central government in the acquisition and the use of power. According to him it has been argued that robust federal systems produce low term, economic growth and development.
- 5. Closely related to this is the issue of fiscal federalism, derivation principle and revenue allocation, a new revenue sharing system should be propose that would institute a balance between states and the central government, "Fiscal federalism is system which requires periodic reviews to take account of changes that are inevitable in a dynamic world" (federal government of Nigeria report 2002). . "There is need for fiscal decentralization to allocate more to state and local governments" (Omotola, 2005:23). According to him the overconcentration of resources at the centre has been largely responsible for the unhealthy struggle and competition for state power among groups and individuals. Omotola, (2005). Federalism should be built on fair allocation of resources and similarly, Proper fiscal policy can alleviate poverty.
- The intergovernmental fiscal relations should be restructured, in Nigeria local government were left at a mercy of state governments despite their recognisance by the constitution (report 2002)
- 7. Let the States control their resources by given them a reasonable percentage and the non oil producing states should embark on agriculture or otherwise to complement their shares, this would reduce tension and pressure and simultaneously increase government business involvement at concomitant improvement of individual lives.
- 8. Those States advocating for implementation of Sharia should be allowed to do so if it would affect only Muslim and that it should not be political one, this would reduce agitation and what could be term as religious fanatics which usually culminated in violence.
- 9. The issue of rotational presidency should not be put into consideration; it is better to go for best candidate from any zone, the six geo-political zones of the federation could be use as basis for other positions. Nigeria requires good leadership to tailor our development.

10. Initiating a quarter system and federal character that would not be manipulated but serve as better option for admission and appointment into important positions.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

In this paper, we attributed the myriad of problems facing Nigeria's federalism to our failure to emulate classical formulation and federalism precepts. This is a major challenge to the Nigerian federal system and sustainable development. In view of this, we need to go back to the drawing board; we need a fundamental structural change, a new arrangement that can give the component parts of the centre freedom and liberty to operate according to their peculiarities, though coordinate. This purging process over present political arrangement would culminate in federal system which will address bad governance, ethnicity, violence, corruption and all other limitation to our unhindered growth and development.

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# COMPARATIONAL JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

# POOR GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDYOF THE NORTH-EAST GEO-POLITICAL ZONE

### JIBRIL BABAYO SULAIMAN

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### **ABSTRACT**

Poor Governance and Security Challenges in Nigeria: A Case Study of North-East Geo-Political Zone', as the topic implies, fits in the discourse on the security challenges that constitute topical and reoccurring issues affecting Nigeria as a nation. Many lives and property were lost as a result of security quandary in Nigeria. Security of lives and property has become one problem that seems to be lacking permanent solution. All concerted efforts by both the government and its agencies did not achieve greater result. The concept of security deals with the actual or potential safety from military, socio-politico-economic, cultural, or psychological attacks. The question of insecurity in the selected scope cannot be answered without delving into the politico-economic and socio-ethnoreligious skirmishes, bordering on prevailing abject poverty, social redundancy among youths, as they affect the nation's internal security, and the security threats, since independence; also a paramount need to critically peruse the nation's internal security in conjunction with the prevailing saga of terrorism and kidnapping, on the ambience of the nation's national security management; and to further critically view the inability of Nigeria as a nation to solve the current imbroglio of the 'insurgent' Boko-Haram; and their effect on the North-eastern states- Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe. The methodology to be used in gathering data is contextual approach. We recommend that unless a "cultural re-orientation" is achieved, the quagmire is likely to hasten the lingering revolution.

KEYWORDS; Good Governance, Poor Governance, Security, Insecurity, National Security, Poverty, Unemployment, Ethnicity, Religion.

### 1.0 GENERAL BACKGROUND

From the global view, the general unhappiness with the confusion over the debate on security matters has led many to explore the non-military aspects of security (Obasanjo and Mosha 1993:27). Specialists define 'national security' in many different ways. There are many overlapping issues including arms availability and proliferation, nature of governance, contested control of economic and natural resources, conflicting ideologies, ethnic divisions, etc. Most African governments have narrow definitions of security, based on considerations of military defence and regime stability. One of the contributory causes of insecurity is the fact that governments in Africa are unpredictable. A destabilising action can come about through calculable 'raison d'etat' such as the presence of an insurgent force on a country's border. Or the spark for an outbreak of war can be something wholly unexpected, such as the personal whim of a leader. Many African governments are dominated by small elite groups that run their countries in a secretive and authoritarian manner. For these ruling groups, national security is not something to be discussed in the public arena. This secrecy contributes to insecurity in the long term, by making governments less predictable and decision-making more centralised. Underlying reasons for insecurity include poverty and thus conflict over scarce resources, vulnerability to external economic shocks, weak institutions (further weakened by HIV/AIDS), and poor governance. However, under militarised governance and with mostly short-term thinking, these are not seen as 'national security' issues and are considered a lower priority than military and security affairs (InterAfrica Group/Justice Africa 2012).

Population in Nigeria increased to 162.47 Million in December of 2011 from 158.42 Million in December of 2010, according to a report released by the World Bank. Historically, from 1960 until 2011, Nigeria Population averaged 92.00 Million reaching an all time high of 162.47 Million in December of 2011 and a record low of 45.15 Million in December of 1960. The population of Nigeria represents 2.35 percent of the world's total population which arguably means that one person in every 42 people on the planet is a resident of Nigeria. North-Eastern Nigeria comprises 6 states, most of which are less densely populated, poorer and with worse health outcomes than states in the south. The 6 states of North-Eastern Nigeria with their population figures thus: Adamawa 3,178,950, Bauchi 4,653,066, Borno 4,171,104, Gombe 2,365,040, Taraba 2,294,800 and Yobe 2,321,339 (Nigeria Population:2011).

### 1.1 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

To understand the framework within which these issues are examined, it is paramount to define the key terms used in this paper. In this context, security, national security, good government and governance are hereby defined. National security is defined as the defence of a country against threats to its stability and integrity from all sources. Indeed, as Robert McNamara once observed in the security of any nation lies not only or even primarily in its military

capability; but equally in developing relatively stable patterns of economic and political growth.

There is, however, now a growing tendency to define national security to include not just military defence of territory but also internal stability and socioeconomic development. Of course, national security has both internal and external dimensions. As Ate has noted, national security can be defined as in Ate and Akinteriwa, 1992:256:cf. Jega: 2007:193.

the defence and protection of the sovereignty of the country and of its territorial and political jurisdictions against external and indeed internal threats....

Good government connotes any government that at all levels ensures well-being of its people through the provision of public goods and services-good roads network, uninterrupted power supply, good potable water, better education, gainful employment. The government should also be able to shoulder the responsibility of a wider distribution of basic life sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health and competent security so as to ensure socio-economic and ethnopolitico-religious tranquillity in order to protect the sovereignty and integrity of the country and the people.

Governance on the other hand, is the act of governing. It relates to decisions that define expectations, grant power, or verify performance. It consists of either a separate process or part of management or leadership processes. These processes and systems are typically administered by governance. When discussing governance in particular institutions, the quality of governance within the institutions is often compared to a standard of good governance.

To distinguish the term governance from government "governance" is what a "government" does. It might be a geo-political government (nation-state), a corporate government (business entity), a socio-political government (tribe, family etc.), or any number of different kinds of government, but governance is the physical exercise of management power and policy, while government is the instrument (usually collective) that does it. The term government is also used more abstractly as a synonym for governance, as in the Canadian motto, "Peace, Order and Good Government" (Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia: 2012).

### 2.0 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The entire North-East zone, as a replica of a country called Nigeria has been metamorphosed into a tense podium of security challenges which constitute topical and reoccurring issues affecting the whole, as a single entity. Many lives and property were lost as a result of security quandary, which makes the zone suffer a great deal of socio-economic, ethno-religious and educational stagnation due to lack of good governance. All concerted efforts by both the government and its agencies did not achieve any appreciable result. The concept of security deals with the actual or potential safety from military, socio-politico-economic, cultural, or psychological attacks. Successive military and autocratic civilian rule

found guilty of high level of corruption and refusal to implement a series of well articulated national policies were largely perceived as the major causality that plunged the entire country into the present skirmishes- the on-going Boko-Haram saga preceded by Maitatsine sect conflict in Kano; the Zangon Kataf ethnoreligious crises in Kaduna State; the Taliban sect uprising and the Tafawa Balewa persistent minority majority clashes, among others that have perpetuated for about three decades; albeit the tenacity magnified in the last decade from 1999, which indicates that despite civil rule currently in vogue, it has not ushered in any formidable platform on which a stable society where peace, rule of law and good governance reign supreme to enhance national development. Going by the definition of security in the Russian language which consists of only two words "without danger", it becomes very difficult to define Nigeria as a sovereign nation where peace, social cohesion and social justice flourish.

## 3.0 OBJECTIVE(S)

The general objective of this study was to find out the in-depth understanding of whether there is really poor governance and insecurity in Nigeria as a whole and or the North-East region in particular. While specifically, it was intended to find out as follows:

- 1. The genesis of the bad governance and the persistent insecurity in the region in particular and Nigeria at large;
- 2. Identify reasons why in spite all efforts put in by the government to quelling the challenges, they seem to continue to be on the increase instead of decreasing;
- To ascertain the indicators- corruption, lack of security policy, the attitude
  of the press in proliferating negative information to the consumers of their
  output, the involvement of some invisible hands in fuelling disaffection on
  the ambiance of ethno-politico-religious and economic quandary that
  stand out in encouraging the entire situation;
- 4. To evaluate the impact of the two major concepts- poor governance and insecurity on the country (Nigeria) in general and the North-Eastern region in particular;
- 5. To offer recommendations on how to find solution to the persistent security challenges so as to decrease the level of insecurity for Nigeria to forge towards sustainable development.

### **4.0 LITERATURE REVIEW**

Good governance is essential to the achievement of national security objectives. It has to be recognised that some policies can lead to disturbances and the breakdown of law and order as observed by Aliyu Mohammed Gusau (2007: 12). Other policies can also promote peace, harmony, and progress. Policy makers therefore have to be very conscious of the impact which their choice and pursuit of policies can have on the national well-being. It is also important to carry the majority of the people along in order to reduce the security burden.

Nigeria, no doubt, is bedevilled with crisis of development, as observed by different scholars as thus: The history after colonial occupation is one of military dictatorship and corruption at levels unimaginable. Nigeria is Africa's most populace country, the most oil and gas wealth, the greatest economic potential, the biggest potential market. Thus Nigeria is a target. As put in by Gordon Duff (2011):

"Those in power know I laid out their fate. I told them when the bombings would start, what type; I was even right about the first target, exactly right. I figured what I would do and it happened. I figured what I would do if I were the head of a foreign intelligence agency planning to take over security operations for the government by making the new president appear vulnerable, powerless, and then exploiting divisions in the country in order to start two decades of extremely powerful war".

In the process, side can be played against side, crooked politicians can keep the decision making apparatus paralysed and the country can be turned into a terrorist battleground, leading to the long awaited civil war while being bled to dry. This is all little but theatre. The US bought a ticket to a play staged in Afghanistan and found themselves unable to find the exit. This one will be quieter as this is Africa, it will be black people killing black people. Few will notice, fewer will care. Those with a stake notice, they care, but their agenda has no room for human life. In the process, side can be played against side, crooked politicians can keep the decision making apparatus paralysed and the country can be turned into a terrorist battleground, leading to the long awaiting civil war while being bled dry.

This work associates itself with the cultural theory of governance as aforementioned, which is in line with the suggestion by Ayandele, in the chapter three of his book 'Using Nigerian Culture for Nation Building', where he noted that history is yet to reveal genuine nation born out of a cultural womb alien to it. It is a Law of nature that the pride of a people is found in those customs and institutions peculiarly their own.

He observed about Nigeria's dividends of colonialism today- abortive nationhood, thanks to exploitation of primordial ethnic and centrifugal forces by an incorrigibly, selfish class; mentally enslaving, exotic formal education with products that society does not need and who are banished to cultural and physical limbo; a public health system that diagnoses diseases rather than provide cure; an economy which internally does not deliver daily bread to the greater part of the present generation but which, has already mortgaged the welfare of future generations; bastardised potpourri nairacracy and plundercracy being paraded as democracy which has given birth to kleptocracy; a morally void and spiritually bankrupt society in which the brawn browbeats the brain, baiting the latter with filthy lucre; unplanned urban agglomerations that are fast turning into smouldering enclaves of resentment and despair; a lip service pan-Nigerian unity

bereft of Nigerian Personality; an uncontrolled polarising social engineering process determined by the Western World-view embraced by the tiny so-called educated elite class which, far from promoting societal harmony and cohesion, has undermined traditional moral and social values, without an alternative effective replacement; a country whose name stinks to the skies internationally, thanks to the consummate veil of drug traffickers and 419 mafia (Ayandele: 2006:77-78).

The above observation depicts the crop of leaders we have as a nation, people without the nation at heart and above all, lacking integrity, cultural morality and accountability in all their administrative routines. That is to say, the borrowed culture has overshadowed our original culture (full of morality, accountability, sincerity, togetherness); now the culture of corruption has become the order of the day. In this regard while the government is overtly fighting the so called terrorists (both the culprits and the innocent citizens), underneath are some in the corridors of power aggravating the pervasive violence. More so, the inability of the administration to apply punishment is making the ordinary citizens become more inimical and aggressive towards the leadership.

### **5.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The theory which guides this study is the Cultural Theory as put forward by IK Vienna School of Governance: After the 'linguistic turn' of the seventies, the 'cultural turn' – that led to a complete restructuring of the humanities – represents the second wave of qualitative approaches to gain an increasing influence on the social sciences since the eighties. The reintroduction of cultural theory as an important tool for political analysis is closely linked to some key issues of contemporary politics: the changing behaviour of consumers and voters, the loosening of traditional social relations as well as of political affiliations and the transformation of society towards new cultural group patterns reopened the question of Political Culture(s) as a basis for democratic governance in the advanced societies (Gibbins 1989, Gibbins/Reimer 1999). At the same time, the global attempts of democratisation and decolonisation (Huntington 1991, Diamond 1999) raised again the question of the establishment of stable democracies gaining actuality in the still unfinished process of democratic transformation of the former Soviet bloc and Soviet Union (Beyme 1996) and the effects of this process on the European and global political order (Geertz 1996). In the process of an integrating and enlarging Europe, these problems are especially sound in an increasing problem of rising nationalism and right-wing populism (Pribersky 2001, Pribersky/Liebhart/Kurtán 2002) or in the crisis of representation of European politics (Pribersky et al. 2005: cf Vienna School of Governance: 2005).

These political developments lead to a constant increase of the use of the term 'culture' as an explanatory variable of political differences and encounters (Huntington 1996) also in the mass media and to a re-evaluation of approaches of cultural theory concerning their explanatory force for contemporary politics (Schwelling 2004). The extension of political analysis of the subcultures of society

by the means of a Cultural Studies approach or the reformulation of the term 'Political Culture' from a political science (Thompson/Ellis/Wildavsky 1990) and from an anthropological perspective (Abélès/Jeudy 1997) as well have greatly contributed to a new understanding of democratic governance, that includes the building and the participatory element of a Civil Society and its importance for democratic stability: therefore, these contributions are considered an integral part of the program of the Vienna School of Governance.

### **6.0 METHODOLOGY**

In this section of the paper an attempt is made to provide method of assessing governance and insecurity, using secondary data from various sources- relevant literatures such as textbooks, newspapers, publications and the internet poverty, political, economic, religious, unemployment, cultural and ethnic crises; improper settlement of internally displaced, contributions of the press in instilling insecurity in society and lack of adequate education in the Northern region.

### **6.1 POVERTY, ETHNICITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT**

The World Bank defines extreme poverty as living on less than \$1.25 a day. Today, over 1.3 billion people in developing countries fall under this definition of poverty. Poverty is more than a minimal income. It is inextricably linked to malnutrion, hunger, illiteracy, disease, gender inequality and nearly every other development issue. And according to the United Nations "People living in poverty face increasingly difficult challenges as climate change, environmental degradation and rising food prices threaten their livelihoods and survival." The 2011 Commemoration of the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty (IDEP) that took place on October 17, 2011, at the United Nations headquarters in New York City was an opportunity to "acknowledge the efforts of people living in poverty and to have their voices heard." The event, with a theme of "From Poverty to Sustainability: People at the Centre of Inclusive Development," will emphasize the urgency of poverty as a development issue and, hopefully, reaffirm the goals of Millennium Development Goal 1: Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger (Goshit: 2012).

Nigeria is facing serious poverty and hunger despite her enormous resources. Recent statistics reveal that poverty and hunger are increasing despite successive governments and non–governmental organizations alleviation programmes. Unless, these twin problems are tacked urgently, they are likely to undermine the survival of Nigeria as a nation. In this regard Nigeria can learn from the experience of the United States of America, which has been able to reduce its poverty and hunger to a minimum level. After lurching from one military coup to another, Nigeria now has an elected leadership. But the government faces the growing challenge of preventing Africa's most populous country from breaking apart along ethnic and religious lines. Political liberalisation ushered in by the return to civilian rule in 1999 has allowed militants from religious and ethnic groups to express their frustrations more freely, and with increasing violence.

Thousands of people have died over the past few years in communal rivalry. Separatist aspirations have been growing, prompting reminders of the bitter civil war over the breakaway Biafran republic in the late 1960s. The imposition of Islamic law in several states has embedded divisions and caused thousands of Christians to flee. Inter-faith violence is said to be rooted in poverty, unemployment and the competition for land. The government is striving to boost the economy, which experienced an oil boom in the 1970s and is once again benefiting from high prices on the world market. But progress has been undermined by corruption and mismanagement.

Regional poverty, always widespread, became even more severe. In July 2008, the then governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Chukuma Soludo, observed that persistently high levels of poverty in the country had become "a northern phenomenon": of the ten states with the highest incidence of poverty, eight were in the far northern zone. Jigawa topped the list, with 95% of its people classified as living in poverty. A more recent study found that as many as 76% of northern people are "earning a daily income of less than the equivalent of one American dollar". Unemployment for agricultural workers is often seasonal, leading to frequent movements of people and a fluid urban population. With virtually no modern industries, there is a high dependence on government as the sole source of largesse and dispenser of patronage, intensifying the contest between ethnic and religious groups for control of public office.

The region's economy is particularly affected by lack of skilled man power. In terms of Western education, it still has the worst indicators in Nigeria, with literacy levels, enrolment rates and success levels in national examinations decreases as one advances farther north. Female literacy is as low as 21 percent in the north east and north west. Under-funded by federal and state governments, dilapidated educational institutions are producing graduates who are virtually unemployable. A growing number of young people, unable to find jobs, face a bleak future. In the northeast, like any other part of the north, the failure of rural economies has led to large-scale drift of youth from rural to urban areas, part of population movements that also include the arrival of many people from the landlocked and drought-affected countries to the north (Niger and Chad). In the cities to which the youth are flocking, urbanisation has brought together people of diverse backgrounds. While this has generated much positive social interaction, the crowded environment, with little or no economic infrastructure or social amenities, also produces frequent tensions.

# 6.2 THE EFFECTS OF ETHNO- POLITICO- ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS CRISES IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

Northern Nigeria has been periodically engulfed by ethno-politico-economic and religious crises over the last three decades. Mainly in the form of urban riots, it has pitted Christians against Muslims and has seen confrontations between different Islamic sects- Maitatsine in Kano, the Taliban in some states of the North-East, to

mention few. Although there have been some successes in conflict management in the last decade, the 2009 and 2010 troubles in Bauchi, Borno and Yobe states involving the radical Boko Haram sect show that violence still may flare up at any moment. If the situation were to deteriorate significantly, especially on Christian-Muslim lines, it could have serious repercussions for national cohesion in the build up to national elections in April 2011. As such, if not carefully handled may result to succession like in the case of Sudan. Violent conflict, whether riots or fighting between insurrectional groups and the police, tends to occur at specific flashpoints. Examples are the cities of Kaduna and Zaria, whose populations are religiously and ethnically very mixed, and the very poor states of the north-east, where antiestablishment groups have emerged (International Crisis Group: 2010: 1).

An estimated 3,800 people have been killed in brutal clashes between Christians and Muslims in Plateau state over the last decade. The violence is extreme: children and the elderly have been hacked to death with machetes, or doused with gasoline and set on fire. More recently there have been bomb attacks, including ones on Christmas Eve that sparked weeks of reprisal killings and left hundreds dead. While the conflict in Jos is often defined in terms of religion, it is equally rooted in economic and political issues such as scarcity of resources. There are tensions between the mainly Christian groups designated as "indigenes," or indigenous to the area, and the Hausa-Fulani Muslims classified as "settlers" by the government. For example, in Mazah village, access to prime grazing areas is the main source of conflict between Christian farmers, considered "indigenes," and the nomadic Fulani herders. Many Muslim Hausa-Fulani people feel marginalized under a system in which "settlers" have less rights to jobs and education, despite having lived in an area for generations. Ethnic and religious differences are sometimes played up by those seeking political gain. The outbreaks of violence in Jos since 2001 have rapidly redrawn the map of this city, traditionally renowned for its pleasant climate and the stunning rock formations that dot the landscape. License plates still refer to Plateau state as the "Home of Peace and Tourism."Today, the streets of Jos are lined with construction sites as Muslims and Christians abandon their mixed neighborhoods and move into new homes in segregated neighborhoods. Soldiers and armored vehicles are posted in Jos and surrounding villages, while checkpoints are stationed throughout the city and the roads leading into it. Burned-out homes, mosques and churches are evidence of the violence around the city. On one stretch of road, the blackened remnants of three gas stations were still visible.

Moreover, the Tafawa local government area of Bauchi state also suffered drastically from the same ethno-politico-religious and economic quandary for many years, among the Hausa, Jarawa, Fulani (mostly Muslims) and Sayawa ethnic group whose members are mainly Christians. This resulted to the complete expulsion of most ethnic groups-Hausa (mostly subsistent farmers and petty traders), Fulani (herdsmen), Jarawa(also mainly subsistent agriculturists), to mention but few, with the exception of few Fulani herdsmen that are found in the outskirts grazing their cattle; and that is not to say that there is existence of air of

cordiality between the Sayawa (Zaar people) and the Fulani herdsmen. In fact, when the Bauchi State government made the last move to instilling peace in the area, the entire local government secretariat was relocated to Bununu which is dominantly occupied by the Hausa, Fulani and Jarawa in order to allow social, economic and political tranquillity to flourish, as against the incessant killings of those who were deemed settlers or strangers by those perceived owners of the land in Tafawa Balewa areas; the same administration under Isa Yuguda refused to recognise the traditional ruler by name Ishaku Komo (a retired Air Force officer, who had to go on exile and be accommodated by Jonah Jang of Plateau State), installed by the Zaar or Sayawa community due to lack of government's approval. In fact, not only at state or local government level, even within Bauchi metropolis, there had been inter-ethnic and religious crises that forced the same administration to replace a secondary school with public healthcare delivery centre at Baban Takko in Birshi district. This shows how the cankerworm of ethnoreligious clashes has eaten deep into the fabric of the entire society. Without a sincere resolve by the government and the people directly affected to make peace reign supreme, then there is propensity that more and more bloodbaths will be continue to erupt; especially with the syndrome of youth redundancy and the constant misuse of the younger generation by politicians and other money-bags for their selfish interests in the society.

### 6.3 THE DISTORTION OF THE PEOPLE'S CULTURE

The economic transformations of the 1970s and 1980s had far reaching impacts on economic and social relations in the region. As the national economy shifted from agriculture to heavy dependence on oil, services and importation of finished products, cash-crop production, which had been the region's mainstay, declined. For instance, across the cotton-producing states (eleven of the thirteen are in the far north), the decline of cotton production led to mass closures in the textile sector, collapse of rural economies, massive unemployment and increased rural-urban migration. Kano, once the centre of a thriving textile industry, has been particularly badly hit and now has acres of disused factory space. The federal government's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), inaugurated in 1986, and other economic policies through the 1990s, including import liberalisation and lack of protection for local industries, aggravated agricultural ruin and rural impoverishment. The acute dearth of electrical energy continually impedes industrial development.

### 6.4 LACK OF NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

According to Chris Agbambu (2010), lack of any clear document on national security policy has remained one of the major problems confronting the country on how to tackle such challenges whenever it arises. He observed that the commandant of the National Defence College, Rear Admiral T. J. Lokoson, made a revelation while briefing newsmen on activities lined up for the graduation of Course 19, he said in his speech that because of the vacuum, the college was

drafting a national security policy for the nation. He disclosed that as a foremost vital national security institution, the college had been playing important roles in national security delivery and professional development of strategic leaders required to meet the global challenges of maintaining peace and security not only in Nigeria but also internationally.

The Boko Haram violence of 2009-2010, when the traditional Islamic sect took over large parts of Maiduguri before violently confronting the police, points to major failings in the state's security apparatus. Sources indicated clearly state security structures had informed their superiors several times of the imminent threat. Despite the clear precedence of the "Nigerian Taliban", very little was done. This was due to poor coordination between security agencies and also to a desire on the part of politicians- worried by its potential local support- to co-opt the group.

Azazi had in his paper, blamed the rise of insurgence by the fundamentalist sect, Boko Haram in the country on the internal wranglings of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) and other political parties. The retired General made this known during the second day of the South-south economic summit where the collapse of the nation's security challenge was deliberated on. Tracing the rise of Boko Haram's attack, the chief security adviser to the president stated that "the extent of violence did not increase in Nigeria until when there was a declaration by the current president that he was going to contest." "PDP got it wrong from the beginning, from the on-set by saying Mr A can rule, Mr A cannot rule .....according to PDP's convention, rules and regulation and not according to the constitution and that created the climate for what has manifested itself, this way." He added that there is some level of political undertone to the problem. He also noted that the bombings, suicide attacks and jail breaks that have been raging the northern part of the country "could be traced to the politics of exclusion of the PDP in the region." Blaming the notion of anointing candidates and the 'do or die' attitude of the political party, Retired General Azazi asked why "is it possible that somebody was thinking that only Mr. A could win, and that if he could not win, there would be problems in this society?" Mr. Azazi again said:

"Let's examine all these issues to see whether the level of violence in the North-East just escalated because Boko Haram suddenly became better trained, better equipped and better funded, or something else was responsible.

"But, then I must also be quick to point out that today, even if all the leaders that we know in Boko Haram are arrested, I don't think the problem would end, because there are tentacles. I don't think that people would be satisfied, because the situations that created the problems are not just about the religion, poverty or the desire to rule Nigeria. I think it's a combination of everything. Except you address all those things comprehensively, it would not work" he added. However, President Goodluck Jonathan and the ruling Peoples Democratic Party, PDP, promptly disowned Azazi and his comments, with very strong language and a very visible sense of anger (Segun: 2012).

### 6.5 LACK OF LITERACY

The importance of education to human beings cannot be over emphasized. Education is a human right that should be accorded to all human beings solely by reason of being human. There are a lot of international human rights instruments that provide for education as a fundamental human right. These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1981). The relationship between education and development is well established such that education is a key index of development. It has been documented that schooling improves productivity, health and reduces negative features of life such as child labour as well as bringing about empowerment. This is why there has been a lot of emphasis particularly in recent times for all citizens of the world to have access to basic education (Otive Igbuzor: 2006).

Although quality education is central to both international and national education debates and practices in most countries, there is a reluctance and lack of urgency in providing it for all. There are disparities in the policies, equity and provisioning strategies of basic education for all learners. Most South American and South Pacific countries are battling to realize the Millennium Goals regarding this matter. Some African countries are not progressing in this regard too. Those that are better off have not begun to monitor and evaluate the quality of their basic education except ensuring that teachers teach and learners attend classes. The only quality control and measurement is through examinations. This paper looks at quality in basic education for all as the controls that are within an institution of learning, the teaching and learning processes, and which entail amongst others, education for sustainability and indigenous knowledge systems. Hence, the argument that quality basic education for all should move beyond the rhetoric of educational policies to quality basic education practice (Lwati: 2007). The female children in the North-Eastern Nigeria suffer denial to education as they are mostly sent into marriage without education and or source of livelihood; as such a great number of divorcees living in deplorable condition, to the extent lack of attention by the society may cause more social atrocities to the society in the near future.

### 6.6 IMPROPER SETTLEMENT OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

There were estimated to be over 20 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) at the end of 1999, a number that surpasses global estimates of refugees. Displacement exposes IDPs to new hazards and accrued vulnerability. These dynamics result in greater risk for the development of illness and death. Often, access of IDPs to health care and humanitarian assistance is excluded deliberately by conflicting parties. Furthermore, the arrival of IDPs into another community or region strains local health systems, and the host population ends up sharing the sufferings of the internally displaced. Health outcomes are dismaying. From a health perspective, the best option is to avoid human displacement. WHO contributes to the prevention of displacement by working for sustainable

development. Placing health high on the political agenda helps maintain stability, and thereby, reduce the likelihood for displacement. Primary responsibility for assisting IDPs, irrespective of the cause, rests with the national government. However, where the government is unwilling or unable to provide the necessary aid, the international humanitarian community must step in, with WHO playing a major role in the health sector assets and capacities of the beneficiaries (Leus X, Wallace J, Loretti A. cf. Alubo: 2006: 180-193).

According to Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), in Nigeria "no comprehensive survey on internal displacement has been conducted and there are no mechanisms to monitor durable solutions. Most estimates only include people who have sought shelter at temporary IDP camps". About 1,210,000, in accordance with the National Commission for Refugees, September 2007; 80000 by June 2009; about 1,600,000 (Refugees united, July 2010). This is an indication that the complaints registered by many victims of such events were indisputable, for example, in 2011, the displaced people from Tafawa Balewa area of Bauchi state cried out several times before they could have the intervention of the government, which came after they had even been accommodated by sympathisers at different places within that axis. Moreover, the general persecution against the relief material distribution among the victims of flood recently in some of the North-Eastern states is that the envelops shared to some selected few under the coverage of the press, only #350.00 (three hundred and fifty naira) was found in each of the envelops; which was not enough to feed each family, talk more of the reconstruction of the destroyed houses of the victims.

From the crises of 2001/2002 in Taraba, Nasarawa and Plateau, the refugees could be classified into inter and intra- state refugees. The first category had to flee one state to another for safety. Typically, this group comprised Tiv people fleeing the violence and fighting in Taraba, Nasarawa and Plateau States to Benue State. The intra-State refugees migrated from the troubled spots in Taraba, Nasarawa and Plateau but rather than leave the states, relocated to safer areas within the same states. In Nasarawa State, for instance, the Alago, Eggon, Fulani and Hausa ethnic groups fleeing the conflict moved to larger villages, mostly within the same local government area. Many, especially from Tudun Adabu in Obi LGA, moved to Lafia where they were camped in Dunama Primary School. Returnees described their experiences as traumatic but they were assuaged by the donation relief materials by government and individuals. Most of the materials received were to meet immediate needs and included mattresses, clothing items, rice and other food items...there were sexual escapades, no schools, materials for health delivery, while refugees were also called names like "foreigners" etc.

### 6.7 LOPSIDEDNESS OF THE MEDIA, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS

As observed by Musa Aliyu (2012) Tales of horrific events in which the media actively fanned the embers of hate or turned a blind eye in the face of injustice against a side considered an adversary abound in our recent history. The case of

Rwanda where a newspaper, Kangura, was used to fuel the genocide against the Tutsi minority by continuously referring to them as Nyenzi (Cockroaches) is one such. In Nigeria a similar trend is the recent allegation by the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), South-East chapter 'Right Reverend Dr Emmanuel Chukwuma, that there was a plan to poison the Suya (grilled steak meat) sold to people in the South of the country by Boko Haram (plans to) "sprinkle powdered substances on Suya meat before selling it to unsuspecting consumers who would subsequently die of liver related ailment". This indicates that there is an urgent need for media to make it part of their press routines to develop taxonomy of negative speeches capable of proliferating hate among ethno-religious groups in the country.

Aliyu Tilde (2012), noticed that among the several Emirs the expelled people of Yelwan Shendam visited for succour, only those of Birnin Gwari and Dutse promised to take their complaint further. The Emir of Kazaure would have been the third, if he were in the country, said the leader of the delegation. The Emir of Zaria out-rightly dismissed them as incapable of living peacefully with their Christian neighbors, as if he is able to live peacefully with his Christian subjects in southern Kaduna. Blaming the victim is his own way of escaping any involvement in the issue. The Emir of Kano consigned the Yelwa delegation to his Sarkin Fada, meaning that the matter did not even qualify for his attention. The Sultan was not in the country. Babangida, according a member of the delegation, "played us his maradona, without committing himself to anything."

Moreover, some prominent figures very close to the mantle of power, who feel they have attained to the status of "legally untouchable", tend to make unnecessary speeches tantamount to inciting breach of national peace without being cautioned; instead they are even given monetary incentives by the central administration. For example, in recent days, Mr. Dokubo Asari, the former warlord that first shot to national limelight collects \$9million every year to keep his estimated 4000 soldiers at bay. 'General' Ateke Toms and 'General' Ebikabowei Boyloaf Victor Ben collect \$3.5million apiece while Tompolo Ekpumopolo is the most priced of all: he gets \$22.5 million yearly, despite their unruly behaviour toward national security.

In February 1992, a serious rioting took place in Zangon Katab local government council, chaired by a Kataf, Juri Bahang Ayok, who had in January announced the impending relocation of the Zango weekly market from the Hausa dominated town centre to a new site on the outskirts of town. The Hausa community there resisted, claiming that the new site was part of the Muslim annual Eid prayer ground and that the relocation was designed to hurt its economic position. It obtained a court injunction, with accompanying police protection, restraining the relocation. The disputes escalated, on 6 February, into clashes that according to official estimates, left 95 persons (mostly Hausa) dead, 262 others injured and 133 houses and 26 farmlands destroyed. Before Justice Rahila Cudjoe commission

of enquiry concluded its public sittings, more rioting and tit-for-tat attacks between Muslim and Christian communities eventually engulfed Kaduna, Zaria, and Ikara, with a gargantuan loss of lives and property. However, the then military administration did not punish the instigators of the mayhem due to political interest, hence its escalation to the level it is today.

## 6.8 AN ANALYSIS ON UNEMPLOYMENT IN NIGERIA AS RELEASED BY THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS (NBS) 2012:

Zamfara, Bauchi and Niger states are worst hit by unemployment in the country, according to the 2011 unemployment rates released by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS). Zamfara State with 42.6% topped the list, followed by Bauchi, 41.4% and Niger 39.4%. Other states in order of ranking are Gombe, 38.7, Nasarawa 36.5, Jigawa 35.9, Yobe 35.6, Edo 35.7. Adamawa, 33.8, Kaduna 30.3, Borno 29.1, Katsina 28.1, Delta 27.2, Imo 26.9, Rivers 25.5, Plateau 25.3, Kebbi 25.3, Kano 21.3, FCT 21.1, Akwa Ibom 18.2, Cross River 18.2, Sokoto 17.9, Kogi 14.4,Taraba 12.7,Ondo 12.5. Others are Abia 11.2, Anambra 12.4, Bayelsa 23.9, Benue 14.4, Ebonyi 23.1, Ekiti 12.1 Enugu 25.2, Ogun 22.9. Conversely, states considered to have marginal one-digit unemployment rate are Osun, 3.0, Kwara, 7.1, Lagos 8.3 and Oyo 8.9. With the current population of 170 million, the 23.9% as posted by NBS as national unemployment rate represents about 40.6 million Nigerians who are within the working age of 17 to 65 years. This age bracket in Nigeria's population represents over 70% of the 170 million people, which implies that about 119,000,000 fall within the working age of 17 to 65years and 40,630,000 lacked any form of employment (SOURCE: NBS SC/10533:2012).

The youth, by Nigeria's conventional definition, are those within 17 to about 45 years, and this makes about 80% of the active population, meaning that an estimated 32,504,000 active youths are totally unemployed. The NBS, however, never posted the percentage of the underemployed.

Moreover, Nigeria inflationary rate has increased to 11.7 percent as against 11.3 recorded in September, this year. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) revealed in the monthly Composite Price Consumer Index (CPI) that the moderation in the headline index in September was offset by the rising cost of food items during the period.

While the "Core" index continued its declining trend over the last few months, rising to 12.4 percent in October from 13.1 percent in September, the food index increased to 11.1 percent from 10.2 percent over the same period. "Since its year-on-year peak of 15.2 percent in June of this year, the Core index continues to exhibit a declining trend partially as a result of uncompromising monetary policy on the part of the Central Bank of Nigeria," the NBS report said (Daily Trust.com:2012).

It is this bane that forced the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) spokesman Anthony Sani to appeal to the northern governors to start evaluating their performances based on what they are doing. This, he said can be achieved through adequate data collection on such issues as unemployment rate, school enrolment, maternal mortality, poverty and other social economic index. That is to say, having such statistics will make the governors have a standard of measurement of their performances. In fact, youths in the north-eastern part of Nigeria are left redundant, malnourished, and seem to have no option rather than to accept offers by dangerous individuals to engage in any dirty job, especially political thuggery and or drug peddling/abuse.

### **6.7 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

What has been demonstrated in this paper is that in view of the political terrain in Nigeria today, one is easily convinced that the country is on the path to yet another civil war, being engineered by the failed political class who have arrested and monopolised the national wealth, which further inflicted abject poverty, social disaffection and injected the masses with the syndrome of ethno-religious and political insecurity, in order to achieve their political aims. All we see is 'blaming the victim' tactic, whereby the ordinary citizens have turned to a mere punch bag and or target for attacks, killing and destruction of property in the name of fight against terror. The security operatives in Maiduguri for example were accused of storming into people's houses, mercilessly brutalising them for putting on generator to lighten up their homes; saying: "how comes we are on the street and you are enjoying inside your houses?" those were the words of a woman on the BBC Hausa Service (Morning Session); by this, how can the security operatives win the heart of the people for reliable information to enable them achieve their security objectives?

Moreover, a different approach should be adopted rather than engaging the military in dealing with internal security matters, the police need to be retrained and be well equipped not only with the tool of coercion but also the knowledge of civic approach to civil matters to enable them fulfil their constitutional duty of arbitration and adjudication. This is because events in Borno and other neighbouring states indicated that the military are too aggressive to play the role of arbiters in internal security matters, since each time the Boko Haram sect was confronted by them, more innocent lives were lost than the real sect members. In Maiduguri, it was realised that the military personnel frustrated by their being on the guard of citizens, picked offence on why the people should enjoy airconditioners in their homes; they opted brutalising and harassing the people in the house- to- house search for the sect members. This recalcitrant attitude by the security agents, forces this paper to share the insinuation by a larger proportion of the victims of such acts that some invisible hands of those within the corridors of power are involved in creating and propelling the security challenges affecting the region. For instance, only few days back it was reported on the media tha Boko Haram, the Islamist militant group fighting to impose strict Islamic rule in Nigeria, has denied involvement in the killing of one of the country's retired army generals,

Muhammadu Shuwa, on Friday, 2 November 2012 (Elombah: 2012). This indicates that some people are wearing the toga of Boko Haram and unleashing chaos in the region. If we go by the definition of State sponsored terrorism as a form of terrorism planned, sponsored and/or motivated by sovereign states in order to achieve some foreign policy objectives (Joel: 2010: 323), then the tendency is that the violence in the region are politically motivated, and not religiously as in the earlier days of the crises.

If by definition, good government means any government that at all levels ensures well-being of its people through the provision of public goods and services-good roads network, uninterrupted power supply, good potable water, better education, gainful employment; then Nigeria (the so-called Giant of Africa), is nothing but a failed state without any hope for national security, talk more of national development. As a third world nation, in accordance with the statement of Ukeje (1999: 63), in his book titled 'Nigerian Foreign Policy And Great Power Politics' we must face our problem of nation building which entails the consolidation of our hard earned independence...when we fail to tackle our domestic problems, to meet the basic needs of the people, we are creating more problems and these will certainly pose a greater threat to our security for "a hungry man" as an Igbo proverb has said it, "is an angry man"; for a nation of angry population faces a danger or a threat of great revolution and this is inimical to the interest of the security of overstretching ourselves, to assume great responsibilities externally. It is only if and when Nigerians take the necessary steps to achieve these objectives, that we will be in a better position to protect our national security.

There is also an urgent need to begin to realise that other nations that started the race of development with us are today, far ahead of us due to the true nationalism and respect for the rights of their people and justice system in accordance with their constitution. For example, in the early 1970s, Nigeria enjoyed diplomatic superiority in her relationship with Saudi Arabia; unfortunately, today due to lack of good governance, with rampant administrative corruption, Nigerians are faced with economic stagnation (despite the huge amount coming from the oil sector of the economy), abject poverty, unemployment and national insecurity that is now forcing the ordinary citizens to reckon the government as "common enemy". Two events unfolded in 2011 and 2012 (the post election violence and oil subsidy removal strikes and agitation for its reverse), respectively, indicated the urgent need for change in Nigerian governance.

Considering the availability of vast lands in the north-eastern region, the state governors should engage the youths agriculturally to make them useful rather than using them as political thugs, while their children are studying abroad with the aim of succeeding their parents as leaders tomorrow. To make the youth contributors rather than destroyers of the society, all needed equipment and material meant for agriculture need to be provided sufficiently and at the right time. There is equal need to provide and maintain social facilities in both rural and urban areas to control rural-urban migration for security sanity to prevail. If this recalcitrant

bane prevails, there is that propensity of having a nation where chaos and general uprising will be the order of the day. However, now that the society is beginning to see itself being relegated the socio-economic background by a minute group of leaders is which made it polarised and divided into "Us" and "They" as observed some decades ago by Peter Ekeh (1975), therefore, we cannot run away from a violent revolution.

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# COMPARATIONAL JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

### IMMIGRANTS AND THE ECONOMY OF KANO METROPOLIS

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### **ABSTRACT**

Currently the population of Kano state is on the increase and residents within Kano state are facing a lot of insecurity in recent time, while the immigrants feel the effect most as there are destructions of their life and properties. The question is that is there a relationship between the occupations of immigrants and the problems they are encountered? Is there also a relationship between the occupations of immigrants and pull factor of migration within Kano Metropolitan?. The purpose of this study is to examine the contributions of immigrant towards the economy of Kano state. The macro and micro theories of international migration were adopted as the theoretical frame work for this study. Primary data was used inform of questionnaire, where a total of 150 questionnaires were administered to three national immigrants and two international immigrants residing within the metropolitan, the respondents were selected using stratified sampling technique. Data collected were analyzed using percentages (%) and Chi-square test. The study reveals that immigrants have been engaged in the production of various goods and rendering of services most especially in the informal sector for a long period of time in state. The study therefore recommends that immigrants should be protected from political and religious crises and also be allowed to enjoy welfare services provided by the state government. In addition, Proper record of their activities should be kept by immigration officials.

Key words: Immigration, Migration, Economic Growth, Unemployment, Population

### INTRODUCTION

Migration is the movement of people from one place, region, or country to another. It is increasing at an alarming rate in both developed and developing nations. According to Stephens (2000) by 2030 three-fifths of the world's population is expected to live in urban areas. Irevani (2011) stated that the global volume of immigration is high in absolute terms, but low in relative terms and that the International Integration and Refugee Association estimated 190 million international migrants in 2005. The International Organization for Migration also observed that there are more than 200 million migrants around the world today. Europe hosted the largest number of immigrants, with 70.6 million people in 2005(The latest year for which figures are available). North America, with over 45.1 million immigrants, is second, followed by Asia, which hosts nearly 25.3 million. In the past 30 years, the number of international migrants has more than doubled, to an estimated 191 million worldwide. These include economic migrants compelled to move to provide for their families, refugees and internally displaced persons fleeing persecution, and victims of human trafficking. The vast majority are economic migrants who have few options to remain in their countries of origin.

According to Global Commission on World migration (2005), there are roughly 30 to 40 million undocumented migrants worldwide, comprising around 15–20 percent of the world's migrant population.

An understanding of the forces that favor or necessitate migration is necessary if we are to maximize benefits and minimize harm to migrants and their families, from sending and receiving nations. According to Johnson and Kane (2006), the American economy has the highest number of immigrants, yet it is strong, with higher total Gross Domestic Product (GDP), higher GDP per person, higher productivity per worker, and more Americans working than ever before, despite the increase in the number of immigrants. They further stated that the increase in the immigration flow has corresponded with steady and substantial reductions in unemployment from 7.3 percent to 5.1 percent over the past two decades. And the unemployment rates have fallen by 6 percentage points for blacks and 3.5 percentage points for Latinos. Whether low-skilled or high-skilled, immigrants boost national output, enhance specialization, and provide a net economic benefit.

People often migrate from Asian and African countries to developed countries in search for better job, education and trading. In Africa, people migrate to where there is political stability and where there is less security at a nation's boarder. People often migrate to South Africa, Nigeria and Ghana within the Sub-Saharan African. In the case of Nigeria, due to the weak security at its borders, the influx of people is increasing at a faster rate which if not checked may have negative effect on its economic development. A map by De Haas (2007) shows that People move into Nigeria from Republic of Niger, Sudan, Chad and Mali through the

Northern part; from Ghana and Benin Republic through the South and from Cameroun through the Eastern part of Nigeria. Within Nigeria also people move from one state to another and from rural areas to urban centers in search of greener pastures or jobs despite religious and ethnic crises in some areas.

In the early 1970s, Nigeria also became a major migration receiving country resulting from the oil boom. Several sectors of the Nigerian economy were buoyed by oil revenues and overnight the need for both professionals and low-skilled workers peaked. Rising incomes of the urban middle class, mass public investments and rapid industrialization attracted substantial number of West African labour migrants (van Hear 1998).

Despite the positive effect of immigration, it causes a lot of problems. Immigration leads to increase in urbanization which further leads to congestion, unemployment, pollution (water, air, noise & land), spread of communicable diseases, increase in unskilled labor and cheaper wage rate. Immigration creates a breeding space for smuggling, kidnapping and drug trafficking, and if accompanied with unemployment, it can lead to inflation, since demand will be greater than supply. All these problems affect the well being and health of citizens in the country and destroy the public image of the nation involved. According to Daily News (2011), the urban centers of Kano, Port Harcourt, Warri, Jos, Kaduna and Lagos have grown very fast. Abuja, the Federal Capital City and some of the new State capitals have also experienced phenomenal growth as a result of migration. Rapid urban growth has resulted in problems of urban congestion or overcrowding, poor housing, poor environmental sanitation, unemployment, crimes and other social vices. Against this background the pertinent questions are: Is there any relationship between the occupations of the immigrants and the factor(s) that caused their migrations? Is there also a correlation between the problem of insecurity of the immigrants and the occupations they have been engaging? How immigrants help towards improving the economic activities in Kano metropolis?. The paper is organized into five (5) sections. Section is the introductory part of the paper, which comprises of the introduction, objective of the study and conceptual definition of immigration, section two is the literature review and theoretical framework, methodology of the study is in section three, result presentations and discussion is on section four. Finally, section five comprises of the conclusion and recommendation base on findings from the study.

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The general objective of this study is to examine the contributions of immigrants on the economic activities in Kano metropolis. The specific objectives are:

- i) To identify the occupations of immigrants in Kano Metropolis
- ii) Examine the relationship between the occupations of immigrants and pull factors of migration
- iii) Find out the problems encountered by immigrants in Kano Metropolis and

### iv) Give policy recommendations.

### CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION IMMIGRATION

According to Redmond (2008), Immigration is the movement of people into another nation with the intention of residing there permanently, while emigration refers to the movement of people from their place or nation of origin. **Migration** is the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi permanent residence, usually across political boundaries.

Internal migration in this context refers to the movement of people within their country of origin (in-migration and out-migration), which could be due to various social, economic and political factors. International migration is the movement of people outside their countries of origin (emigration) into another country (immigration).

According to World Bank (2009), people have different motives for migration: economic reason (to find better jobs and get a means of living), Social reason (for better quality of life or to be with family and friend), political reasons (to escape cultural, religious, political persecution or war) and environmental reasons (natural disaster, drought, famine and flood).

This explains why people take the huge risk of entering the urban area in search of employment. Poverty, injustice and armed conflict displace millions of people across the globe. The developments in rail and road construction and other infrastructure works as well as the growth of cities such as Accra, Lagos, Kano, Ibadan, Abidjan, Lomé, Dakar and Cotonou triggered major rural-rural migration of farm workers and rural-urban migration of skilled and unskilled workers, traders and students.

Infrastructural works in colonial urban centers and the introduction of taxes (Arthur 1991) as well as organized labour recruitment (Bump 2006) have been mentioned as major factors that stimulated migration from non-wage, rural subsistence economies to the urban and rural wage sectors. David (2004) also gives the causes of migration as: Natural disaster, armed conflicts and industrial accidents

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Human migration has long been considered an important element of population dynamics which can have significant consequences on both areas of origin and destination. According to Oderth (2002) migration has shaped the nature of both receiving and places of origin more than any other phenomenon in human geography. The existence of an intricate relationship between immigration and development is also captured by Hammer et al. (2002), who claimed that migration can have a decisive impact on the direction and speed of development on both origin and destination.

Jolley (1971) examined the impact of migration on Australia's economic growth using a neoclassical production function, adjusted for cyclical demand-driven fluctuations. The results suggested that immigration had raised GDP but had slightly lowered GDP per capita.

Akbari and DeVoretz (1992) analyzed Canadian data to assess the impact of immigrant workers on the employment of Canadian-born workers for 125 Canadian industries using 1980 data. They used trans-log specification of the production function. The estimated cross elasticity suggested no economy-wide displacement of Canadian-born workers by immigrants.

Withers and Pope (1993) studied Australian data spanning the period between 1861 and 1991 using both structural disequilibrium modeling and causality testing. They found that unemployment caused immigration no evidence in the opposite direction. They also found structural breaks in the relationship that originated from government policy changes. Withers and Pope (1985) studied quarterly Australian unemployment and immigration data from 1948 to 1982. They used both statistical causality techniques and conventional structural models to investigate the relationship between immigration and unemployment. They run Granger causality tests on quarterly data with twelve lags and reached the conclusions that there was no evidence of causality from immigration to unemployment, unemployment did influence subsequent immigration, immigration did not significantly affect structural unemployment and migrants created as least as many jobs as they filled.

Tapinos (1993) also affirmed that immigration contributes to the growth of receiving countries. Starder etal (1994) found evidence that the rising supply of workers resulting from immigration leads to lower wage for unskilled and semi skilled workers, this will further lead to lower production cost and lower price.

Konya (2000) tested the Granger causality between immigration and long-term unemployment in Australia in the period between 1983 and 1998, using quarterly, both seasonally adjusted and unadjusted data, she found that there was a negative unidirectional Granger causality, both between the seasonally unadjusted and adjusted series, running from immigration to long-term unemployment.

Robertson (2002) examined the causality between immigration and economic growth, in which unskilled and skilled labor performed distinct functions. He found that an unanticipated increase in unskilled labor due to population boom or inflow of immigrants results in a transitional growth

During the 1990s, empirical studies analyzing effects of labor migration on native employment pointed to small negative employment effects. Statistical analysis of

the period 2000-2005, however, illustrates that in the EU-15 employment rates of natives grew by 1.4% to reach 65%; during the same period the immigrants' share in total employment increased by over 40% (Angrist and Kugler 2003).

Feridun (2004) investigated the link between immigration and two macroeconomic indicators, GDP per capita and unemployment in Sweden. He found that there was a one-way casualty running from stock of foreign population to GDP per capita growth.

Morley (2006) investigated the causal relationship between the two variables for Canada and Australia from 1930-2002 and he found out that in the long run economic growth causes migration for both counties.

Islam (2007) examined Canadian data using Vector Auto Regression model and found out a long run relationship between per capita income, immigration and real wages.

A report released by Fiscal Policy Institute (FPI) (2009), highlighting the contributions of immigrant workers in the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the U.S shows that Immigrants are responsible for 20% of economic output and make up 20% of the population in these 25 metropolitan areas combined. 21% of immigrants work in service occupations, while 30% of immigrants work in blue-collar occupations. The study further showed that 24% of immigrants work in managerial and professional occupations and 25% of immigrants work in technical, sales, and administrative support occupations. By contrast, 36% and 33% of U.S-born workers work in those professions, respectively. Immigrants account for 22% of proprietors' earnings in the 25 metropolitan areas, which is slightly higher than their share of the population

A study by Gomez (2011) in Germany and Switzerland from the period of 1990-2005 found that per capita economic growth (GDP) has Granger caused number of foreigners per head (immigration).

Few empirical literatures exist on the relationship between immigration and economic growth in developing countries. Most of these studies found out that immigration contributes to economic growth of a country, while other studies found the relationship between immigration and disaggregated components of economic growth. In Nigeria only conceptual literature exist due to insufficient and unavailability of required data. Thus, this study intends to fill this gap by examining the economic contribution of immigrants with a specific reference to Kano state.

### Theoretical Framework

There are many theories that explain the concept of migration (Boswell, 2002;

Crisp, 1999; Russell, 2002; Taylor, 2000; Usher, 2005). However, there are three principal categories of international migration theory: the macro, meso and micro theories. Macro theories emphasize the structural and objective conditions which act as push and pull factors for migration. Push factors typically include economic conditions such as unemployment, low salaries or low per capita income relative to the country of destination. Pull factors would include migration legislation and the labour market situation in receiving countries. Involuntary displacement can be explained through factors such as state repression or fear of generalized violence or civil war. Meso theories locate migration flows within a complex system of links between states. Two concepts are particularly important for meso theories: systems and networks. Migration is assumed to occur within a migration system. This is defined as a group of countries linked by economic, political and cultural ties as well as by migration flows. Thus, the conditions generating movement are understood as the dynamics of relations between two areas, rather than a set of objective indicators. Finally, micro theories focus on factors influencing individual decisions to migrate, analyzing how potential migrants weigh up the various costs and benefits of migrating (Boswell, 2002). Macro and micro theories best explain the movement of people from their original settlements to Kano state.

The research hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

 $H_0$ : there is no significance relationship between occupations of immigrants and educational qualification

 $H_1$ : there is significance relationship between occupations of immigrants and educational qualification

 $H_0$ : there is no significance relationship between occupations of immigrants and pull factors of migration

 $H_1$ : there is significance relationship between occupations of immigrants and pull factors of migration.

### **METHODOLOGY**

This study is the combination of both qualitative and quantitative research method. The area selected for study is Kano State as it is the second largest commercial state and also the second most populated state in Nigeria. The state also hosts a lot of immigrants, both national and international. Population of the study comprises of all immigrants residing within Kano Metropolitan. Samples of 150 immigrants were selected using stratified sampling technique. The technique was used because there are immigrants from different states and nations residing within the metropolis. Primary source of data collection was employed inform of administering questionnaires to respondents, thirty questionnaires were distributed each to the major immigrants dominating the state, who filled and return them. These are immigrants from Benue state, Katsina state, Kogi state, Sudan and Niger Republic. Data was analyzed using tables and percentages, while Chi-square test of independence was used to test the stated research hypothesis. Non parametric test was used because of the nature of the data

available as there are no accurate and adequate data on the number of immigrants in Kano state.

The formula for Chi-square is given as:

$$X^2 = \pounds (f_0 - f_e/f_e)^2$$

Where  $f_{\rm e}$  refers to the expected frequency in a given category, while fo refers to the observed frequency in a given category. The chi-square is a summary of the discrepancies between the observed and expected frequencies. Fe is calculated as follow:

Fe= column total \*row total / N

Where N is the number of observations

Cramer's V statistics was used to determine the strength of the relationship between the categories of the two variables under study. This is because the chi-square test is only used to test the significance of the relationship and not the strength of the relationship. The formula for C.V is  $V = X^2/N(n-1)$ 

Where n refers to the smallest number of rows or column present in the contingency table.

Cramer's V statistics is used in instances where contingency table has a size larger than 2x2 and it is only computed when  $X^2$  result is significant. The value ranges between 0 and 1 where high values indicate a greater degree of association between the variables and values close to zero indicate there is little or no relationship between the variables.

### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

A total of 125 representing 83.3 % questionnaires were retrieved out of 150 questionnaires distributed to two major international immigrants in Kano and three major national immigrants in Kano state.

Table 1: Distribution to Questionnaire

Immigrants	Questionnaires Distributed	Questionnaires Retrieved	Percentage (%)
Niger Republic	30	20	16
Sudan	30	25	20
Katsina	30	30	24
Kogi	30	30	24
Benue	30	20	16
Total	150	125	100

Source: Field Survey 2011

The immigrants are those from Niger Republic (30), Sudan (30), Katsina state (30), Kogi state (30) and Benue state (30). All the questionnaires given to immigrants from Katsina and Kogi state were retrieved, while only 20% were retrieved from

Sudanese immigrants and 16% each from Benue state and immigrants from Niger Republic.

Table 2: Age of Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage (%)
15-29	40	32
30-49	55	44
50 & above	30	24
Total	125	100

Source: Field Survey 2011

From the table above, it can be seen that most of the immigrants are between the age of 30-49 representing 44%, followed by 15-29 years representing 32%. This shows that they are the productive part of the population (labour force).

Table 3: Educational Qualifications of Respondents

Qualification	Frequency	Percentage (%)	
Primary certificate	10	8	
Secondary Certificate	-	-	
Dip/ N.C.E.	5	4	
HND/ Degree	20	16	
Post graduate	10	8	
Islamic education only	65	52	
None	15	12	
Total	125	100	

Source: Field Survey 2011

The table above shows that majority of the immigrants in Kano representing 52% (65) do not have western education but only Islamic education. This explains why they are often unskilled workers doing petty business. Twenty (20) respondents representing 16% have HND/Degree qualification, while 10 respondents representing 8% have post graduate qualifications. This shows that 36% of the immigrants acquired formal education, while 64% do not have formal education, majority of whom are those employed in the informal sector of the economy.

Table 4: Occupation of Respondents

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage (%)		
Teacher/Med.Doctor/Engineers	30	24		
Business men	35 28			
Watchmen	10	8		
Hawkers/ water vendors	30	24		
Mechanics/vulcanizer	20	16		
Total	125	100		

Source: Field Survey 2011

The table above reveals that most of the immigrants in Kano state are engaged in the informal sector of the economy representing 76% of the respondents, while only 24% are engaged in the formal sector. Majority of respondents representing 28% are engaged in trading and business, while 24% are among teachers, Medical Doctors and engineers. Hawkers of various kinds also represent 24% of respondents. Most of these hawkers sell items like fish, dates, fruits and water in trucks of jerricans. Mechanics and vulcanizers represent 16% of the respondents, while 8% of the respondents are watchmen. This shows that immigrants are engaged in viable economic activities within Kano state.

Table 5: Number of Years Spent in Kano State

Num of years	Frequency	%	
Below 10	30	24	
11-20	40	32	
Above 20	55	44	
Total	125	100	

Source: Field Survey 2011

From the table above, it can be observed that 44% of respondents have stayed in Kano for more than 20 years, while 32% have stayed between 11 to 20 years. Only 24% have stayed below 10 years. This shows that Kano state has a long history of immigrants residing within its territory.

Table 6: Reasons for Migration

Reasons	Frequency	%		
Economic	60	48		
Social	20	16		
Political	15	12		
Environmental	30	24		
Total	125	100		

Source: Field Survey 2011

The table above shows that most of the immigrants representing 48% migrated to Kano due to economic reasons such as poverty, unemployment and poor market. This is in order to acquire a better standard of living than their place of origin. While 24% of the respondents migrated to Kano, as a result of environmental factor such as drought and famine affecting their regions. These categories of respondents were majority the Sudanese and Nigerians, who can be categorized under the push factor causes of migration. Those that came to Kano because of political reason like political unrest and insecurity represent 12%, while those that migrated for social reason represent 16% of the respondents.

Table 7: Marital Status

Marital Status	Frequency	%		
Married	110	88		
Single	15	12		
Total	125	100		

Source: Field Survey 2011

Table 7 above shows that many respondents are married as they represent 88% of the respondents, while 12% of the respondents are single and not yet married.

Table 8: Number of Household Dependants

Dependant	Frequency	%
Below 5	40	32
6-10	55	44
11-15	20	16
Above 15	10	8
Total	125	100

Source: Field Survey 2011

From the table above, it can be seen that the dependants of immigrants are many, as 44% respondents have a household size of 6-10, while 32% have a household size below 5. This includes the number of immigrants that are single in table 7. The immigrants with majority of household dependant represent 16% of the respondent, while only 8% have household size above 15. This implies that immigrants contribute reasonably to the increase in population of Kano state.

Table 9: Contribution to the Development of Kano State

	•	
Contribution	Frequency	Percent (%)
Employment	52	41.6
Teaching	40	32
Marketing	33	26.4
Total	125	100

Source: Field Survey 2011

All the 125 respondents representing 100 %, believed they contribute to the development of Kano State. 52 said they employ the services of other people in their activities and shops. 40 claimed that they educate people in schools and higher institutions, while 33 (26.4%) insisted that they participate in the buying and selling of goods and services in Kano State thereby contributing to economic development.

Table 10: Problems Encountered by Respondents

Problems	Num of Respondents	%
Poor Accommodation	40	32
Ethnic Discrimination	30	24
Insecurity	35	28
Communication Barrier	20	16
Total	125	100

Source: Field Survey 2011

Table 9 above shows that 32% of the respondents face poor accommodation, due to low income while 24% claimed they encounter problem of discrimination due to their ethnicity. This prevents them from enjoying certain welfare provided by the state government such as free education and free health care. Twenty eight percent (28%) of the respondents face the problem of insecurity, whenever there are crises in the state, while 16% of the respondents face the problem of communication barrier. The latter problem affects their economic activities and cause displacement of relatives.

Table 11: Problems Caused by Immigrants in Kano State

Problems	Num of Respondents	%
Over population	30	24
Pollution	25	20
Traffic congestion	35	28
Smuggling	20	16
Kidnapping	15	12
Total	125	100

Source: Field Survey 2011

Table 10 above shows that immigrants cause overpopulation in the state which further led to traffic congestion. The former represent 24% of the respondents why the latter represents 28% of the respondents. This traffic congestion occurs as most of them sell or trade their goods where there are traffic hold-ups or road junctions. 16% of the respondents are of the view that smuggling of goods into the state is on the increase as a result of immigration, while 12% of the respondents said immigrants are employed in carrying out illegal acts such as kidnapping, arm robbery and other related offences.

### X<sup>2</sup> Test Result

Result of relationship between occupation and reason for immigration (pull factor) and between occupation and educational qualifications are presented below, while the contingency table used for the calculations are presented under appendix.

### Test I

H<sub>o</sub>: There is no significant relationship between educational qualification and occupation of immigrants

H<sub>i</sub>: There is significant relationship between educational qualification and occupation of immigrants

$$X^{2}_{cal} = 104.26$$

 $\chi^2_{tab} = 31.4$  at 20 degree of freedom and 0.05 significance level.

The null hypothesis of no significance relationship was rejected showing that occupation of immigrants depend on their educational qualification.

Test II

H<sub>o</sub>: There is no significant relationship between reason for migration and occupation of immigrants.

H<sub>i</sub>: There is significant relationship between reason for migration and occupation of immigrants

$$X^{2}_{col} = 29.93$$

 $\chi^2_{tab}$  =21.026 at 12 degree of freedom and 0.05 sig level.

The null hypothesis of no significance relationship was rejected showing that occupation of immigrants depends on their reason for migration.

### Result of Cramer's V test:

### For Test I

This shows that the relationship between educational qualification and occupations of immigrants is strong.

### For Test II

This shows that the relationship between occupation and pull factors of migration is not strong

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From the time immemorial Kano state has became an attractive place for immigrants, within and outside Nigeria, because it is one of the major commercial cities in Nigeria. These immigrants have been engaging in several economic activities in Kano. However, recent political and religious crisis in the state has seriously affected them most, without much effort on the part of government to

adequately protect their lives and properties. The study therefore intends to examine the extent they contributed towards the economy of Kano metropolist. The study shows that there are internal and international immigrants residing in Kano state. They contribute to the economic development of the state as they are engaged in all forms of economic activities which generate employment and create output. These immigrants have stayed in Kano for more than a decade. This is shown by 44% of the respondents who have stayed in Kano for over 20 years. Sixty eight percent of these respondents are above 30 years of age and mostly migrated to Kano state for economic and environmental reasons. Despite these contributions of immigrants they face several problems ranging from poor accommodation, tribalism to insecurity. The study recommends that government should provide immigrants with appropriate and adequate security, so that the impact of their contribution will be felt in the state. Data should also be collected and make available to researchers on the number of immigrants in the state, their residence area and occupations. Finally, immigration officials should be conscious of the rate at which people are moving into the country and ensure that that there is tight security at the borders, so as to reduce the problem of terrorism, child trafficking and kidnapping.

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www.fiscalpolicy.org/immigration

### **APPENDIX**

Table I: shows the Cross Tabulation between occupation of immigrants and level of education

Occupation/E	prima	Diplom	HND/	Post	Islamic	Non	Row Total
ducational	ry	a/Nce	Degre	Grad.	Edu	е	
Qualification			е				
Teacher/Medi cal Doc/Eng	2	3	15	10	0	0	30
Business Men	5	2	5	0	23	0	35
Watchmen	0	0	0	0	7	3	10
Hawkers/Ven dors	0	0	0	0	21	9	30
Mechanics/Vul canizer	3	0	0	0	14	3	20
Column Total	10	5	20	10	65	15	125

Table II shows the Cross Tabulation between occupation of immigrants and pull factors

Occupation/Pull	Economic	Social	Political	Environment	Row Total
factors				al	
Teacher/Medical	10	5	8	7	30
Doc/Eng					
Business Men	20	9	0	6	35
Watchmen	2	1	0	7	10
Hawkers/Vendors	15	4	4	7	30
Mechanics/Vulcaniz	13	1	3	3	20
er					
Column Total	60	20	15	30	125

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# COMPARATIONAL JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

### ECONOMIC REFORMS & SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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### **ABSTRACT:**

African nations are generally believed to be the center peace of western attractions for economic and political dispensation. The scramble for and the partitions of Africa towards the end of 19th century was evidently seen with this regard. In as much as third world countries continue to suffer the setback, it remains an indelible impression that cannot be washed away, hence the needs for rethinking development Strategies for sustainability, after several decades of flags independence by African countries, hosts are still economically dependent, politically enslaved and technologically handicapped. The implication is directly felt by the citizens of the various third world countries which further compounded by bad governance due to corrupt leaders. To add insult to injury, many African leaders have adopted the "sit tight" syndrome and re-circling of political office holders to party affiliation to the detriment of their Nation. Political office is not meant to be inherited, but to be determined by the universal electorates. The theoretical framework adopted is Gabriel Almonds model of Structural Functionalism. The papers conceptualize under development as a product of neo-colonialism and bad leadership. Sustainable Development is a pattern of economic development in which resource use aims to meet human needs, while preserving the environment, so that these needs can be met not only in the present, but also for generations to come. This paper recommends among others that sustainable development can be attained through corroborative efforts of every citizen.

KEY WORDS: Economic, Development, Sustainability, Technology, Governance, Neo-colonialism

### INTRODUCTION

Reforms are expected to alter the method of doing things for a new beginning. Former President Obasanjo (2005) during the EFCC's first executive session gave what might be called the rationale for reforms.

"At certain epochs in the history of a people, they must pause, reflect, take stock and resolve to do some things differently or to undertake certain projects that would make a significant different in their lives. Such opportunities often precipitate a critical review of institutions, relations, policies and programmes, and the identification of negative coalitions, contradictions, challenges, and crises points that have mediated the ability to make progress. If they tell themselves the truth, they will also have the courage and sense of mission to map out viable solutions to their problems".

Ihimodu (2007:236) aptly contended that the rationale and essence of reforms is the ability to change the ways things are being done in order to achieve better outcomes. He went on to assert that there have been some economy wide reforms in Nigeria, citing instances to the 1986 Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which focused on almost every sphere of the economy viz agriculture, industry, banking and foreign exchange market among others.

It is our argument that any reform that has no direct bearing with the lives and aspirations of the common man on the street does not worth to be called a reform. It is on this premise, we wish to state here that, this paper is an attempt to reexamine the impact of economic reforms and sustainable development in the third world countries, with specific attention to Nigeria citizenry.

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM;

Nigeria has struggled for economic development since, political independence in 1960. The size of the country and abundance of natural resources encouraged Nigerians to look forward to mobilizing natural resources for growth, which they hope would result in sustained economic progress. Since then, the country has witnessed some period of economic boom, but for most part, it has been a case of economic deprivation for the majority of the people. The crisis of the Nigeria economy though rooted from its colonial past has been defined and propelled by its internal dynamics and the changing global context within which it has to operate.

Internally, the country is slowly recovering from years of military dictatorship for most of these years, the autocratic nature of governance led to lack of accountability and transparency, which undermined development and increased the level of poverty. With the return to democratic government in 1999, the pressure for reforms in Nigeria has been enormous. Both internal and external pressures were manifest on economic managers to re-position the economy and strengthen it to meet the basic aspirations of the Nigerian people and that of an emerging global system by strong western economies. The decay of basic economic structures due to negligence and the inability to mobilize national

resources for broad based economic growth and development account for the poor economic situation of the country [Kwanashie, 2007:15-16]

He went on to argue that, "By the turn of the century, it was estimated that about two – thirds of the country's 140 million people were poor. According to those estimates, the proportion of the poor in Nigeria has doubled over the previous two decades, during which time the country received over \$300 billion in oil and gas revenues. Economist would agree that this magnitude of resources had the potential of putting in place a growth process that would have drastically reduced the level of poverty in the country if internal policies were adequate and the resources effectively utilized, the situation would have been far better than what was obtained at the end of military era in Nigeria. At the end of that era, the country was one of the poorest in the world. Per capital income stood at only US \$240 in 1997 which was lower than what it was at independence in 1960. From 1992 to 1998, real GDP growth rate was just 2.6%, well below the population growth rate being at 2.8%. Over half of the population lived in absolute poverty with life expectancy at 52 years and infant mortality rate as high as 84 per 1000 birth.

The immediate post - military administration in Nigeria [1999 - 2003] was faced with the daunting task of reversing the economic fortune of the country and it concentrated on restoring democracy to Nigeria and providing a plat form on which economic challenges could be tackled.

The United Nations Development Programme [UNDP]'s Human Development Report [2002] ranked Nigeria  $148^{\text{th}}$  out of 173 developing countries covered, and gave the country a human poverty index [HP1 -1] ranking of the  $59^{\text{th}}$  out of the 88 developing countries covered. The report claims that 70.2% of Nigerians lived below \$1 a day in 2000, while 90.8% lived below \$2 a day.

Based on the above premise, it is pertinent to ask the following questions

- 1. What are economic reforms?
- 2. What are the strategies for economic development?
- 3. What services contribute to the reformation of a country?
- 4. What are the effects of economic reforms?
- 5. What are the challenges of the reform programmes?

### **CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS**

Sustainable development is a pattern of economic development in which resources use aims to meet human needs while preserving the environment so that these needs can be met not only in the present, but also for generations to come.

According to the United Nations [1987] "sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". According to the same report, the above definition contains within it two key concepts:

1. The concept of needs in particular the essential need of the world's poor to which overriding priority should be given.

2. The idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organizations on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs.

The United Nations [2005] World Summit outcome document refers to the interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars of sustainable development as economic development, social development, and environmental protection based on the triple bottom line, numerous sustainability standards and certification systems have been established in recent years, in particular in the food industry.

Sustainability is a process which tells of a development of all aspects of human life affecting sustenance. It means resolving the confident between the various competing goals, and involves the simultaneous pursuit of economic prosperity, environmental quality and social quality famously known as three dimensions [Hasna, 2007].

### THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

The theoretical frame work chosen for this study of rethinking development strategies in third world countries for sustainable development is Gabriel Almond's model of structural functionalism. He believed that all political systems must perform specific set of tasks if they are to remain relevant as a system in working order. Almond (2004:34) described political systems as objects having moving parts interacting with a sitting or an environment. He argued that such a system is a set of institutions and agencies concerned with formulating and implementing collective goals of a society or of groups within it. The system receives inputs from these environments and shapes them through its output.

### **METHODOLOGY OF STUDY**

The research methodology made use of both primary methods and secondary materials from books and journals. I.e. the latter method also includes observation and interview as its affects the larger society.

### **REFORMS**

As earlier enunciated in the introductory part of this paper, reforms are expected to alter the method of doing things for a new beginning. As history has it, Nigeria is a product of the political engineering of her former colonial master namely: Britain. Nigeria is a large, complex, plural society with a vast ethnic nationality, it has an estimated population of about 140 million. The imperialist administration integrated the country under its rule and subsequently, the country was divided into three colonies, viz, the colony of Lagos, the Southern and the Northern protectorates respectively. By 1914 Lord Frederick Lugard, then Governor General of Nigeria amalgamated the southern and Northern Nigeria mainly for administrative convenience. Thus, the colonial masters pursued largely a divide and rule policy, which has continued to influence public life after flag independence till date. This in no small scale has resulted in political instability for

over 5 decades. The worst currently being confronted is the act of "Terrorism", hence the urgent need for a complete and total reformation of every sectors of the economy.

### WHAT ARE THE STRATEGIES FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economist are of variant views on how best economic development can be gradually attained. While some believed in given agriculture the highest premium, others believed industrialization should be considered first and foremost for the rapid economic development of the third world countries. Obiagbaoso (2008:11-12), highlighted reasons by economists who favour high priority to agriculture for economic development.

- (i) To them agriculture is the surest way of improving the lives of the greatest number of people in developing countries. This is also attributed to the fact that most people live and work in the rural areas, thus increased agricultural productivity means, increased incomes for the majority of the populace and hence improved standard of living.
- (ii) Industry depends on agricultural development for success since agriculture provides the necessary raw material needs by the industry and as well provides food for the industrial workers.
- (iii) The success of industrial development depends largely on the extent of the market for finished goods, effective demand comes mainly from agricultural incomes, in these countries agricultural development is needed to expand agricultural incomes before industrialization takes off.

On the other hand, scholars who favoured industrial development similarly argued thus:

- (i) Industrial development is necessary to create more jobs; to absorb excess and unemployed labour, particularly where land is in short supply for agricultural expansion or mechanized agriculture.
- (ii) Industrial investment is much more productive and growth promoting than agricultural investments, hence they argue that industrial investment offers better opportunity for technological change and better living standards.

Industrial development is needed to diversify the economics of developing countries and reduce excessive dependence. It is no gain saying that the choice of either agriculture or industrial development depends largely on the country's resources and their utilization, the size of market, the opportunities and potentials for growth and possible expansion of either sectors and the relative rates of returns on investment.

Nigeria is predominantly an agrarian society hence the need for agrarian revolution to take off without further delay. Ella (2012:6) aptly contends that "there is an urgent need to diversify the economy of the third world countries," citing instances from Nigeria where about 80% of the population was, engaged in Agriculture when the country got her independence in 1960. After about (5)

decades of flag independent, the country is still economically dependent. The economy of the third world countries need to be re-structured in earnest to serve the interest and aspirations of the common people. It is evident to note in the age of globalization that in the third world countries, economic structures are meant to serve the interest of the colonial masters. In Nigeria, oil contributes to the lion share of government revenue yet contributes unidentifiable rate to employment statistics due to exploitation. We refine petroleum products, yet always facing constant scarcity and increase of pump price by every regime or administration, and it has being so from the inception of Nigerian independent, 1960 to date.

At moment, Nigerians are trying to recuperate from the pains of withdrawal of fuel subsidy, the implementation of subsidy re-investment and empowerment programme (SURE-P) has since generated controversy in the country.

It was envisaged thus: "SURE-P was charged, among others, with laying the foundations for the successful development of a National Safety net Programme that is targeted at the poor and most vulnerable members of the community on a continuous basis. Its mandates also include the rehabilitation and restoration of abandoned railway infrastructure and the construction of 3,430 Kms of standard gauge railway lines across the Six (6) geo-political Zones. The agency is also charged with rehabilitating abandoned road and bridge projects, creating and maintaining a stable mass transit system, encouraging vocational training, promoting material and child health care as well as women, and youth empowerment programmes."

On the contrary, the lofty programmes have hardly taken off nearly a year of the agency's creation, but more than N2 billion naira only has been spent on unspecified services. It was also revealed that N58 billion was paid to foreign contractors handling the rail segment. Nigerian legislators however, observed that, paying such money to foreign contractors hardly squares with the mandates of creating jobs for Nigerians. (Sunday Trust Dec, 9<sup>th</sup> 2012:64).

### WHAT SERVICES CONTRIBUTE TO REFORMATION OF A COUNTRY?

There should be a total over-haul of the various systems in the country:

The agricultural Sector

The Civil Service

The Educational Sector

The Petroleum Sector

The political Structure etc.

It is on record that Nigerians have had series of reforms that ought to have transformed the nation to greater height; nevertheless such reforms are often faced with challenges of implementation of various kinds. The challenges will not deter future strategies for economic development, given that most advanced nations of the world today have had similar obstacles. The dreaded insurmountable of such that has contributed in no small scale to the vicious circle of poverty in Nigeria is the simple act of corruption.

### THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

As highlighted, agriculture should be given special premium because it is the major economic activity for rural dwellers in Nigeria. It provides employment opportunity and enhances food security. Ayatse and Akuva (2010:96) argued that, over the years, several policies have been initiated by different regimes to revamp the agricultural sector to re-position rural life; however, none of these agricultural policies have been able to change the condition of life in the rural area. Ebong, in Anam, (2011:3) contends that, rural areas are characterized with poor infrastructural facilities, poor access roads, poorly equipped health centers, inadequate employment opportunities, inadequate physical assets such as land/capital, and reduced access by the poor to credit even on a small scale and insufficient access to market where the poor can sell goods and services.

The concentration of development in the city will not augur well for rapid economic development of the third world countries, but should be evenly distributed to cover rural dwellers.

### THE CIVIL SERVICE SECTOR

The derelict states of the civil service for several decades after independence in 1960 contributed to the economic dwindle in Nigeria. This is because; it has long been characterized by gross inefficiency and mismanagement of resources. The unprofessional nature of employment coupled with low work ethics resulting into low economic productivity. Though successive governments have embarked on different reforms which have little impact on the economy. All civil servants (public/ private sector) irrespective of the cadre owe a duty to build his/her nation through selfless service and prudent accountability of the nation's resources.

Akinwaju and Orimolade, cited from Oyadiran (2008:189) Stated that accountability includes setting correct goals and evaluating whether they have been achieved. Similarly he observed that a major component in accountability is to define objectives, to develop practice that would enable such objectives to be met and to assess the productivity as involving responsibility, evaluation and specified goals. Accountability is the key requirement of a good personnel system. Not only governmental institutions, but also the private sector and civil society organization must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stake holders. (op.cit.)

### **EDUCATIONAL SECTOR**

Education is the art of teaching and the training of the young. The aim of education can be attributed to all round efficiency and also the development of the child physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually. No matter the level of education one receives, if his or her moral character is bad, such is nothing to the society, given that no one may be interested to know the level you have attained, but the type of moral characters one is able to exhibit to the public. Based on this premise, if to pass examination is the purpose of education, the aim of education of the child would be meaningless. Similarly, the general objectives of the policy are:

- I. The inculcation of national consciousness and national unity.
- II. The inculcation of the right type of values and attitudes for survival of the individuals and the Nigeria society.

- III. The training of the mind in understanding the world around.
- IV. The acquisition of appropriate skill, and abilities and competence both mental and physical as equipment for the individual to live and contribute to

The development of his society (National policy on Education, 1981)
In this era of globalization, our educational sector is still lacking adequate attention in terms of:

Funding of primary, secondary and tertiary institutions

Infrastructural development

Inadequate attention to research

Salary structure

In appropriate earn allowance structure etc

These have resulted into series of strikes by the academic staff union of universities (ASUU), leading to over – lapping of academic calendar in some federal universities. The University of Abuja in federal capital territory can no longer graduate both under graduates and post graduates students within the time frame in the academic calendar. For example Masters Degree and PhD programmes which should be 2-4 years duration is usually take 7-9 years to complete and after internal and external defense takes the department, post graduate school and the university senate another 3 years to compute and approve results, i.e. 10-13 years respectively to graduate Masters / PhDs students from the university (Abuja). Such unhealthy situation retards the social, economic and political development of the third world nations given that the able hands that would have contributed were disabled for lack of certifications.

Education is the bedrock of every society and for the best standard to be attained infrastructural facilities at all levels of education should be provided while existing ones be enhanced to facilitate teaching and learning.

Ella (...forth coming) highlighted that many factors could pose challenges to the realization of educational objectives, if not readily available and functional in the right place and at the right time. Government on their part should provide conducive environment and liaise with all stake holders in the realization of the noble objectives.

On the aspect of increased emphasis on research and development, Okebukola (2007: 87-88) highlighted:

All the bricks countries achieved economic growth using research processes and products from their universities and research institutes. Brazil, Russia and china, as we recall, have strong research institutes that are supporting manufacturing industries. The research culture in the universities is strong. This is backed up with high-tech research facilities. In Nigeria, attempts are being made to stimulate the research culture and

improve facilities for the conduct of research that will make significant impact on the economy. These attempts, though feeble at the moment, will need to be backed up with resources from government and private sector in order to increase virility.

### THE PETROLEUM SECTOR

Some noble contributions of petroleum sectors to the Nigerian economy include:

Source of foreign exchange

Source of government revenue

Provision of employment income opportunities

Correction of balance of payment deficit

Provision infrastructures e.g. road, bridges, electricity, dams and social over heads etc.

However, these are without negative side that can be seen in the area of inefficiency in Resource management and corruption ravaging the sector. Also is the continuous increase of pump price and perennial acute shortage despite hike in price occasioned by the withdrawal of fuel subsidy by the president.

### THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

It is evident to note that political composition play an important role in the economic sustenance and the development of every nation. This is due to the fact that most political upheaval and social unrest from the pressure groups have their background traced to the inability of government in power to improve the economic needs of the citizens or if the geo-political composition of the structure is lopsided. When the needs and aspiration of the ordinary man are provided, security of the nation is guaranteed hence there would be confidence in the government. The negative side always results to chaos and anarchy in a country which will consequently lead to economic deterioration.

There are three arms of government in the political system namely:

- 1. The executive
- 2. The legislature
- 3. The judiciary

These include the rule - application, the rule making and rule adjudication organs of government respectively.

Anifowose and Enemuo (1999:172) highlighted that,

"The general powers of the executive are derived from the constitution and the laws: they include the enforcement of law, the execution of administration policy, the conduct of

foreign affairs the control of armed forces and the authority to grant pardon and amnesty to offenders against the state. The powers of the executive are enormous. It discretionary authority is very great. It must not merely execute laws, but must take action on many matters not covered by law. The executive branch of government is responsible for much of the planning of the modern state. In reality, the executive is the active force in any government".

### **CONCLUSION:**

For economic reforms and sustainable development to be attained positively, the three arms of government of the nation must embark on proper planning of the political structure.

Nigerians in power should embrace true federalism and true democratic culture. This is because the country has suffered immensely through military dictatorship for several years. Good democratic culture will enhance electoral process and reformation of the country resulting to sustainable development. Therefore the study recommends that:

- 1. All civil servants (public private sectors) irrespective of the cadre owe a duty to build his / her nation through selfless service and prudent accountability of the nation's resources.
- 2. The paper recommends aggressive review of the country's economic reform and development strategies and the implementation to enhance economic growth.
- 3. The complete diversification of our economic system from petroleum sector to the agricultural sector.
- 4. The corroborative efforts of all citizens as stake holders of genuine development of the third world countries.

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# COMPARATIONAL JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

### INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION AND PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION AS ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES FOR SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: AN ASSESSMENT OF SPECIAL MASS FOOD PRODUCTION PROGRAMME (SMFPP) IN KANO STATE

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### **ABSTRACT**

This study examines the relationship between institutional transformation, rural people participation and sustainable agricultural and rural development with emphasis on Special Mass Food Production Programme (SMFPP) that was initiated and implemented as a home-based agricultural/rural development programme designed in Kano State from 2004-2007. Using both primary and secondary data. As so many programmes and strategies were tried to ameliorate the problems of agricultural and rural sector, yet the sector has remained underdeveloped. It has been found that the institution saddled with responsibility of implementing the programme designed to curtailing the problems of rural areas was restructured and transformed in line with rural people's interests through proper reorientation and effective training of stakeholders. There is adequate provision of mobility for effective supervision of the programme. The institution was also decentralized for effective participation of the rural people in what is supposed to be done and in the implementation of the programme. It is found that, in as much as there is participation of the rural people in the course of the implementation of programme designed for ameliorating their problems, sustainable rural development would also be attained. The paper recommends that for sustainable rural development to be achieved, government needs to be committed in providing agricultural inputs and adequate marketing of the rural farmers' products, and adequate measures should be taken in mobilizing resources geared towards rural development.

### Keywords:

\* Sustainable Development

\* Rural

\* Institutional Reform

\* Participation

\* Programme

\* Implementation

### INTRODUCTION

Many strategies had been designed for ameliorating the problems of rural societies in the newly post-colonial African states. Most of these strategies were premised on either capitalist or socialist ideologies. This has been the basis for determining the impact and goals achievement of any developmental policies and programmes designed (Shehu, 2001; 19-29).

In Nigeria, most agricultural and rural transformation policies and programmes that had been initiated were in line with capitalist ideology, as most of them were determined and designed by the world capitalist countries and financial institutions, specifically World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). For example, the state-wide Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs) that was implemented in the late 1970s to early 1990s. They were executed under tripartite agreement between the World Bank, Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) and state governments. Under the agreement, the bank was to provide 50% of the total cost as a 'soft loan', technical and expert support, while the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) and the state governments were to provide 25% each of the total cost (Nwulia, 1986:16).

With globalization and the collapse of the former U.S.S.R., development strategies have now become less to do with ideology(ies), but how the existing state's institutions are being transformed and prospective actors appropriately reoriented in line with the emerging challenges. Under this, emphasis is placed upon the essence of participatory involvement with much commitment towards development (Shehu, 2001:19-29). Through this, the prolonged dysfunctionality, for instance, of the post-colonial African state's institutions, and Nigeria in particular, which have been resulted from the impact of colonialism and neocolonialism, might be replaced with the higher esteem of stakeholders' commitments towards the needs of the rural people, and the responding increasing demand for popular interests and participation in governance by designing of effective policies and programmes that is very crucial for sustainable agricultural and rural development.

### **BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

Prior to the emergent Special Mass Food Production Programme (SMFPP) in 2004, various programmes and projects have been conceived and implemented for the development of agriculture and rural areas of Kano State. These programmes/projects include: The State Agricultural Development programmes under Integrated Rural Development Project (IRDP), National Fadama Development Project (NFDP) and National Agricultural Technology Support Project (NAPTSP) that were executed between 1981-1999.

The State-Wide Agricultural Development Programme/Project (ADPs), for example were implemented from 1981-1990. It was initially planned to last for only five years (1981-1986), but later extended to 1989/90 with total cost of US\$123,760,557.00. It was tripartite agreement between FGN, KNSG and the

World Bank. The FGN counterpart funding reached about N77 million and that of KNSG was put around N140 million (KNARDA, [n.d]II).

The completion of ADP in the state in 1990, two other similar projects namely National Fadama Development Project (NFDP) were implemented in the state between 1992-1999, funded also by the FGN, KNSG and the World Bank. The disbursement of fund for the take-up of NFDP was effective only in March 1994, with a loan of US\$8.64 million, FGN counterpart funding was about N9.35 million and that of KNSG was around Nómillion. Similarly, NATSP funding became effective in July 1994, with a loan of US\$2.66 million, FGN contributed N5.8 million and that of KNSG was N19.44 million, excluding staff salary that was put around N42.70 million (KNARDA, [n.d]; II).

Kano State Agricultural Development Authority (KNARDA) was tasked to implement the three projects, though the ADPs were ended in 1990, the NFDP and NATSP were implemented simultaneously and covered the entire state. In the course of implementing these projects and programmes KNARDA was decentralized into four Zonal Management Units (ZMUs), but later dropped to three zones after the creation of Jigawa State from the old Kano State. It was also decentralized into eight departments; namely, administration, finance, human resources, planning, monitoring and evaluation, Fadama, engineering, agric and agricultural credit, and community development.

The collapse of the tripartite agreement entered between FGN, KNSG and the World Bank the considerably decreased in farmers' income, and the progressively declined in the percentage of the food secure household from 60% in 1995 to 30% in 2002 (The Journey So Far, 2006:6), plus the fact that a nation without self-sufficient food production mechanism cannot boost of any meaningful development, necessitated for the conceiving of SMFPP in 2004 as a home based agricultural and rural development programme, with broad objectives of seeking to stimulate sustainable growth in the agricultural production that shall have direct impact on increasing farmers' income, alleviating poverty and increasing food security for the teeming populace of the state (Newsletter, January-June, vol./II, No 17:4). KNARDA as an institution was tasked to implement the programme, which have been restructured into three zones, zone I at Rano, zone II at Dambatta, and zone III at Gaya with eight departments, namely; Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, Rural Institutional, Human Resources, Extension, Engineering, Finance and Supply, Technical Services, Administration And General Services.

### PROBLEM OF THE STUDY

Many strategies and programmes have been tried by both the State and Federal Governments to alleviate the problem of agricultural and rural sector in Nigeria. In spite of this, the impact of these strategies and programmes has remained very little. First, the problem of the study lies with the fact that adequate attention has not been given for the transformation of state institutions in line with the needs of

the rural people in the course of implementation of strategies and programmes designed to ameliorate their problem. Secondly, their participation in the course of the implementation of the strategies has been taken so lightly.

This paper, therefore, attempts to assess the efforts made in transforming Kano State Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (KNARDA) from 2004-2007 for implementation of the Special Mass Food Production Programme (SMFPP). It also examines the extent to which rural people were allowed to participate in deciding what is to be done in the course of achieving the designed objectives of the programme.

The objectives are to answer the following questions:

To what extend did the institution tasked to implement SMFPP has been transformed?

To what extend did the rural people participate in the implementation of SMFPP?

Did the SMFPP impact on its great beneficiaries?

What are the possible recommendations for the enhancement of the programme and similar ones for the sustainable rural development?

#### **METHODOLOGY**

A combination of both primary and secondary sources of data was used. The secondary method of data collection entailed the use and examination of documentary sources of relevant literatures, such as textbooks, official documents, newspaper and publication.

The primary method of data collection comprises both the questionnaires and interviews. The questionnaire was categorized into two. The first category was designed for and administered among the rural farmers in eighteen (18) selected local governments of the state from zone I with the headquarter at Rano that comprising fourteen (14) local governments, zone II with the headquarter at Dambatta comprising thirteen (13) local governments, and zone III with the headquarter at Gaya comprising seventeen (17) local governments. A total of 252 questionnaires were administered among the small (144) and medium/large (108) scale farmers. Similarly, a total of 54 questionnaires were administered on the officials in-charged with the implementation of the SMFPP.

A total of 306 questionnaires were administered among the farmers and the staff of the organization saddled with the implementation of SMFPP with each zone having 102 questionnaires. The merger of medium/large scale farmers was due to the fact that the organization tasked to implement the programme had no direct contact with the large scale farmers in all its designed activities, e.g. the distribution of fertilizers for the large scale farmers under the programme came directly through the State Ministry of Agriculture. On the other hand, the technical advice given to them under the programme came directly from the organization. However, the data gathered is presented and analyzed by the use of percentage.

#### **CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION**

Agriculture and rural development policies and programmes are designed and implemented with the primary aim of transforming the rural areas. To achieve sustainability in rural development, therefore, an effective organization or institution need to be set-up, constructed or reconstructed for proper designing and the implementation of strategies and policies meant to achieve the desired identifiable objectives. Of course, this lies with the fact that implementation process generally and particularly that having to do with rural development involves series of activities that required capable institutional or organizational arrangement that would work within a giving framework (Aziz, 1978).

Coordination, mobilization and proper utilization of both human and material resources are some of the basis elements necessary for sustainable rural transformation, which could not be effective without adequate organizational procedure, that in as much some level of success need to be attained in the area of rural and agricultural sector, the strategy for the implementation of the policies/programmes designed must be effective, simply by way of an organizational adequacy. Organizational inadequacies therefore, play a vital role in retarding the pace of sustainable rural development. Well designed organizational and administrative procedures are indeed, necessary prerequisite for an effective strategy and which is capable of bringing about speedy and sustainable socioeconomic development (Shehu, 1989:20). Thus, it ensures that things are done in efficient and effective manner for achieving sustainable rural and agricultural development.

Institutional reforms not only bring about capable hands in the handling rural people's requests, needs and aspirations but also ensure that the dreams of the rural dwellers are not altered away rather transform into reality, not only by recruiting personnel in line with merits and objectives set to be achieved but also by frequent training, retraining and reorientation of such recruited personnel towards satisfying the needs of the rural people with prudent financial management and proper utilization of the scarce resources made available or needed for such purpose.

Therefore, giving the enormous important of institutional reforms in achieving sustainable rural development, decentralization of such institution is also imperative and has far-reaching impact especially where the programme to be implemented is vast. The primacy for such decentralization is to ensure efficiency, effectiveness, as well as speedy implementation of the designed programme meant for rural development by reaching the grassroot rural based populace (Macrae and Pitt, 1980).

Decentralization of any institution tasked for the implementation of development programmes, such as rural development, is indeed very crucial. It facilitated and ensured that the programme designed reaches the rural people right at the grassroot, "...and also giving sufficient delegated authority to the employees and units of the programme towards getting things done" (Shehu, 1989:59-60). It offer wider opportunity for the field agents and rural people to participate in the implementation process. It also gives, an ample opportunity for a genuine participation of the rural people from the grassroot and the employees in the activities of the organization, and for the decision-makers; through the sub-units of authority established, to ascertain the acute level of deteriorated living conditions of the rural people at the grassroot, as well as backwardness and dilapidated nature of their habitats and how they are deliberately sidelined in terms of infrastructural provisioning in favour of mainly urban development. Through this, proper and concrete solution can be proffer rather than giving directive and coordinating the designed programme to be implemented meant for uplifting the living status of rural people far away from the rural areas.

The more the organization is decentralized in terms of structure and activities, the more it is capable of accommodating the grassroot people and members of the decentralized units in its affairs. Any organization that has embedded this characteristic and works for the general interests and needs of the rural people tend to be more successful in achieving sustainable development than those that have not.

Whenever an organization is decentralized, coordination is also become necessary. It tends to bring the decentralized sub-units harmoniously to work together and the sub-programmes of an organization towards achieving the general set of goals. Poorly coordinated sub-units' activities and related programmes may consequently lead to outright failure of the organization. For the attainment of sustainable rural development therefore, coordination must ensure as noted by Sunusi (1992) with, "...consistency, coherence, comprehensiveness, efficiency and effectiveness among related policies and activities" (1992:32). Coordination is enhanced and more effective when there is effective communication. Organization with poor communication between its sub-units and programmes may definitely be affected also by poor coordination, which if not adequately check will retard the effectiveness of the organization, particularly, that having to do with the implementation of the rural development programme. Accordingly, communication as aptly observes by Shehu (1989) ensures:

Relationship of structures and relationship of structures in a harmonious fashion implies coordination, which is very essential ingredient in a properly designed programme to be implemented (1989:62-63).

"Communication plays an important role in securing proper cooperation and effective coordination within the organization" (Naidu, 1996:261). Lack of proper and effective communication may result into confusion and friction within the organization; individual rather than teamwork and poor participation of the

supposed beneficiaries in the programme to be implemented.

The vastness of the area where the designed rural development programme is to be implemented has far-reaching influence in terms of decentralizing the organization tasked for implementing any designed development programme. The cogency of assigning responsibilities to the sub-units and employees to perform is to tap adequately from their ample experience and being close to the rural people they will provide an insight in taking decision or making judgment in meeting specific problem within their jurisdiction or framework of duties. Thus, it enhances and allows quick handling of matters related to the rural people's development policies and programmes, thereby making possibility and proper adaptation, indeed, of such policies and programmes to the local condition, as well as avoiding unnecessary delay in the administration of their implementation by not recourse to the original central administration unit for approval.

### GRASSROOT PARTICIPATION IN AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

The discourse on participation is deliberately eschewed in the proceeding part of this paper for the purpose of avoidance of repetition. Participation means active involvement in deciding what is to be done and the implementation of designed policies and programmes. Two types of participation can be identified: The participation of the employees in the activities of an organization and that of great beneficiaries (Shehu, 1989:73).

The participation of the employees, particularly those at lower and medium cadre is vital for an effective programme implementation. Their participation would serve as a motivation and enhance their enthusiasm towards achieving goals of an organization. This is obvious, mainly because the participating employees would be proud being part of those that are involved in taking decision and will always ensured its success. Secondly, their participation also have some paramount importance that being closer to the rural people they are more equipped in terms of information dissemination regarding the rural people which is also relevant in taking any decision in the process of rural transformation. Indeed, their participation and that of the rural people would amount to multiple ideas that could be served as a relevant ingredient in taking decision by the organization. It is in view of their relevancy in providing vital information for decision-making that scholars such as Shehu (1989) eloquently raised and emphasized the need for their participation and in particular, the indigenous employees rather than expatriates, this lies with the fact that, the expatriates have little in terms of understanding the local people. And more often the conditionalities attached for their engagement may bring about unnecessary extra spending that can easily be avoided by using qualified and retrained indigenous personnel (Abdullahi, 2010).

Similarly, the participation of the rural people in the execution of programmes that affect them politically, socio-economically, and culturally is very much crucial.

It is, indeed, the "... major factor of empowerment and indispensable element in ... development" (Ayo, 1992:118). In fact, this is the reason why decentralization of an organization tasked for the implementation of the programme designed for the rural transformation is strengthened, and which is much crucial and indeed act as a catalyst for sustainable rural development. In the context of Nigerian experience, particularly with regard to rural development strategies that have been initiated and implemented, many of which have almost failed to meet their stated objectives, simply because they were designed and implemented, virtually in authoritarian approach with little or no emphasis on rural people's participation (FMARD, 2001). This is a clear indication and reaffirmed the fact that the need for reinforcing and redesigning of our development strategy towards sustainable rural transformation should emphasize on rural popular participation and interests.

# RURAL PEOPLE PARTICIPATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF INSTITUTION FOR SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER SPECIAL MASS FOOD PRODUCTION PROGRAMME (SMFPP)

The transformation of institution task for the implementing any designed developmental project goes beyond mere restructuring of an institution, as has been noted earlier. Restructuring of institution only involves changes in the organizational structure and management controlling the organization without necessary changing the nature and the roles of such organization, particularly with regard to the task purposely set-up to accomplish. Transformation therefore, involves general restructuring of the entire organization and reorientation of its members/employees, making them more popular and much committed towards attaining the goals of the organization. It makes organizational activities be determined by and for the supposed beneficiaries whom the organization is set-up to serve, not for the purpose of serving an individual self interests.

It is in line with this, that organizational adequacies or inadequacies play a crucial role in enhancing or retarding the pace of development (Shehu, 1989), and this was the basic for restructuring the Kano State Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (KNARDA) that was saddled with the responsibility of implementing SMFPP from 2004-2006. To enhance the effectiveness of the implementation of the SMFPP, committees were also established both at the local government and state levels to facilitate, administer and coordinate loans disbursement to the rural farmers.

Due to complexity and vastness of both the programme and the area to be covered in the course of the execution of the programme of a total land area of 20,760 square kilometers (About Kano, (n.d):3), and population of over 9,383,682 going by the 2006 population census (*Daily Trust*, 2007, vol.15, No.58). The programme was decentralized into sub-programmes namely: crop, fisheries, agro-processing, agro-forestry and livestock productions that were implemented simultaneously. The organization's existing three Zonal Management

Units (ZMUs) were equally maintained and enhanced; the staff of the organization were retrained and oriented in line with the farmers' needs. Maintaining of ZMUs was aimed at reaching and encouraging participation from the grassroot, similar reasons have made for the establishing the programme's implementation committee at the level of state and forty-four (44) local government areas to facilitate the disbursement of loans to the right target beneficiaries of the programme.

Though, the need to decentralize the organization and the programme's implementation committee into many ZMUs and to the lower community level were emphasized by 100% and 74% of the responses respectively. The participation of the rural people in the activities of the organization was encouraged due to decentralization of an organization and the extent at which the programme's activities and expectations were communicated to the rural people.

For the programme and organization to be decentralized, it needs to be coordinated, and coordination tends to bring the sub-units and sub-programmes together. Although it was revealed that, the sub-units and programmes were well-coordinated in the course of implementing the programme which enhanced the success of the organization, but this could not had been achieved without an effective communication not only between the sub-programmes designed and units but also between the programme to be implemented and the immediate environment as the degree of respondents' responses shows 29% 'very high' and 'high' 71%. The effectiveness of the communication was achieved and has made the farmers to be aware much about the programme's objectives and expectations mostly through posters, calendar, stickers, radio and television programmes.

For the organization to be decentralized, delegation of authority to the sub-units and its employees is also required. The responses have shown that 16.1% agreed, there was 'very high' degree of delegation of authority, while 83.9% shows 'high'. Giving such measure of degree of delegation of authority effectiveness was ensured in the execution of the SMFPP by reducing the possibility of time wasting in carrying out decisions that is necessary for a speedy socio-economic development of the rural areas of the state, and its stimulated the interests of the employees towards the organization's successes, since sub-units members of the organization were given free hand in carrying out their responsibilities.

With regard to the use of indigenous personnel, the expatriates were not almost used in the implementation of the programmes as shown by 77.4% of the responses. The reasons for that were based on the fact that, the programme was designed internally and for the rural Nigerians in the state, therefore, the use of expatriates was not necessary since they have little in terms of understanding the local people. Secondly, their use may amount to unnecessary extra spending visà-vis the little resources available for the programme's implementation. Thirdly,

more often most of the conditionalities attached to the use of expatriates are to the detriment of underdeveloped countries such as Nigeria.

Apparently, to reduce the possibility of expertise's shortage, the recruited personnel were trained and reoriented geared towards satisfying the needs of the farmers. This was done also as a strategy in line with changing the behaviour of the organization's employees with the aim of making them more professional and skillful, indeed, for ensuring effectiveness and efficiency of the organization. Thus, it was revealed that, the organization's employees were trained frequently at the beginning of every season mainly through seminars, workshops e.t.c. mostly organized by KNARDA, for example, a total of 881 extension staff were trained, reoriented and assigned responsibilities in 2004. This figure rose to about 1,978 in 2005 (1,802 KNARDA's Extension Agents (EAs) and field staff, and 176 local governments EAs respectively). Similarly, by July 2006, 2,466 KNARDA EAs and field staff were also trained and reoriented (see News Letter, 2004; vol.11, No.17:1; The Journey So Far, 2006:3; KNARDA, 2006:23). And in response to our question whether the employees satisfied with the kind of training received; 35.5% of the staff were 'very satisfied', 38.7% indicated 'satisfied' and only 25.8% 'undecided'. It has been indicated by the responses above that, the employees were made to be satisfied with the kind of training received. This made them skillful and committed towards their jobs, i.e. satisfied the needs of farmers. However, with regard to the mobility and other logistic supports to the organization, from 2004-2005 as an example, 710 motorcycles were provided to the EAs on the cost recovery basis, 3 Toyota double cabin pick-ups for Zonal Directors, 30 Mazda single cabin pick-ups were also provided and 8 Mazda saloon cars were refurbished. As such, 93.5% of respondents have responded 'Yes' to our question whether mobility provided were adequate, this ensured constant supervision of the programme's implementation.

The participation of the employees in the organization's activities was ensured with decentralization of the organization into ZMUs. Even though about 90.3% of the respondents have indicated and confirmed that, they have participated in the activities of the organization. In spite of that, their views and suggestions were not often used, but had motivated and enhanced their enthusiasm towards attaining the goals of the organization, particularly those from medium and lower cadre. In fact, it made them to be satisfied with their jobs most especially with regard to present of autonomy in carrying out responsibility(ies) by 39% of the responses, also 34% with regard to availability of necessary working materials and fair salary by 27% of responses respectively.

Transformation of institutions for sustainable rural development cannot be effective without the participation of the supposed beneficiaries, which the programme is designed to be implemented for. Thus, the participation of the supposed beneficiaries in the implementation of any development policies or programmes designed, is pre-condition for the attainment of sustainable

development that affect them politically, socio-economically and culturally. In response to the question on the participation of the rural people both on the decision of what is to be done and execution of SMFPP, 19.4% indicated 'very high', 77.4% indicated 'high' and 3.2% 'very low' for what is to be done. Similarly 6.5% indicated 'very high', 45.2% indicated 'high' and 48.4% 'undecided' for direct involvement in the execution of the programme. This shows that, there was encouragement in the participation of the rural people whom are the great beneficiaries in deciding what is to be done and the execution of the programme, and whom were motivated and allowed to choose the kind of crops of their choice, for example, to be planted or sub-programme(s) to be involved without interference or influence from the authority, this was quite unique from the other similar programmes supervised previously by the authority, where the type of the crops to be planted in most cases were almost determined and selected by the government. This was confirmed by the response to the question whether farmers' opinions were sought before taking decision which 71.1% indicated 'Yes', 20.8% indicated 'No' and 8.1% 'undecided'.

Similarly, their participation has grossly facilitated the formation of more farmers' group that served as a pivot at which the formation of Management Training Plots (MTPs) as a strategy for the implementation of SMFPP was revolved, as well as avenue through which agricultural credits, inputs and other necessary inputs were made available to farmers for effective implementation of the programme. It was not suppressed that 57.5% achievement record was attained in 2005/2006 in terms of the formation of farmers' group, i.e. by the year 2004/2005; 10,120 farmers groups with a total of 253,000 members (25 members per group) were targeted and formed for the formation of MTPs as demonstrative plots. However, by 2005/2006, this figure rose to 11,500 with a total of 287,000 members as against 20,000 that were targeted throughout the 44 local governments (Abdullahi, 2010:168).

Similarly, the rural people were also encouraged to participate in the programme through their representative that were appointed into the various local government implementation committees, as well as through periodic meeting normally held between farmers and the extension agents from KNARDA, whom also helped in channeling their needs to the authority. Of course, this could not have been done without adequate training and reorientation of the extension agents due to transformation of the institution tasked to implement the programme (Abdullahi, 2010:165).

The combine experience made the programme to achieve some substantial progress, particularly in the crop production, where 2,900,000.00 metric tones of different kind of crops were cultivated between 2004-2006 as against the set target of 2,271,038.54 metric tones of crops expected by end of 2007, which is approximately 22% increase over the set target as cited in the state economic and fiscal update statement (2006:35) and confirmed by the State Executive

Governor on radio and TV programme (Hannu da Yawa) on 12/04/2007 i.e. an interview programme.

Though this was achieved, but the programme fail to have an impact as expected in terms of increasing farmers' income and reducing the level of poverty simply because not so much was done by the state government in marketing the farmers' agricultural produce as shown by 26.6% that said 'Yes' and 68.2% that said 'No' against a question asked whether government assisted in marketing farmers' produce. This meant that the rural farmers were left in marketing most of the excess produced, despite KNARDA's efforts in marketing these products in collaboration with other marketing agencies and institutions, such as Export Promotion Council, Raw Materials Research and Development Council (RMRDC), USAID market projects, and Market Information System and Traders. Organization in West Africa (MISTOWA) as cited in the Annual Progress Report (2005:34).

The implication of the study findings have shown that much could be achieved when and only if the state institutions saddled with the responsibilities of implementing agricultural and rural development are being transformed towards the needs of the rural people, as well as, the stakeholders appropriately reoriented and committed in line with participatory approach.

#### CONCLUSION

Institutional transformation emphasizes the restructuring of the entire institution and the reorientation of the employees as well as encouraging rural people participation. The extent of rural transformation therefore, depend upon the extent at which the organization set-up to implement the development programme has been restructured and the staff reoriented in line with participatory involvement.

It has found that the organization tasked to implement the SMFPP was decentralized for effective rural people's and employees' participation. Their participation has enhanced the effectiveness of the implementation of the programmes, particularly with the degree of communication and delegated autonomy given to the sub-units of the organization in the course of performing their responsibilities.

It has also found that in course of the implementation of the programmes, both the rural farmers and employees were trained. And the rural farmers were also encouraged to form farmers' group as a medium through which agricultural inputs and other incentives were delivered more effectively and as a pivot at which MTPs were formed. The programmes also witnessed effective supervision as the employees were provided with adequate mobility during the course of the programmes implementation

Though, the implementation of SMFPP could not said to have achieved what is suppose to be achieve perfectly or hundred percent (100%) due to some

problems here and there, but at least it is an attempt that is deviate from the previous rural development programmes that were implemented in the state towards uplifting the living standard of the rural people. First, by designing the programme internally and in corresponding to the local reality. Secondly, it was financed internally by the state government; though much need to be done in mobilizing resources internally in financing the programme. Thirdly, both the rural and the staff of the organization tasked to implement the programme were allowed to participate actively in the activities of the organization, they were also being trained in order to achieve the designed goal.

It is recommended that, this programme needs to be enhanced and appropriate measures needs to be taken by financing the programme internally through mobilization of all available resources. The organization for the implementing the designed policies/programmes for rural people need to be decentralized as much as possible, so as to enhance greater grassroot people's participation. Government needs to put more effort in marketing the products of the rural farmers, this would enhance more value to the products and provide adequate capital/finance to the rural people for the purchasing of more agricultural inputs and other socio-economic needs. The views' and opinions' of junior employees of the organization need to be appropriately used in the course of implementing rural development programme by the virtue of their closeness to the rural people, and above all government needs to be

committed towards rural development by supplying adequate agricultural inputs to the rural farmers at a subsidize price.

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# COMPARATIONAL JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

## POWER RELATIONS AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

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#### **ABSTRACT**

It is vital in countries with tiers of government (Federal or Unitary) that there tiers relates and communicate adequately with one another, Adequate power relations and communication are crucial in modern societies, especially those with federal systems with a higher degree of inter dependence among all levels of government. Reason why the constitutions of many countries, especially those with federal system, assign specific responsibility to each tier of government. Each tier is expected to adhere strictly to its areas of operation, except if they are functions to be performed or powers to be exercised concurrently with other levels of government. This paper attempt to x-ray the patterns of power relations (intergovernmental relations) in several countries with particular reference to the Nigerian experience. The theory adopted for this paper is structural-functional approach to the society.

#### Key words:

Power Relation, Administration, National Administration and inter governmental Relations

#### INTRODUCTION

Nigerian Federation has sought to achieve unity in diversity by the constitutional division of legislative lists among three levels of government, each coordinate unit but independent of other in its specified functions. While it is the nature of the federal to compromise there should be coordinate and independent jurisdictions, yet the latter does not create sovereign sub-entities. Their limited autonomy must be pursued in the context of the overall sovereignty of the Federal Government. All the tiers of government are established by law. Therefore, when one tier oversteps its bound or unnecessarily interferes in the affairs of another, there are bound to be conflicts, which will be detrimental to the smooth governance of the country or the nation. However, as Howitt (1984) avers:

No matter how carefully the powers and Responsibilities of each order of government are specified it is inevitable both that there will be areas of overlap, and that the actions of one will affect the other government.

Thus, there is the need for co-operation among the various levels of government in a country in order to ensure an efficient and effective national administration that will be result-oriented. According to Howitt (1984), the mechanisms that governments develop for inter-governmental consultation, co-operation and co-ordination (power relations) are generally referred to as intergovernmental relations. Therefore, the terms power relations and inter-governmental relations are used interchangeably here.

This paper examines the patterns of power (inter-governmental relations in several countries with particular reference to the Nigerian experience.

### MEANING OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS AND NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

The concept Inter-governmental relations which is used synonymously in this paper with power relations has received various definitions. For example, Fox and Meyer (1995) see it as encompassing all the complex and interdependent relations among various spheres of government as well as the co-ordination of public policies among national, provincial and local governments through programme reporting requirements, grants-in-aid, the planning and budgetary process and informal communication among officials. According to Olugbemi (1980), an intergovernmental relation is a system of transactions among structured levels of government in a state. Adamolekun (2002) conceptualizes it as the term commonly used to describe the interactions between the different levels of government within the state. Lar (1994) simply captured the term as all the ramifications of relations between and among units and sub-units in any system of government. Inter-governmental relations, according to Mentzel and Fick (1996), is: A mechanism for multi-and bi-lateral, formal and informal, multi-sectoral and sectoral, legislative, executive and administrative interactions entailing joint decision-making, consultation, co-ordination, implementation and advice

between spheres of government at vertical as well as horizontal levels and touching on every governmental activity.

It is a negotiation in which the parties negotiate advantageous positions for power, money and problem-solving responsibility. As Okoli and Onah (2002) remarked, "in virtually every major public policy issue, the elements of power, money and responsibility are on the bargaining table.

It can be deduced, from the foregoing discussion, that inter governmental relations are a multi-faceted device. It deals with interactions among the various spheres of government, in both the federal and unitary systems, which aimed at better coordination of public policies, sharing of revenue and other resources and ensuring harmonious existence among the tiers of government. Such harmony is germane to good governance and national development.

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A theory is a logically interconnected set of propositions from which empirical uniformity will arise (Okeibunor and Anugwom, 2003). It is a formal set of ideas that is intended to, inter alia, explain why something happens or exists. It enables one to give meaning to reality. Hence, we need a theory to guide this study and to tie several constructs together.

Therefore, the theoretical framework we have adopted for this study is the structural-functional approach to the study of society or organizations. This theory sees a social structure in terms of the function it performs. The prominent contributors to this theory are Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, Robert Merton, Gabriel Almond, David Apter and Fred Riggs.

Structural-functionalism sees society or an organization as a social system that comprises different parts which are interrelated and interdependent. The different parts of society or organization are believed to perform various functions (i.e. produce positive effects) towards the survival, maintenance and stability of the social system as a whole.

Functionalists liken the human society to an organism, such as the human body. An organism possesses a structure which consists of the heart, lungs, limbs, belly, head etc. Each of this component parts has a function to perform for the maintenance of the whole system of organism. Functionalists also contend that parts of the organism or social system cannot be understood in isolation but in relation to the whole organism (i.e. in terms of the function which each part performs for the whole system).

The structural-functional approach, like the systems approach to management, involves the concept of synergy which means that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. The concept of synergy, in organizational terms, means that as the

separate departments and sections in an organization co-operate and interact, they become more productive than if they operate in isolation. The theory helps managers and administrators to align their separate functions and goals with the overall goals of the organization, and integrate their activities with those of other departments.

Similarly, using the structural-functional approach in this study, we regard the various levels of government, whether in a unitary or federal state, as interrelated and interdependent. Each of these levels of government (federal, state and local or central and provincial performs various functions (i.e. produces positive results) towards the survival, maintenance and stability of the national government and its administration.

The term function means the pattern of inter-dependence between two or more structures or the inter-relationship between variables Eghe (2002). It is also used as the effect or impact of one structure over the other(s). It is equally noteworthy that similar structures do not necessarily perform similar functions. A social structure may perform more than one function and, similarly, one function may be performed by more than one structure. This thesis holds true in the case of the various tiers of government in all countries, hence the need for power (intergovernmental) relations.

Writing on the issue, Adewale (1995) opined that power relations should be considered from at least three wide perspectives: the political, economic and social perspective. According to him, this approach will give focus to holistic development. This is because inter-governmental relations has been seen as a joint political, social and economic efforts of government and various bodies in the state directed towards the enhancement of national goals and objectives.

It is noteworthy that inter-governmental relations concerned not only governmental transfer of funds nor only inter-jurisdictional conflicts resolution. Adewale (1995) described it as a complex network of transactions among constituent governments and various bodies in the state. A list of types of intergovernmental relations that are operative in Nigeria, as averred by Okoli and Onah (2002), appears below.

- i. Inter-governmental financial relations
- ii. Inter-governmental administrative relations
- iii. Inter-governmental Social Service Delivery
- iv. Inter-governmental Legislative Jurisdictional relations.

#### LEVELS AND PATTERNS OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL TRANSACTIONS.

The institutionalization of administrative power relationships among levels of government is a feature of the federal system of government. In fact, it may be considered to be a political and legal device where distinct and autonomous political units are co-operatively linked within an overaching social-political framework (Lar, 1994).

In many countries that practice the federal system of government (for example, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Ethiopia, Germany, Nigeria, Switzerland and the United States of America), inter-governmental relations are characterized by the relationship between the central or federal government and the major subnational governments (e.g. state, local government et cetera), with the main features stated in the constitution (Adamolekun 2002). The jurisdictional power of each sphere of government is usually stated in the constitution, and any change is through constitutional amendment involving both levels of government. According to (Adamolekun 2002), a full analysis within federal systems must cover the following relationships:-

- i. Federal-regional
- ii. Federal-regional-local
- iii. Federal-local
- iv. Interregional
- v. Regional-local
- vi. Interlocal

However, in a unitary state, at least three levels of inter-governmental relations exist (Ezeani, 2004). They are:-

- i. National-local
- ii. Interlocal
- iii. Federal-center

It is worthy of note that there is no formal constitutional allocation of government functions between central and regional governments in a unitary system, The central government determines what functions to allocate to the sub-national governments and can unilaterally modify the functional allocations. Furthermore, the central government in a unitary state can unilaterally determine both the substance and the style of intergovernmental interactions (Adamolekun, 2002).

Our further analysis of the topic will be on the following levels of power relations:

Federal-state

Federal-local

Federal-State-local

State-State

State-Local

Local-Local

#### **Federal-State Power Relations**

These power relations assumed that governmental powers and functions are divided between a national(federal) government and the states in such a way as to ensure functional and territorial separation of powers (Lar, 1994). The constitution guarantees the integrity of each level of government and each has a practical claim to legitimacy within its assigned sphere of influence.

Federalism is a device for allowing unity in diversity to co-exist. It assumes that every citizen belongs to two political communities: an inclusive national community and an exclusive state community. It assumes further that loyalty to the two communities can co-exist.

Under federalism, both the national government and state governments possess full apparatus of government. Each is endowed with the three functional divisions of government, to wit: the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Both federal and state governments are creatures of the constitutional provisions which are facilitated by clear and explicit constitutional provisions which define the powers and competencies of each level.

Fiscal relations are a critical aspect of federal-state-power relations. The 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Section 162 (1) provides for the maintenance of a special account to be called the federation account into which shall be paid all revenues collected by the government of the federation. Section 162 (3) of the constitution stipulates the way the resources available to the Federation shall be mutually shared. Section 162(4) specifically states that "any amount standing to the credit of the States in the Federation Account shall be distributed among the States on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the National Assembly." Section 164 of the 1999 constitution provides that the federal government may make grants to a State to supplement the revenue of that state in such sum and subject to such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the National Assembly.

Similarly, in the United States of America, a portion of Federal revenue is shared to the States, among others. The funds are usually given almost or entirely without conditions and without matching requirements (Nigro and Nigro, 1980). Much of the pressure for revenue sharing is to ease the financial burden on the state governments, inter alia, and to decentralize decision making in the American system by letting the states and local governments determine their own spending priorities. In America, also, grants are given by the federal government to lower levels of government, especially the States. The grants, which are called "federal aid," usually require matching grants by the recipient governments.

There are also federal-state relations in legislative jurisdictional powers, which can be either in form of control or conflict settlement. There is the concurrent legislative list in which both the federal government and the States have authority to make laws. There is also the exclusive functional list of the States where only the states have power over matters. The Federal and States High Courts are established to adjudicate on matters arising from both the states and local governments.

Inter-governmental federal-state administrative relations comprise institutional machineries established for the maintenance of power relations. Some of these

institutions in Nigeria include the National Economic Council, the National Council of state, the Federal Character Commission and so forth whose members comprise representatives of the federal government and of the States. Several federal-state conferences and meetings are also organized for officials and leaders in which members meet for exchange or cross-fertilization of ideas. Examples include the National Conference of the Federal Minister and State Commissioners of Finance, Meetings of Secretary to Government of the federation and Secretaries to State governments and National Conference of the Federal Minister and States Commissioners for Works etc.

#### Federal-Local Relations

Fiscal relations are central to federal-local relationships, especially in Nigeria. The federal government, since 1976, has realized that lack of adequate finance and subventions was one of the reasons for the inefficiency and collapse of the pre-1976, local government. Therefore, adequate provisions were made in both the 1976 nation-wide local government reforms and the 1979,1989 and 1999 constitutions for statutory allocation of funds to local governments. The allocation was increased from the initial 10 percent of national derived revenue to 15 per cent, and currently it stands at 20 per cent, apart from the allocations, the federal government has exercised control over financial management in the local government system through various decrees and financial memoranda (Ezeani, 2004).

Federal-local relationships in Nigeria has also been maintained through federal government support to the local government in training and developing their personnel. For example, in 1978, the federal government selected three Universities-Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; Obafemi Awolowo University, lle-Ife; and University of Nigeria, Nsukka – to train local government staff throughout Nigeria.

Other areas of federal-local power relations include the creation and dissolution of local government as well as conferences and meetings organized for leaders and officials of local governments, such as the bi-annual conferences of commissioners for local Governments.

Central-local relations in France, like Britain, is characterized by centralized supervision and control. Unlike the united states, control of local government in France is in the hands of executives of the central government. The France prefect, who is a career official appointed by the interior minister, heads one of the ninety departments into which France is divided. He has enormous and crucial powers over local government. The prefect may revoke mayoral elections; suspend temporarily the mayor or council. He can also direct a council to vote various mandatory expenditures. Although his powers are limited to some extent by the powers of a general council elected by the voters of the department, this council does not wield much power (Ezeani, 2004).

#### Federal-State-Local Relation

In Nigeria, fiscal relations pre-dominate in federal-state-local power relations. Section 162 of the 1999 constitution makes provisions for the financial relationships among the three levels of government in the federation. According to sub-section (3) of section 12, "any amount standing to the credit of the Federation Account shall be distributed among the Federal and State Governments and the Local Government Councils in each state on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the National Assembly." In addition, sub-section (5) provides that "the amount standing to the credit of Local Government Councils in the Federation Account shall also be allocated to the states for the benefit of their local government councils on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the National Assembly."

In South Africa, chapter three of the 1996 constitution makes it obligatory for the National government to support interaction and co-operation among the three spheres of government on a continuous basis and therefore provides a set of principles to direct the manner and quality of those interactions (Ezeani, 2004). An act of parliament, according to section 41(2) of the constitution, must establish or provide for processes, structure and institutions to promote and facilitate intergovernmental relations for appropriate mechanisms and procedures to facilitate settlement of inter-governmental disputes.

Furthermore, the national and provincial governments in South Africa are required to enact legislation to support and strengthen the capacity of municipalities to manage their own affairs, to exercise their powers and to perform their functions. In addition, draft legislations affecting local governments in South Africa must be made available for comment to allow organized Local Government and municipalities an opportunity to make representations before it is enacted.

Fiscal relations also constitute a vital aspect of power relations in South Africa. The inter-government relations fiscal Act (1997) established the Local Government Budget Forum ( LGBF) that is quite representative of the three tiers of government. The representative of all three spheres of government share information and consult with one another on financial matters in South Africa (Mathebula, 2002).

#### State-State Power Relations

Inter-state relations are usually in administrative relations, social service delivery, and legislative jurisdictional relations. Inter-governmental administrative relations are institutional machineries established....for the maintenance of intergovernmental relations (Okoli and Onah,2002). Such institutional machineries for inter-state relations includes the thirty six State Governors meeting or forum in northern Nigeria, the South-East Governors forum, the meeting of Civil Service Commissioners of South-West States, just to cite a few examples. There is also the meeting of all the State Governors in Nigeria in which

peculiar matters of common interest are discussed. A ready example is the issue of Nigerian primary school teachers who went on indefinite strike in 2008 on account of poor remunerations, and who demanded for the implementation of the Teachers' Salary Structure (TSS). It was in the meeting of the State Governors that the matter was resolved, since the Federal Government shield away from it.

When governments of the oil-producing States in Nigeria set up an institutional machinery to discuss or demand for regional resource control or for higher federal allocation, what is taking place is inter-state governmental relations. Similarly, some state governments in the middle belt geo-political zone of Nigeria usually set up panels of inquiry or commissions to resolve inter-state boundary disputes. This is a kind of inter-governmental relations.

There are also inter-state conferences that are organized for leaders and officials of state governments. According to Adamolekun (1983), more than two hundred of such conferences and meetings were held between 1980 and 1981.

Maintenance of public order and social security is an important area of service delivery for which states inter-relate, while legislative jurisdictional relations are mainly through the interactions of judicial officers in conferences and workshops.

#### State-Local Relations

The central or national government, in a unitary system, has constitutional responsibility for local government. Conversely, in a federal system, it is usually the state or provincial government that has the responsibility over local government. However, according to Orewa (1991), the federal government could, from time to time, offer support to the local governments in financial terms of in streamlining their personnel management and training programmes.

In Nigeria, the state government has the primary responsibility for the creation of local governments. Section 7(1) of the 1999 constitution provides that "the government of every state shall subject to section 8 of this constitution, ensure their existence under as law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils."

Similarly, in the United States of America, units of local government are legally established by the state government (Blair, 1977). It follows therefore that such units derive all their powers from their creator.

#### Fiscal relations are an important aspect of state-local relations.

In Nigeria, for instance, Section 7 sub-section 6(b) of the 1999 constitution stipulates that "the House of Assembly of a state shall make provisions for statutory allocation of public revenue to local government councils within the state" Statutory allocation from the state to local governments is currently 10 percent of internally generated revenue of the state.

The state government also exercises some measure of control over financial management in the local governments. In Nigeria, for instance, Section 45 of Decree No. 36 of 1998 provides for the appointment of an Auditor-General by the Governor of the state subject to ratification by the House of Assembly. The Auditor-General is to audit Public Accounts of Local Government Councils.

State governments also control and supervise administrative, judicial and legislative activities of local governments. Administrative control is exercised through state administrative agencies. Examples include such agencies as the Ministry of Local Government in England and Ministry of the Interior of France which concentrates supervisory controls over their local governments (Blair, 1977). In Nigeria, we have the Local Government Service Commission.

Judicial control over Local Government is exercised through judicial review, especially in the United States of America. According to Blaire (1977), because of the subordinate legal position of local governments, such units are continuously called upon to prove or defend their rights, to exercise powers or to employ them to accomplish specific purposes.

Legislative control by the state is exercised through its power to approve bye-laws, enactment of statuses, appropriations for subsidies or grants-in-aid, approval of loans and legislative investigation (Ezeani, 2004).

#### Inter-Local (Local-Local) Relations

Inter-local government relationship entails one or more local governments interacting, co-operating and relating in a manner mutually beneficial to them in the performance of the functions allocated to them (Rodipe, 1994). These include both formal or informal (i.e. written or unwritten) compacts or clearly understood agreements by which two or more local units of local governments voluntarily attempt to solve or ameliorate mutual problems.

Examples of inter-local government relationship in the United States of America include conferences, exchange of services, temporary loams, joint use of equipment or personnel etc. In Nigeria, such relationships recur through such statutory for a as:

- i. the Local Government Service Commission
- ii. the Bureau for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs at the Deputy Governor's Office; and
- iii. The monthly State Joint Account Allocation Committee.

Besides, there are other voluntary or mutual interaction of local government officials, such as the National or State Conference of Local Government Chairman; the Conference of Speakers of the Local Government Legislative Council; the monthly meeting of Secretaries to the Local Governments; the regular meetings of the Executive Secretaries of Local Government Education Authorities; and seminars and workshops organized by Federal or State Government

ministries, agencies and parastatals.

Other voluntary associations of inter-local government relationships in Nigeria include the Association of Local Governments of Nigeria (ALGON) and the Nigerian Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE). There is the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) as well as the National Association of Local Authorities of Ghana (NALAG). These associations serve as auspicious bodies through which effective inter-local government relations can take place.

#### CONCLUSION

Inter-government (power) relations is an important device of governance, especially in a federal state like Nigeria. Even though the constitutions of most states specify the functions of every level of government, there must be areas of overlap, and the actions of one will affect the other governments. Thus, it is through co-operation and mutual understanding between the various tiers of government that much can be achieved. As Adewale (1995) aptly posits, functions in Nigerian Public Administration are so mixed that co-operation rather than competition is highly inevitable.

Power relations between the federal government and the lower levels of government should not be seen as a zero-sum game in which the gain of one is loss to the other party. It should be viewed in terms of a mutual interest where the powers and strengths of all the levels of government can grow and develop coordinately and simultaneously. The aim of power relations should be to remove the obstacles, limitations and constraints placed on the ways of the governments and which tend to impede the efficient and effective running of their respective spheres of administration as well as the administration of the whole country.

The major problems of power (intergovernmental) relations in Nigeria, according to scholars, are the hostile political environment, ethnic and religious factors, selfish ambitions of political actors at the various levels of government, unstable political system, ignorance and mediocrity on the part of civil servants, inter alia. In addition, the biased nature of the federal system in Nigeria, where the center is unusually too strong, hampers the true practice of intergovernmental relations. Therefore, a reversal of the status quo is a sine qua non for effective national administration.

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# COMPARATIONAL JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

# ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT EFFORT FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF SELECTED LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS OF NORTHERN NIGERIA.

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Community development existed in Nigeria for long period, even before the Colonial Masters. It served not only as instrument for rural development but as popular participatory and community mobilization process. This very important sector of rural economy was totally neglected by government. As a result, the prevailing situation in most of the rural areas Nigeria has been poverty, deprivation, lack of basic amenities, services and lack of opportunities for advancement. In order to direct our study we posed two fundamental questions. The first question was what actually the cause of rural poverty or what was missing in the lives of rural people which authorities concerned should strive to provide? The second question was to test people's perception and desire for change. Do rural dwellers desire and are prepared to make sacrifices to bring the necessary change about? Such issues could only be thoroughly investigated and discussed by the people themselves who were the major participant. The paper therefore aimed at investigating the efforts made by the Local Government areas in community development. Other objective was to examine the contribution of individuals and community development associations in community development activities in some selected areas of the Northern Nigerian Local Government areas. Rapid Rural Appraisal technique was used to generate data in the rural areas of our sample population. The study has selected three states, three local governments and fourteen villages for the conduct of the field work exercises. The study found that there was a gap between the people and the government officials who provided services to local people. The results of our findings indicate that many Local Governments always used direct approach method of selecting projects by themselves which do not always meet the most pressing needs of the local people. Loss of enthusiasm by the latter was due to a great extent on selection and implementation of undesirable projects. The paper therefore recommended for a revisit of rural development via community development. Community development enhanced people's oriented development and also is a catalyst for sustainable development.

KEYWORDS; Rural Development, Community Development, Community Participation, Community Development Associations, Local People

#### INTRODUCTION

Community development is a very common and age long phenomenon that has been practiced in various communities even before colonization. Before colonization, leadership was rooted in the culture and tradition of the various people and even decision making were part and parcel of the rural development. At that period, community development became synonymous with rural development. This assisted a great deal in mobilization of people for developmental activities. The argument was that since the vast majority of Nigerian lived in rural areas, there could not be social welfare without rural areas transformed and developed so that the rural people shared equality in the social amenities and other facets of economic, social and political life of the country.

The Nigerian government rural development policies seem to have recognized the importance of community development in two major aspects. The first was the recognition of the central position of the people in development. The second was the need to build firmly on existing social, cultural political and economic foundations. Governmental policies on rural development can only succeed if the people adopt them as their policies and by so doing participate actively and massively in their implementation. Such massive participation and sustained enthusiasm can only be achieve through community development efforts of the people and in direct consonance with people's social, cultural and religious values. In Nigeria the bulk of the nation's population lives in the rural communities which serve as the bases for the production of food and engage in primary activities that suppose to form the foundation for any economic development for the country. Despite its importance, the rural areas lack basic amenities such as potable water, electricity, health facilities and good feeder roads. The rural people have low purchasing power and standard of living. The prevailing position in rural areas has been poverty, deprivation, lack of basic amenities, services and lack of opportunities for advancement.

In order to direct our study we posed two fundamental questions. The first question was what actually the cause of rural poverty or what was missing in the lives of rural people which authorities concerned should strive to provide? The second question is what efforts made by the local people to reduce poverty? This question is very fundamental, because people's attitude and desire to transform their social and economic life is crucial to ushering in new ideas or values.

The paper therefore aims at investigating the efforts made by the Local Government areas and various local communities in addressing rural poverty. Other objective is to examine the contribution of individuals and community development associations in community development activities in some selected areas of the Northern Nigerian Local Government areas. In section two of the paper we examined various literatures on community development and rural poverty.

#### LITER ATURE REVIEW

#### 1 Community Development defined

Wraith (1963) gives a definition of Community Development as:

a movement designed to promote the voluntary participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiatives; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self – help and mutual help, and make this more effective.

In the same vein, Bello (1987), defined community development as:

A process of social action in which people of a community organize themselves for identification of their needs, for planning and for action to meet those needs with the maximum reliance on their own initiatives and resources, supplemented with assistance in any form from government and non - governmental organizations to achieve high economic groups and development over sometimes.

Community development then, places the responsibility for the development of community on the people. The people, working through different development associations and groups, indicate their vision, know – how, capabilities and experience to confront and solve the problems of under-development in their communities. As the architects, implementers and beneficiaries of community development, community members need external support to complement their resources and efforts to fashion a society of their taste.

In measurable terms, therefore, community development is said to be taking place within a given community when:

- (i) A community identifies their felt needs e.g. roads, water supply etc.
- (ii) Proffer solution by way of a project e.g. bridge, road repair, dispensary or maternity etc.
- (iii) Generate resources to actually solve the problems e.g. physical work, raise funds by either contribution or "appeal fund" or both etc.
- (iv) Partially or fully implemented such projects, abandoned project or completed project. (Jalingo, 2006)

This then indicates that, community development involves the participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their living standard with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative. The activities take place through individuals in groups and associations. These associations are known by different names in different communities all over Nigeria. These include patriotic unions, National Unions or Societies, Descendants Unions or Associations, Improvement Societies or Leagues and Welfare Leagues especially in the western part of Nigeria (Omoni, 1984:6 – 7 in Adesoji 2008:51). In the northern part of the country there is the Gayya, where youths of the community come together to work on a farm, rehabilitate feeder roads, buildings etc on a communal basis. There is also the Gandu which is a system of agricultural production based on the family unit that gives cognizance to the mutual dependence of the rural population. While thrift collection in the form of Esusu, Adashi or Opa that have been existing even before

colonial period is still thriving in the rural and urban communities in Nigeria today. (Odonye, 2010)

Community development is generally regarded as the process by which communities pursue and engage in several development efforts. It has attracted considerable interest in the literature. This is not unconnected with the tremendous importance attached to it, to bring development at community level using diverse means, especially with the dismal and poor performance of government in meeting the socio – economic quests of citizens (Adesoji, 2008:94). This has been identified as one of the reasons behind the proliferation of community based organization in various communities in the present millennium (Beard, 2006, Jalingo, 2008, Abegunde, 2009)

The Community Development Associations are formed with the purpose of promoting and protecting common interest in the field of politics, economy, religion, recreation and enjoyment of their various communities. They ranged from occupational, religious and age groups to social clubs of all types. (Fadipe, 1970 in Adesoji 2008:15). Thus community development is more than just an instrument of implementing government projects. It is a development approach that recognizes the need to involve disadvantaged segments of the rural populations in the design and implementation of policies concerning their felt – needs and well being. Through participatory approaches at stimulating self – help activities at the local level, the members of the community can and should also be followed in the design, implementation and execution of even large – scale projects for their communities. (Ahmed, 2009).

Another essential feature of Community Development Association is the issue of cooperation or horizontal linkage among various associations. For instance single – interest associations such as religious groups, political groups and educational groups' cannot adequately handle community development activities. Thus they need cooperation either with several other groups or by the creation of a new structure that will coordinate the developmental activity. These cannot take place without the coordinating and mobilizing ability of the leaders of the Community Development Associations. Leaders are the ones that initiate and support joint specific actions that led to the joint participation of the various associations.

#### 2 Rural poverty

Poverty is a word which vividly describes the deplorable living conditions of individual, groups and communities in a state of economic and social deprivation and destitution. Poverty with all its ramifications affected more vulnerable and poor people and in most cases reside in the rural areas. The Federal Government of Nigeria in 2001, launched National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) to intervene in the critical areas of the need of the poor. NAPEP initiated some projects, programmes and schemes which are targeted at the core of poor that need to be encouraged to participate in the economic development process. These

#### include:

- i. The Mandatory Attachment Programme (MAP-2001)
- ii. The capacity Acquisition Programme (CAP-2001)
- iii. Capacity Acquisition Programme 2004
- iv. The Multi Partner-Matching Fund Scheme (MP-MF)
- v. The Promise Keeper Programme (PKP)
- vi. Revolving Micro Finance Scheme
- vii. The Social Safety Nets Interventions Scheme, especially the Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (CCT)
- viii. The Keke NAPEP Project (I&II)
- ix. The Farmers Empowerment Scheme (FEP I&II)
- x. The Community Economic Sensitization Scheme (COMESS)
- xi. The Village Solution Scheme
- xii. The Conditional Cash Transfer Programme.

The last four NAPEP's programmes are laudable objectives for wealth creation, employment generation, poverty eradication and enhanced economic activities in the rural areas. Village Solutions Scheme was a well-targeted, demand-driven, bottom-up approach scheme aimed at guiding economic development activities at the village/ community level towards rural transformation and village modernization. So also the Conditional Cash Transfer Programme which provided grant to qualified households on the condition that they engage in investments in human capital development of their children or word.

National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) was also conceptualized in 2003 and launched in 2004 with the sole aims of poverty reduction and wealth creation. The Federal Government in 2010 has also come up with many programmes such the Youth Empowerment Scheme (YES) and Youth Enterprises with Innovation (YOU-WIN), to create jobs for the youths.

But in spites of these efforts poverty has been of increase in Nigeria. These initiatives have only scratched the surface of the poverty problems. They have not significantly improved the situation. Poverty and other social problems continued to be the dominant features of the Nigerian state. The Northern part of the country has tended to record worse poverty figures compared with the Southern part. For instance, the recent Nigerian Poverty Profile Report 2010 of National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) has shown that in 2004, Nigeria's Relative Poverty measurement stood at 54.4%, but increased to 69% (or 112,518,507 Nigerian) in 2010. The North-West and North-East Geo-Political Zones recorded the highest poverty rates in the country with 77.7% and 76.3% respectively, while the South-West Geo-Political Zone recorded the lowest at 59.1%.epor(NBS:2010).

In the same report, we found that on comparative basis for food poverty rural areas recorded the highest of 48.3%, whereas urban areas recorded 26.7%. Similarly, rural areas recorded the highest absolute poverty measurement of

66.1% and that of urban areas was 52% of poor people. Other measurement indicators have also revealed similar wide gap between urban and rural areas of Nigerian society. Thus, we can impair that since majority of the poor people lived in the Northern Nigeria, the rural areas of Northern part of the country seem to bear a disproportionate burden of poverty, hence the choice of the rural areas of the Northern Nigeria for this study work.

Poverty exists in Nigeria because of the fact that some individuals' or families' total earnings or income are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities of life. Poverty in Nigeria has diverse causes. They include the existence of large families in which most members are dependent, unemployment, highly uneducated and in some cases, below working age. Even the few, who are employed, receive low wages in most cases. Also, even though the country receives a lot of revenue from the exploitation of natural resources, government for political reasons, pays more attention to balance development rather than on the concentration of socioeconomic amenities that could pull out a large number of poor working people out of their poverty position.

We have also noted a lot of researches have been conducted in Nigeria on poverty and other related issues in the Northern Nigeria. Most of these researches were at the macro level and attempted an evaluation of national programmes on poverty. The only attempt made to synthesized the opinion of the local people perception of poverty was a research conducted on "Access to Credit and Rural Household Welfare: Evidence from Rural Sokoto State of Nigeria" by Prof Mikailu in 2007 (Mikailu: 2007). Even such research did not cover the whole Northern Nigeria. Thus the conclusion made by such study could not be generalized. He even stated that "the finding of this study should be taken with caution for the fact that the study suffers some methodological caveats". Because of these limitations, we both expanded the scope of our study, as well as population size. The methodology section has provided the details of our research design.

#### THEORETCAL FRAMEWORK

We developed our theoretical framework based on Robert Chambers' Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA). In order to generate more field —based research, Rapid Rural Appraisal Framework was used. Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) refers to basket of various methodologies of collecting data on development issues in Local Communities; in addition the methods are designed to encourage the participation of Local Communities in the collection and use of information for poverty reduction. These techniques include:

- 1. Triangulation, where data are collected from different sources i.e Community, Households, and Groups.
- 2. Semi-Structured interviews based on flexible, adaptable and open-ended checklist list of issues.
- 3. Poverty-Identification Exercise in which the poorest of the poor based on wealth ranking would be given the opportunities not only to express their

- views but also participate in the development process.
- 4. Development-Partners are regarded as catalysts of development and contributed to immensely to rural development. In both rural and urban areas, development Non-Government-Organizations (NGOs) and Community-Based-Organizations are formed by the community themselves in order to meet the felt-needs of local people, in particular poor people.
- 5. Diagramming Techniques through the use of Participatory Mapping, Transect, Seasonal Calendar, Historical Profile and Venn- diagrams. These convey information in virtual forms and are sketch-devices.

For the purpose of this work, Rapid Rural Appraisal study is divided into three states. The first phase is a preparatory phase in which the objectives, location and team for collecting and examining preliminary background information for field study have done. The second phase of the RRA was the conduct of the field study, where the researchers and field assistance administered checklist of issues on poverty, community organizations and community development. The third phase involved careful analyses of the information collected. In RRA information is gathered to be used in a way that will improve the well-being of the local community through enabling interventions.

#### **METHODOLOGY**

In this section the paper attempt to provide methods of Assessing Community Development Efforts. Efforts are determined by a number of strategies of alleviating poverty in the communities. These include:

- 1. **Provision of infrastructures and facilities:** Community helps alleviate poverty through provision of some most basic infrastructures and facilities such as roads, electricity, market places, school structures and health centres.
- 2. Procurement and distribution of agricultural inputs: Community procure and distributes some agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, insecticides and other chemical at a subsidized rates in order to simplify accessibility difficulties amongst its members, thus tries to eradicate poverty.
- 3. Participation in politics to elect good leaders to represent the entire community: This may be difficult due to the partnership of politics.
- **4. Collaboration with external agencies:** CBAs or entire community collaborates with external agencies such as governments and NGOs as well as International Development Agencies (IDAs) to provide infrastructures and facilities as well as other community needs.

In order to generate data at community level, the study has employed Rapid Rural Appraisal Techniques in both the selection of Local Government areas and also sampled population. In Table 1.1 we present the summary of sample size and population for the field work exercises conducted. Since its inception, in April 1989 the RRA strategy has been to concentrate on one local government within a state. Thus the first course was carried out in Jama'are local government in Bauchi State. The second course was carried in Birnin Gwari local government of Kaduna

State and third courses was in Dawakin Kudu local government of Kano State. Five villages located as far apart as possible were selected in Jama'are and Birnin Gwari local government areas. Due to reduced numbers of participants four villages were selected in Dawakin Kudu for detailed investigation.

We also selected fourteen villages namely; Baburti, Garin Babani, Jagoyel, Hanifari and Sabon Kafi in Jama'are, Bugai, Dawakin Bassa, Kwaga, Kwahu, and Tabani in Birnin Gwari and Fallau, Kamagata, Kode and Koga Kazar in Dawakin Kudu. The selection was done through numerous field visits to many of the villages in the various States and local Governments designed for the field work exercises. A comprehensive report of each of the selected villages guided the conduct of the Field work exercises.

In each village ten participants drawn from the Local Government Councils' functionaries conducted the Field work Exercises. In an event where the participants could not translate the check-list of issues in Hausa Language, they were assisted by the interpreters, who were mostly residents of the villages under our case studies. A team of supervisors mostly Lecturers/Trainers were also assigned to each team to monitored and checked the full implementation of Rapid Rural Appraisal Techniques during the field work exercises. The supervisors also guided the preliminary and the final reports writing. The data collected were mostly concerned with rural poverty identification, efforts of made by Local Governments, Community Based Organizations and Individuals in poverty reduction. Check list was used instead of Questionnaire method. Each team has designed check list of issues in the areas community development initiatives, problems and challenges. Most of the questions were open-ended and flexible. This quided collection of data in the field.

#### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In this section, we present the summary of the results of the field work reports. All our rural areas of case studies were covered in this analysis. Accordingly, in all the fourteen villages we visited community development activities were relegated to the dearest lowest level and in some cases non in existent. The summary of the field work exercises are analyzed accordingly below.

#### JAMA'ARE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Jama'are Local government financial resources were becoming more and more scarce due to competing needs and demands of the people. As a result rural communities were being encouraged by the local government to carry out development activities based on individual community felt needs. Our field work indicates poor response to community development in most of the rural areas of our sampled population. We present below individual's village report of Jama'are local government.

#### **BABURTI VILLAGE**

But despite this encouragement the response from Baburti has so far been negatives. The Baburti community has done little towards providing community felt needs. There was not a single social organization in the village, no community development extension workers and no popularly perceived projects were being implemented. There was no sign to show that the people of this village had taken part in any community development activities in the immediate past. However, the 'gayya' system of labour was in existence. This was a system whereby a man may decide to invite his neighbours to assist him on his farm. This system did not form part of community development activities and in most cases they were carried out without the Department for Community Development's knowledge and participation. The people expressed total ignorance about self-help programmes and the importance of community development associations. This was due partly to the fact that no community development official has ever visited the village to enlighten the people on the need to establish social organization for development. Considering what has been said, the local government is to be blamed for this sad state of affairs. The Community Development Department has not been very active in promoting development in rural areas. Accordingly local government is prevailed about, to change this lukewarm attitude to bring positive development to people of Baburti so that their standard of living would also improved.

#### **GARIN BABANI VILLAGE**

Garin Babani was a model resettlement village on a new site, near Kano-Maiduguri high way. The people lived closely together in newly constructed quarters constructed by the people themselves. Through community efforts they constructed the basic services such as dispensary, market, feeder roads to improve transport services necessary for movement of people and goods in and out of the village. The state government built a borehole from which the people got water and a primary school existed on the old site. These facilities and community consciousness accompanied their resettlement.

As at the time of the study, there were no community development activities going on, no social organizations registered or community development extension staff to help the people. Only the Head of the community development department who happened to be a member of the investigating team used to pay occasional visits to the village and such visits never impacted to community development in that village. If community development activities were encouraged, the people could have acquired useful skills, reading and writing and this would help them to overcoming the evils of malnutrition. Formation of social organizations definitely would create community consciousness and development programmes that would bring positive changes to uplift people's standards of living. The people need to be educated about school education to which they paid very little attention and subsequently waste of their young children kept at home in ignorance. Without strong community development organizations, there is no way such fundamental changes of heart can come about.

#### HANIFARI

The people of Hanifari seem to have had the best of the local government services. They have a number of tarred roads going through their village and better health care services. Health clinics were constructed in Hanifari town and drugs were in sufficient supply. But the responses on community development showed that Hanifari has never embarked on any community development projects. They have no community development associations to bring them together and through which projects can be perceived, planned and executed. The absence of community development associations means absence of community leaders to provide leadership in social development. However, there was a small elitist group of approximately ten people which formed a social group to promote their own elitist interests. As a result of our interaction with them the people expressed their willingness to organize themselves to promote community development projects.

#### **SABON KAFI**

Sabon Kafi presented a much better picture of community development activities. From what came to light during our investigations, Sabon Kafi people constitute a true community with well perceived needs and readiness to come together to execute jointly planned projects. Among projects planned and executed by the people were constructions of feeder roads to link their village to Garin Babani and to Jama'are local government headquarters, a total distance of 16 kilometers, construction of a mosque, sinking of wells and a community farm.

Additional facilities in Sabon Kafi village were provided by both the local government and the people through community efforts. These included building of a dispensary, a primary school with two blocks of two classrooms each, three hand pumps and two market stalls. There were up to five community development associations which engaged in community development projects, formulation and implementation. These were Sabon Kafi Community Development Association, Young Farmers Club, Parent Teachers Association, Sabon Kafi Farmers' Association and Young Planners Football Club. These associations shared members and worked together during community development activities.

The objectives of these organizations include among others: mobilisation of the populace to be self-conscious and self-reliant, execution of projects through self-help or communal effort for the development of Sabon Kafi. The people realized that government cannot afford to do everything for them. They must join hands and cooperate with the local government to develop their village. The most conspicuous problems of the village which have been in the agenda of the people are the absence of motor able roads, lack of water for both human and animal consumption, poor health and education services.

The leadership structure of their associations and management of their affairs were not formal and rigid system, rather people were moved by the desire to

have their village developed and feared that if anyone did not take part in community development projects, he was regarded as a rebel in society. In this way whatever a few influential members of this society especially the village head, said that should be done. The village head commended a decisive role in the operations of these associations and planning and execution of projects. Because of this, community development activities took place in Sabon Kafi. The activities of these associations covered almost all aspects of human endeavour i.e. water supply, road construction, education, health and agriculture to mention only a few. It is, however, pertinent to point out that, only the Sabon Kafi Famers Association and Young Football Club have self-centred objectives and restricted membership. The Sabon Kafi Famers Association has only the rich farmers as members while only primary school pupils constituted the Young Planners Football Club. The Headmaster of Sabon Kafi Primary School was the chairman of the club.

#### **BIRNIN GWARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

Birnin Gwari Local Government is semi-rural settlement, with most of the projected concentrated in the capital of Birnin Gwari town. Research conducted in the rural areas of Birnin Gwariaise indicates poor performance in community development activities. Community development did not take and the consciousness of the local people to raise their condition of living was general very low. Each village reports are presented below.

#### **BUGAI VILLAGE**

The report from Bugai village for instance shows that there was not a single community development association registered in the village. People used to meet once in awhile to discuss issues which were of common interest but they were not organized and had no recognized community leaders. They used to hold their meetings as was called by the village Head. During such meetings they used to assist themselves on an individual basis not in the form of development associations.

There were no self-help projects too. However, overriding necessity forced them to come together to clear the mararrabar-Dagara-Bugai and the Bugai-Sire roads, which was up a total of 35 kilometers. Local government village level workers did not visit Bugai. As such, there was no encouragement at all from the local government for them to organize social organizations and to mobilize themselves for social and economic development. Only one social organization and agricultural cooperative group existed. It was a farming group with 46 members and owned tractor. This in fact was not community development association but rather agricultural cooperative union.

Three associations were mentioned but they existed only in name. Thus Kwaga Youth Association has no leaders, no objectives and no active members. The people who were supposed to be its members were only thinking vaguely on reviving it, which means it was a dead association. The second association was

known as the Young Farmers Association which existed in name only. It was not also functional for many years. Finally there was the Parent Teachers Association (PTA) which was functional but ineffective. It was supposed to restrict itself only to matters concerning the Kwaga Primary School.

#### **KWAHU VILLAGE**

Kwahu was the most backward village in terms of community development initiatives. The inhabitants of Kwahu were migrants from other neighbouring states. The people in village do not constitute a virile village community oriented for development. There was no government extension worker posted with interest of initiating development projects in this village. There were also no community development activities at all. The people were not organized, no social organizations or properly perceived community development projects to be implemented. Their concerned was their daily bread. Because of the absence of the community development activities, apathy and community unconsciousness many development projects which could have been planned and executed locally were non-existent. There were no motor able roads, markets, schools, dispensary or clinic and poor water supply. The people are most uninformed and unconcerned about matters which concern them and their village.

#### **KWAGA VILLAGE**

In Kwaga village of Birnin Gwari, there was also no community development association existed. The people were not organized for community development work and they have no community leaders. The people of Kwaga did not constitute a self-conscious community with means, desire and ability to articulate felt needs. They have never planned and executed a community development project. In this respect the department for community development stands to be blame. It has never made its existent felt in Kwaga and indeed in most other villages in the same Local government.

#### **TABANI VILLAGE**

Tabani village was also starved of community activities. The department of community development has not made its presence felt in Tabani. There was no social organization, neither jointly formulated development projects. There was only one registered community development association in Kafanin Maruwan Yarwa Ward known as Kungiyar Alheri Matasa. Through this association communal efforts (Aikin gaiya) and financial resources were often harnessed for execution of some self-help projects. The most important project executed through this association was an attempt to make the Kwala Kwang road motorable. The attempt failed because there were too many deep pools of water which they could not overcome with their own meager resources.

#### DAWAKIN KUDU LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Community development work in the four villages studied in Dawakin Kudu local government area of Kano state was below what was expected. Nevertheless, it

was far ahead than that of Birnin Gwari local government areas. Many of the Local people have used their initiatives to organize community development activities in their respective villages. They are more pro-active and well-focused in rural development.

#### **FALLAU VILLAGE**

Fallau village for instance as one of the village we visited had at least three self-help associations namely Himma Zumunta Social Club, Biyayya Social Club and Assayaya Social Club. The first one was based in Fallau Farisaru/Kanawa with about 100 members. It was registered in 1987 with the principle purpose of engaging in environment sanitation work during the rainy season in order to clear weeds, repairs roads and wells in the area. The second one was also found in 1987 with about 50 members mainly the youths. Its main objective was to assist individual members in dire needs. The third one was based in Fallau Ruga. It has about 50 members and it engaged more in communal activities than the other two. Within the first two years of existence, this association has constructed two wells, repaired a feeder road and sought the local government assistance to carry out these projects. The Assayaya social Club linked its activities to those of Clubs in the surrounding villages. They invited members of those clubs to assist them in carrying out its projects on condition that they too did the same whenever the later invited them.

As it can be discerned from the functions of these clubs their activities were limited in scope. The reason was that the youth stayed in the village only during the dry season and in most cases went to urban places in search for money. Secondly these clubs have very limited source of income. They derived their income from contributions of members on a weekly basis, but this was not enough to enable them have sound financial base. There was no contribution from the Department of Community Development of Dawakin Kudu Local Government and the majority of adults did not registered as members of association.

Fallau village had similar experience as the case of the other villages. The few associations in Fallau were formed by the people themselves without any local government guidance and they tried to manage by themselves. The local government lacked funds to finance community development projects. It also lacked staff to cover all the 57 villages making up the local government. As of the time we conducted this research, the local government had only 4 village level workers to cover 57 villages and with no means of transport.

#### KAMAGATA VILLAGE

Kamagata village had also similar community development problems as with the case of Fallau. The level of community development activities was very low. Only one association Hada Kan Matasa Club existed. Although this association was founded since 1981, it was not registered by the government. Notwithstanding, it has managed to construct a seven kilometre road from Kamagata to the

Maiduguri-Kano Road. Members were proposing to embark on road rehabilitation, construction of a dispensary, Islamiya classes and a mosque. The only source of fund was through members' contributions, assistance people rendered in terms of their labour and food provided free. Women provided live music to boost the zeal of the men at work when carrying out such development project. There were no village level workers in Kamagata to help in mobilizing people for community development work. The people were indeed willing and were aware about the need to change their ways of living for the better, but they were starved of leadership. The local government input was invariably nothing

#### **KODE VILLAGE**

Kode village has the same sad story to tell. No government input in terms of materials and technical advice, regarding organization, functioning of community development association. Only one social club existed and it was known as Annur Youth Club founded in 1976 and registered in 1977. This club has executed a number of projects i.e. construction of the Kode Dam to preserve water for the people, sinking and maintenance of wells, drainages, roads, purchase of land for refuse and farmland for migrants. The memberships of Annur Youths Club were mostly men. Although the name implied that only the youths can be members, all adult males were qualified for membership. The objectives of this club were many and varied. Basically members wanted to come together to do things which they could not do individually, to unite people on the village and cooperate with other villages. Finally they wanted to keep pace with developments taking place in surrounding villages which had already formed their own similar associations.

The Annur Youths Club was highly organized club with a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer, Publicity Secretary and Assistant Auditor and Public Relations Officer. Projects were planned by the executive committee consisting of officials named above. This committee also imposed levies which members paid to enable the club execute planned projects. Large sums of money was usually involved for instance rehabilitation of 8 wells cost N8,000=00; construction of 20 wells at N20,000=00 construction of drainage at N15,000=00 and construction of dam including sinking of wells to preserve water cost N80,000=00 and the local government made a contribution of only N2,000=00. In addition to these projects executed by the association, it has bought land at N11, 500=00 used as burial ground and other burial grounds maintained cost N600=00.

From the account given above, Annur Youths Club was the only Social Development Association in Dawakin Kudu Local Government Area that has made tremendous impact to the lives of the rural people. The membership was relatively very large with sincere commitment to development of Kode village. The fact that such huge sum of money was contributed by its members willingly was a clear testimony of commitment and vision. It is only a pity that Local government input was negligible.

#### **KOGAR KAZA**

In Kogar Kaza village community development activities were almost nonexistent. There was only one social club known as Kogar Kaza Social Club. The club, so far has planned and executed the construction of 10 kilometre dry season road from Panshankori to Gano. It's also mobilized people for this project and labour was provided freely. However, the road was passable only during dry season partly because of its scarce resources to purchase the materials needed to make them all weather round. They mentioned projects like construction of a dam, concrete wells and boreholes to supply water to the people as part of their future plans. Water being a necessity was a very scarce commodity at Kogar Kaza. People were therefore ready to do anything which can alleviate water shortage in the village. But as noted earlier the local government has not done significant impact in solving problem of water supply in Kogar Kaza village.

#### SYNTHESES OF THE FIELD STUDY

Having survey all the twelve of the three Local Government Councils, the conclusion one can draw is that people are being starved of development. They have done enough on their own to demonstrate that they are aware and need change in their styles of living for the better. Unfortunately the Local Governments and to some extent the State Governments of our sampled study have proved to be incapable of coping with the demand for development. The Local Governments quite often have difficulty even in paying salaries and other operating expenses. As noted earlier there was very little community development activities in most of the villages visited. Indeed in some villages like Kwahu, Tabani, Kwaga, Hanifari, Jagayel, Fallau, Kogar Kaza and Kode there was hardly any community development activities at all. Illiteracy, absence of community consciousness and absence of community development staff to educate the people in establishing community development associations were largely responsible for the sad state of affairs in these villages already noted.

Information gathered from interviews conducted with members of each social group have shown the greater need for the government to assist the people in establishing and running progressive community development associations. What the people need most was to acquire literacy, organization ability, some financial assistance and technical assistance and technical training which would enable them make desired progress. Some of the problems they mentioned could be overcome or minimized if the people were literate enough.

The basic problem facing the people in these villages was the low level of education which denied them access to wider social and economic aspirations. Most of the people did not think beyond their villages to see how other people better lived and how they enhanced both their economic and social needs. The condition of living was very low in most of the villages visited. The desire for more and better things was low and purchasing power for the available products was also low. This could be the main reason for the low level of mental and physical group productivity.

#### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

From our interactions with the people in the villages visited we discovered that there was a gap between the people and the government officials who provided services to local people. A number of reasons are responsible for this. First, most of the local governments do not have enough extension staff especially in the area of community development that would educate and communicate people's views to the government. Most local governments also have difficulty in collecting accurate and relevant data necessary for planning development projects. The result was always the use of the direct approach method of selecting projects by themselves which do not always meet the most pressing needs of the people. Loss of enthusiasm by the latter is due to a great extent on selection and implementation of undesirable projects. Finally our study in these villages revealed that a massive training programme is essential to reorient the minds of the people to desire change. In many cases villages are not organized at all and they have no feelings of community consciousness. They show a very strong feeling of excessive contentment with the status quo. Because of this it has been virtually impossible in villages like Hanifari and Kwahu to utilize the social services made available to them.

We therefore recommend Development- From-Below to facilitate the process of participatory development planning in which the local population takes the lead in identifying the causes and solutions for their poverty and backwardness. This suggested policy thrust of participatory planning has advantages:

- 1. Of involvement of rural poor in the development process which can unleash the untapped creative potential of a large number of people.
- 2. The promotion of their homogeneous groups or local organizations which can improve their bargaining position with governmental institutions and organizations for their improvement.
- 3. The degree to which the rural poor influence public decisions is obviously subject to government (political and administrative) support and commitment to their participation.
- 4. The need for planners and community development staff to help the poor to organize them through the formation of cooperatives, community based organizations and Non-governmental organizations.
- 5. Agents of change (under different names, such as catalyst, animateurs, group promoters and extension agents) are needed to help the poor acquire new skills, makes their own rules for their own organizations.
- 6. Participation of rural women in development process has to be spearheaded because of the numerous advantages. It may help to increase food production in which often women have major role thereby enhancing their economic empowerment. Women participation also allows closer contact and thus a more dialogue between rural development planners and poor rural women.

Table 1.1: Sample population

State	Local. Govt	Villages	No. Of Days for Field Work Exercises	No. of Participants Field Assistants and Informants
Bauchi	Jama'are	Baburti, Garin Babani Jagoyel, Hanifari Sabon Kafi	30 days each	40 participants 5 Interpreters and 20 Informants
Kaduna	Birnin Gwari	Bugai, Dawakin Bassa, Kwaga, Kwahu, Tabani	21 days each	35 Participants and 5 Interpreters and 20 Informants
Kano	Dawakin Kudu	Fallau, Kamagata Kode Koga Kazar	20 days each	30 Participants 4 Interpreters and 16 Informants

Sources: Rapid Rural appraisal Check list of Issues used in the Field

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