



### NIGERIAN STRATEGIC CONFERENCE ON GOVERNANCE & SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT



#### THEME:

## Anxieties of Democracy: advancing a strategic framework for Nigeria

**Date**August, 27-28, 2015

Venue Ministry of Finance Conference Hall Cross River State

## BOOK OF ABSTRACTS/ PROCEEDINGS

**ISBN:** 978-4-56043-046-9

#### 4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Development

#### **CONFERENCE THEME**

Anxieties of Democracy: advancing a strategic framework for Nigeria

**ISBN:** 978-4-56043-046-9

#### CONFERENCE SECRETARIAT

Nigerian Project Office Suite 208, Victory Plaza No. 8 Ndidem Usang Iso Road Calabar, Cross River State-Nigeria

Secretariat: +234 (o) 8172715059, + 234 (o) 8174380445

#### **CHAIRMAN LOC**

Dr. Ekei Okon Director, Planning, Research & Statistics Communication Technology Development Department (CTDD) Governor's Office, Calabar Cross River State

#### KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Professor Patrick Okedinachi Utomi Professor of Political Economy and Management Expert Lagos Business School, Nigeria

Email: sustainable.development@gmail.com Website: www.internationalpolicybrief.org

© International Institute for Policy Review & Development Strategies May, 2015

All right reserved under the International Copyright Law. This Book of Abstract its cover page design and content may not be used or produced in any manner without written permission from the International Institute for Policy Review  $\operatorname{\mathscr{C}}$  Development Strategies.

#### 4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Development

#### **Theme**

Anxieties of Democracy: advancing a strategic framework for Nigeria

#### **Objective**

The 4th Nigerian Strategic Conference on Governance and Sustainable Development is to advance a strategic framework for good governance and sustainable development for Nigeria, especially in the face of new governance..

The conference adopts a Multi-Sectoral/ Multi-disciplinary Approach; there are specific binding subthemes. Broad issues within the various sectors of the conference will include three keynote addresses, a round table discussion as well as parallel and poster sessions related to the conference theme. Issues raised in the conference will be published in the "Nigeria's Development profile in Time Perspective, in collaboration with National Planning Commission Nigeria.

#### **Conference Steering Committee**

◆ Associate Prof. A. S. Antai Department of Economics University of Calabar

#### ♦ Professor Ethan B. Mijah

Department of Political Science and Defence Studies Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna State, Nigeria

#### **♦** Professor Nathaniel C. Ozigbo

Department of Business Administration University of Abuja, Abuja-Nigeria

#### ♦ Associate Professor Damian Mbaegbu

Madonna University, Okija- Nigeria

#### ♦ Dr. Famous S. Eseduwo

Office of the Head of Service of the Federation, Nigeria.

#### **CONFERENCE PROGRAMME**

#### WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 2015

(Pre-Conference) Arrival of Conferee/ Delegates

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 27, 2015

Opening Ceremony and Plenary Sessions

• 9:00-10:00am: Conference Registration

♦ 10:00-10:15am: Introduction of Guest/Prayer/Anthem

♦ 10:15-10:30am: Welcome Remark by the LOC

♦ 10:30-10:45am: Institutional Brief/Chairman's Opening Remark

♦ 10:45-11:00am: Lead Discussant

♦ 11:00-1:00pm: Presentations by Distinguish Guests
 ♦ 1:00-2:00pm: Launch Break & Group Photograph

♦ 2:00 -3:00pm: Plenary Session

♦ 3:00-4:00pm: Policy Review/Closing

#### **FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 2015**

Plenary Sessions/Policy Briefing/Communiqué

♦ 9:00 -10:00am: Conference Brief
 ♦ 10:00 -1:00pm Plenary Session
 ♦ 1:00- 2:00pm Launch Break
 ♦ 1:00 4:00pm Plenary Session

♦ 4:00-5:00pm Communiqué/ Closing Ceremony

## INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR POLICY REVIEW AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

The International Institute for Policy Review and Development Strategies (IIPRDS) is an independent international research and development Institute. The Institute provides a platform for independent, collaborative and institutional evidence-based research work. Research endeavors in the Institute addresses specific policy and development challenges affecting developing economies of the world. It also partners with government and nongovernmental agencies in advancing sustainable development initiatives.

Since incorporated, the Institute has pursued its mandate of being a leading international research and publishing institution by organizing International Research Conferences and Seminars and publishing findings in International Journals. Other publications (released and expected) include,

- ♦ African Development Charter Series: UN Development Policy Document,
- ♦ Achieving Development Goals in Africa: Inclusive ℰ Integrated Strategies,
- ♦ Strategic Framework for Local Government Performance,
- ♦ Nigeria's Development Profile in Time Perspective,
- ◆ Executive Economic Reviews,
- ◆ Standards for Writing Research, etc

To enhance institutional research and quality publications, the Institute partners with research institutions and universities like the University of Ghana-Accra, University of Education-Winneba, Coventry University- United Kingdom, Weber State University-United States, University of California- Los Angeles, University of New South Wales-Sydney, Concordia University- Canada, University of Southern Australia, Universiti Teknology-Malaysia, among others.

The Institute has various projects arms, two of which are research institution and training academy. The research institution is known as the African Research Council on Sustainable Development and currently operates/functions with three frameworks,

- i. Centre for Renewable Energy Research and Development Strategies
- ii. Centre for Advanced Entrepreneurial Development Research
- iii. Centre for Quality & Analytical Research

#### **Editorial Peer Review Policy/ Publications**

The Institute has a seasoned and experienced Multi-disciplinary International Professional Editorial Peer Review Board. Members are drawn from about 7 Universities, within and outside Nigeria. See website for details. The board operates a blind peer reviewed system. All submitted manuscripts are reviewed initially by internal editorial process. Manuscripts are evaluated according to the following criteria: material is original and timely, writing is clear, study methods are appropriate, data are valid, conclusions are reasonable and supported by the data, information is important, and topic has social and empirical relevance.

Institutional Journals are published in hard print and e-version. Journals published are index online in international research repositories, some of which include, Google Scholar, OCLC WorldCat, United States, Bibliography of Asian Studies, ABS Academic Journal Quality Guide, PIAS International Fact Sheets/ Achieves, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, EBSCO Information Services, Canada, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), National Library of Nigeria cataloguing in publication data and Brilliant International Research Library, among others.

#### Exchange of Idea Initiative (EII)

The Institute currently operates an Exchange of Idea Initiative (EII) with other International Research Organizations and Libraries to enhance wider researcher of its journals. With this initiative, Academic Journals are published in various Countries by reputable publishers and research organizations not minding where the conference is held. This dynamism has diversified and improved the quality of the Institute Journals, enhanced International acceptance by indexing research agencies, built confidence in conferees and enhanced their disciplinary relevance. For details, please see the website, www.internationalpolicybrief.org

#### Welcome Address:

#### Nigerian Strategic Conference on

#### Governance and Sustainable Development

It was Abraham Lincoln that gave the world the simplest and the most concise definition of democracy: "government of the people, by the people and for the people." It is a definition with a thesis that packs quite a bundle. And yes, the wittiness of its language has another advantage: it makes it very easy to memorize. If you are a leader, one duly elected by the process of democracy, this definition is very easy to remember.

It says everything without saying a lot. The recurrent phrase, "the people" should serve as a mnemonic for the elected official; a consistent reminder of why he occupies the office entrusted to him/her. Democratic governance, therefore, is not about who signs the budget or how many cars constitute the convoy of a government official. It is leadership that is centered on the people and does not lose them. It is governance by the people and for the people. This cannot be emphasized enough; democracy is about the people.

When we talk about "the people" in a democratic system of government, we mean the people, the masses, the folks, the community, and proletariat, the common people, through whom the privileged occupiers of office derive their power. Power belongs to the people, and "democratic governance" recognizes it holds power in trust for the people. Its legitimacy is derived from the authority invested in it by the people. It therefore listens to the people, not out of a sense of benevolence but because it has no choice. It has to carry the people along all the time to retain its legitimacy. But all these of course, are near-ideal, or ideal situations.

I acknowledge that no democracy anywhere is perfect; either the one practiced in North America –or which constantly holds itself up as a standard for other less fortunate nations–, or the version of democracy that subsists in post–colonial African countries, fully grants sovereign power to the people. Democracy in itself, is an ideal, but one worth striving for by the society that claims to be practicing it. There have been series of debates that have questioned the appropriateness and sustainability of democratic governance in Africa. Scholars and analysts have asked the question over and over again, is democracy right for Africa or is there something in our DNA that makes the quest for attainment of true democracy possible? These postulations do not always offer an alternative form of government. Nigeria –and by extension the rest of Africa– can explore if democracy refuses to work for us. And so, until we come up with a viable alternative, we have to stick with democracy and make it work for us.

By making it work, I mean, we should consistently audit the system of democratic governance we claim to practice in Nigeria and ask how well it is working out for we-the-people. We must never shy away from asking this very legitimate question at any time. If democratic governance guarantees equality, we should not merely stop at lamenting the gross inequality in the Nigerian society; we cause it to work as defined.

We need to go further and challenge our country to give us equal rights, access and privileges to the commonwealth of our nation. We must not stop at theorizing how much our lives will forever be circumscribed by corruption and its pernicious effects, instead, we must strive to meaningfully participate in issues that affect our lives. We should refuse to be always treated as an afterthought; instead, we should effectively participate in the collective choices that define our membership of the nation. We all should have equal access to the process of political participation, not a few privileged villains who clog the mechanism of our society, turning everywhere into an extension of their fieldom.

The central question here is, can we ever truly attain citizenship of our own country beyond the ceremonial process of carrying our country's passport? To be citizens is a guarantee of equal rights, responsibilities and privileges. It means we are treated with dignity and respect that we deserve as human beings and sacred rights enshrined in our Constitution to protect us all the time. These factors –rights, privileges, equality, responsibility, and participation– as I have listed them above are consequent of democratic governance. That is why the process of democracy is integral to our existence as a people. It is an ideal worth striving for; there are no negotiations around this obvious truth.

Democratic governance has the potential to guarantee us the rights and privileges we desire as a people. Therefore, no matter the level of difficulties we experience in the process of democratic practice –and God knows we have been through a lot– it is still a sound option for a difficult and complicated country like Nigeria to explore. But as I said earlier, we need to consistently audit the process of democratic governance to see how well, if at all, it is working for us.

Let me conclude this piece by appealing to this distinguished audience that more than ever before, our activities as social crusaders, activists, critics, patriots and particularly as Nigerians must be that of exhorting and educating our territories of influence especially within Nigeria. We need a more sensitized and engaged citizenry, one that actively participates in the process of governance beyond merely casting a vote. As the former British PM, Winston Churchill said, "The best argument against democracy is a five-minute conversation with the average voter." If the people become the very structure of our democratic governance, we can begin to chart our journey towards the ideals of democracy.

Page vii

We might not get there in the same day but we would at least have begun. It is, altogether, a lifetime journey, one that does not offer a short cut. Democratic governance in Nigeria does not promise to make us perfect, but at least, the process of striving will make us a better people.

To make this happen, there must be a core-catalyst group, ready, willing and able to ignite the fire of change, foster the enlightenment of our people and pay the price for their total liberation from the stranglehold of power prodigals who possess power for selves and not for service talk less of the overall welfare of their people and development of their nation. Across this room, I see such people but will they pay the price and take on the challenge by accepting responsibility for the greatness of their country? Only time will tell whether the "yes we can" response can emanate from here and reverberate globally among the well-able Nigerians in the diaspora and those back athome.

I wish to welcome our distinguished to this national strategic conference and sincerely believe that in the end, we will address specific daunting challenges that have slowed our democratic process as a nation.

Thank you for listening. God bless you all God bless Cross River State God bless Nigeria

Some of the views expressed in this welcome address are adapted from "Democratic Governance in Nigeria: Prospects and Challenges" By "Tunde Bakare, Convener, Save Nigeria Group. Lagos, Nigeria

Page viii

4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Development



#### 16 YEARS OF SUSTAINED DEMOCRACY: The Anxieties Linger...

Democracy is not just a form of government in Nigeria, it has become a culture. 16 years of uninterrupted elected civilian rule, is a commendable feat for the country, going by her chequered history of civilian rule since 1960. There is no doubt that significant changes have happened in the nation's political landscape with democracy taking a sustained course since 1999 when General Abdulsalami Abubakar handed over the reins of government to civilians.

Along the line, political players, the electoral umpires at both state and federal levels, the media, civil society groups and the rest of the governed have one way or the other endeavoured to make democracy firmly rooted in the country. In spite of differences in opinions, a common thread in the thinking of many Nigerians is that 16 years of sustained elected government has afforded political actors and institutions possibilities to improve in the culture of democracy.

A spokesman for Save Nigeria Group, a civil society group, Mr. Abiodun Sowumi acknowledged that the uninterrupted political practice of the past 16 years had engendered freedom of choice of political leaders, better system of accountability and freedom of expression. He added under this fourth republic, there is greater respect for human rights as well as economic progress among other gains. "Even without the rebasing of the economy that now makes it the largest in Africa, we've seen the economy expands. There is a huge economic activities going on in terms of development of infrastructure either by the state or the federal government."

A political analyst, Prince Eshiet on his part noted that institutions that could strengthen democracy were developing fast with time. "We've learnt a lot of lessons. The three arms of government, Legislature, judiciary and even the executive, even the people's participation has also improved"

In the direction of sustaining the democratic process in Nigeria, much is still desired. The lack of ideological base of most political parties is a source of worry top many analysts and experts. A political science scholar, Mr. Moshood Babatunde argued that the way politicians switch loyalty and party membership exposes the lack of political ideology of the parties. According to him, politicians with intention to serve will stick to parties with an ideology that he or she favours. "Sadly, no political party has an ideological base."

Of course political philosophies pose their own problems. Ideology-based partisanship recently shut down the United States government and resulted in the second least productive Congress in modern American history. But ideology is critical in a maturing democracy. For voters, it provides some check against the politician's natural instrumental & coalition-shifting instincts, promoting accountability through (some) expected consistency. For businesses, it offers some predictability, a key determinant of investment. Perhaps most importantly, a principled philosophy of governance promotes the creation of durable institutions—ones that are not built on temporary alliances motivated by election cycles.

Ultimately, the essence of democracy is the peoples' power to determine not only specific socio-economic outcomes, but also the means used to achieve them. The Nigerian political landscape currently offers a false dichotomy between continuity and change. Without more clarity on the means by which each side's platform will be realized, true democracy will remain elusive.

In the past 16 years many pundits believe that there is an unhealthy competition among politicians. This makes them to seek power in a "do or die" manner. With this attitude, there can be no way genuine persons with minds of service can get to government. Rather, selfish interests will pervade the system.

The celebration of the longest democratic era so far is tainted with security challenges facing the nation. The yet to be fruitful search for over two hundred schoolgirls abducted in Chibok, Borno state alone has spoilt the celebration mood.

There is still much to be desired. In spite of the gains, democracy is yet to deliver to Majority of Nigerians, there those who think that since all citizens have determined to continue in the democratic culture, constructive engagement and tolerance should now be the watchword in the country.

The objective of the 4th National Strategic Economic Summit is to evolve a strategic framework for good governance and sustainable development for Nigeria, especially in the face of new governance. Discussions will be held in multi- sectoral technical sessions. Specific issues to be address include,

- Electoral Process, Governance & Public Sector Management
- Legislative Process, Intergovernmental Relations & Rule of Law
- Tourism, Agriculture, Food Security & Rural Development
- Health, Education, Poverty Reduction & Social Development
- Environment, Energy Access, Alternative Energy & Renewable
- Entrepreneurial Development and Employment Creation
- Financial Management and Private Sector Development
- Civil Service and Public Sector Management
- Science, Information and Communication Technology
- Armed Forces, Insurgency, Diplomacy, Conflict & Migration

We hope for fruitful discussions that will not just define the agenda for good governance, but bring about the sustainability of the process and gains of democratization in Nigeria.

Thank you.

Secretary, Conference Planning Committee

#### **Keynote Address**

#### DEMOCRACIES, PARADOXES AND HANDICAPS

#### - Patrick Okedinachi Utomi

Professor of Political Economy and Management Expert

You do not have to look hard to find the wisdom in Winston Churchill's definition of democracy as the worst form of government, except for the rest. In our country, one of the great pointers to what is troubling about our democracy is the kind of people who dominate it.

Many political actors are hustlers and have no obvious other sources of livelihood than the rents they scavenge off being politically active, as well as the scams they perpetrate against the commonwealth, which are clearly debilitating of the process of delivering quality public service that advance the common good and improve the quality of life of citizens.

All these add to the image of politics and politicians as something unwholesome, causing many capable people to flee the public space. The result is that policy choice is significantly iatrogenic, that is to say very of many times, the policy choices we make do more damage to the patient, than the disease we are trying to cure. This is understandable, as many, who dominate the arena of policy making, have neither the training, leadership capacity, nor the discipline to apply themselves responsibly to solving society's problems. As a person usually cannot give what they do not have, the lacuna left by poor capacity is quickly filled by a process of goal displacement, as aptly described in the book, Complex Organizations, by Charles Perrow, resulting in an obsession with corrupt enrichment of self at the expense of public purpose.

Goal displacement can be the bane of the bureaucratic order. In typical analysis, this is seen as greed and a manifestation of narcissism of the bureaucratic age, whereas the problem is a feeling of a void, created by lack of capacity and purpose, with other goals more personal than organisational or public, filling the void. This underlies the problem of local governments with "tout" councilors.

A general recourse in truly to solve this problem is to call for radical change in citizenship conduct such that the better prepared for public life instead of fleeing the public space not to be contaminated by the violence, blackmail and the mischievous scandalising of those who enter by those who live off politics and often have nothing to lose by way of pedigree and reputation but everything to gain by the power, and material benefit that come from political position.

Page xii

So we urge forward quality people, who are able, to enter political life. But what do they encounter? Their businesses are quickly stigmatised. They cannot access financial instruments because they are tagged politically exposed persons (PEP). With the PEP stigma, they are likely to suffer in economic life and be tempted, like the professional politicians who live off the system, to think of ways of surviving while serving sacrificially, for the good of all.

I know a few good men who have tried politics, motivated by the noble ideal of service, got so much poorer, without being appreciated for the sacrifice they made, that they swore never again to approach the arena of political life.

Which capable and competent professional would really want so seemingly a tainted tag as politically exposed person? It's easier for such people to cynically refer to the arena as territory of "Dem all crazy" and retreat into striving to construct his comfort zone, a bubbled based on an economistic sense of self love. The truth, in the end, is that like all bubbles, it is not sustainable. Worse still, all of society is poorer for that orientation. So how do we install a regime in which the professional politician is pushed back, and the citizen politician, equipped in the Aristotlean philosopher King mode steps forward, burdened by the need to advance shared prosperity and social harmony, to offer light.

My alarm on this subject has been heightened by the amazing number of people with and without capacity, who in my recent experience, I found desperate to be appointed into positions of any kind in government. For the first time, I came to a full understanding of why we have bloated government.

In my thinking, one of the ways to tackle this choking of the system, with carrying unproductive load, is to create more centres of prestige in society and reduce the material attraction of political life. Where the businessman who makes a success of enterprise, a bureaucrat who builds a reputation for attaining execution premium, and the soldiers who reaches to the top with distinction is celebrated and recognised as much as the political success, there will be a lower incentive for crowding out the arena of politics for those with the passion to serve.

When a very strict culture of accountability, compensation systems different from what the National Assembly has managed to institute, are put in place, to ensure that political pay comes into line with the civil service compensation and requires sacrifice on the part of those in government, people have to learn to sneer at politicians with no evidence of job creating, wealth creation enterprise, behind him or her.

At the same time, we should learn to celebrate the simple life in public life. The status conferral function of the media needs to be developed to raise the profile to politicians who move around without a coterie of aides and security people and who live very simple lives , do society a world of good. At the same time, the abusive interpretation of the idea of PEP should be reworked so that the entrepreneurially oriented who have capacity to advance the common good in public life with transparent systems to ensure accountability, and the blockage of possibilities of abuse of public position for self-interest, should not be disadvantaged by what the PEP idea insinuates.

With this in mind, we can consciously look at the paradoxes of the democratic culture in practice and evolution so that society profits from democracy as desired.

#### **16 YEARS OF UNBROKEN DEMOCRACY**

IF any success has been recorded in the last 16 years of Nigeria's current democratic experience, it is that the country has, against all odds, sustained the democratic culture to continue to strengthen the pillars of participatory governance in the largest concentration of black people on the globe.

The nearest the country got to the current dispensation was at the dawn of nationhood when a six-year period of civil rule was truncated by the January 15, 1966 military intervention that abruptly stalled democratic growth of a young state with the highest potentials for socio-economic and political development in Africa.

During the following 13 years of military interregnum, the fragile foundation of Nigeria's democracy was further weakened and the federal arrangement, which formed the structural base of the country, was substituted with a unitary system in consonance with the pyramidal arrangement of military command.

After a 30-month civil war that nearly tore the country into two, three coup d'états which claimed the lives of two Heads of State and floundering attempts at strengthening the fabrics of national unity amid demands by the political class for the return to civil rule, democracy was restored in 1979 to be truncated yet again four years later by another military intervention.

Sixteen years down the line, the reality is still being sustained and even though the country has been having a bumpy ride on the road to perfection especially in attempts by politicians to thwart the process, the experience gathered so far is already strengthening the system to create a mechanism for protection.

Except for a three-month break of a face-saving interim government under the shadow of the military, the country was dragged through the dark tunnel of dictatorship for another 15 years during which several attempts at replanting the seeds of democracy did not come to fruition.

The deceits of military leadership oiled by massive corruption and collaboration with a section of the political class took the country to the edge of the precipice when the ruling junta annulled the June 12, 1993 presidential election, which came after a tortuous transition programme. The love of political and civil freedom by an exasperated population that was tired of dictatorship and brazen impunity of military rulers coupled with debilitating socio-economic yoke and decaying infrastructure caused by unbridled corruption in the system, led to massive agitation for the return of democracy.

As the darkest part of the night is just before dawn, the last lap of military dictatorship was the most repressive and under it, several martyrs whose blood were used to water the ground of civil defiance were made out of the struggle for freedom and several prodemocracy figures and activists were hounded into prisons or exile.

In 1999, power was relinquished to the civilians and in order to pacify a section of the country with the most frayed nerves in the struggle for democracy, ex-military ruler, Olusegun Obasanjo, emerged as the winner in an obviously one-horse contest thereby realizing the dream of making Nigeria the largest democracy in the black world.

Sixteen years down the line, the reality is still being sustained and even though the country has been having a bumpy ride on the road to perfection especially in attempts by politicians to thwart the process, the experience gathered so far is already strengthening the system to create a mechanism for protection. Perhaps if the opportunity presented by the aborted Third Republic during which effort at political re-engineering of the polity was embarked upon, Nigeria would by now be stronger in representative government.

During the period, a Centre for Democratic Studies was established and because of the historical facts of the country's multi-party system having the tendency of being reduced to a two-party structure in practice, two political parties founded on different ideological lines, were foisted on the nation. New innovations were also brought on the electoral system to reduce incidences of rigging and to encourage transparency and integrity of the ballot paper in a country where election crisis had been a major contributing factor to the periodic termination of civil rule.

However since 1999, the country has been moving on in the task of consolidating democracy and some improvement have been recorded in the strengthening of democratic institutions particularly the body saddled with the conduct of electoral exercise. Because election is the major pillar of democracy as the process in which the choice of the voters is expressed, the conduct of election is a barometer to measure the success of democracy in the last 16 years.

From all indications, the preparations for tomorrow's exercise have been the most elaborate in the history of election conduct in the country thereby strengthening democracy the more. The deployment of technology in the use of the card readers and in the compilation of the voters' register and the manning of the headship of the electoral body by people believed to have integrity, have increased the confidence of Nigerians in the system. The increase in the number of prospective voters and enhanced interests of the people in the system also highlighted the fact that the democratic culture is gradually finding roots in the country, a further testimony that if the current experience is allowed to go on without interference; Nigeria would soon get its acts together.

Page xvi

But if the Nigerian voter is gradually imbibing the culture of democracy, the same could not be said of the members of the political class who, at election periods, always look for ways to subvert the system to have an upper hand against opponents. Because of unbridled ambition for political power, the political class, in and out of government, has been taking advantage of centrifugal factors that could divide the country, to feather their own nests.

In 1993, the Nigerian electorate voted across ethnic, religious and regional lines but instead of members of political class in government to use the development to further cement the unity of the country, embers of disunity were fanned to the extent that today, 22 years after, these factors are still issues in the current campaigns.

With commitment to build the institutions of democracy, establishing a credible electoral structure and insulating the system from military intervention, which is the greatest threat to the polity, the Nigerian democracy will be further strengthened and Nigerians will continue to enjoy the dividends of representative government.

#### CHALLENGES OF GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY

**Nigerian's** current geopolitical constitution as widely known was born out of the commercial interest of the Colonial British Empire. It was to advance her commercial interests that Colonial Britain found it expedient to weld together the several contiguous Ancient Kingdoms and local empires into what became a loose British Protectorate of North and South of the River Niger Area.

In 1914, the two entities were formally merged for administrative reasons only and became the Protectorate and Colony of Nigeria with Lugard as the First British Governor-General until 1919, when he was succeeded by other respective Governor-Generals.

While there were serious agitations for autonomy of various sections of Nigeria, not just the North and Southern Colony, the Colonial Britain continued to maintain a United Nigeria that was more fictional than real. That was why in the Constitutional Conference of 1953 held under the British Colonial Power, a Federal Constitution was hammered out for Nigeria, with the three regions of Nigeria – North, West and Eastern Nigeria being granted significant autonomy to develop at their pace.

The new Independent Nigeria in 1960 was built around a three regional structure, dominated by the three main tribes—Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba before a fourth region, the Midwest Region was created through a disputed political fiat. The new Nigerian State immediately adopted a British Parliamentary System of Government without consideration to the ethnically diverse people made up of more than 200 ethnic groups, speaking more than 400 languages. It was clear that beyond the euphoria of independence, the post–Colonial Nigeria was born with many handicaps.

Like most newly Independent Nations of the 1960s, Nigeria was plagued by the need for rapid development to satisfy the promises of the independence and the yearnings of her citizens. The crisis of Nation Building, weakened by the struggle for Regional Supremacy, suddenly reopened old wounds leading to the first military coup d'état in Nigeria on January 15, 1966.

Between 1966 and 1979, the mode of political administration in Nigeria was purely undemocratic and Leadership change was through military coups, punctuated by spells of elected government that lasted for less than 4 years until 1991.

But the growing insecurity of the state, mismanagement of resources in public and private places and the spread of impunity in all forms of the lives of Nigerians, once again hastened the intervention of the military in Nigerian politics in 1993 under general Abacha. It was only a natural intervention leading to the untimely demise of General Abacha, and the emergence of a repentant military general, Abdusalam Abubakar, coupled with the growing voices of Nigerians for the elusive democracy, that finally lead to another elected government in Nigeria, under President (Retired General) Olusegun Obansanjo and other Governors in 1999.

From the period of colonial rule to date, the story of Nigeria remains one for the search for a constitutional and a political structure, capable of creating the unifying force that can liberate a healthy self–expression of the citizens in a collaborative way that can also galvanize the energies of the Nigerian mosaic for effective development. A truly Federal Democracy, capable of creating condition for effective elected leadership with good performance merely began to take root in 1999, when President Olusegun Obasanjo with other 36 Governors of the states came to office through the ballot box.

Other elections have since been held in Nigeria and political power transmitted without a complete breakdown of social order. It is within this period that we can attempt any reasonable evaluation of the roles of political leaders, including Governors of states, and the challenges they face.

#### The role of Governor's in the Nigerian national polity

The checkered history of Nigeria's democratic transition and economic development have imposed on today's Nigerian Governors under democratically elected governments the hard task of quickly and forcefully addressing all imaginable problems, be they personal in nature or those formal issues affecting the general welfare of the people. The main reason for this is because the accountability of Governors to the people is expected to form the primary check on behaviors of Governors while in office.

In the Nigerian national polity, Governors are the chief executives of their state and the chief security and law officer. The role of Governors and all other organs of government conferred with executive's powers are provided under chapter 10, section 13–18 of the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria. Beyond these constitutional provision of roles for Governors, it is true that the extent that each Governor succeeds in performing his role depends on the quality of programs articulated, the dedicated professional team available to the Governor beyond the existing bureaucracy, the applicable manifesto of the political party in power which is often non-existent, and the integrity and drive behind the total leadership.

In essence, no successful role of a Governor is without its challenges, but above all other things else, it must be anchored on the delivery of good governance, and this connotes collective participation, consensus building, accountability, transparency, responsibility, equitability, inclusiveness, and more especially. It must be built on the rule of law.

#### The challenges of governance in today's Nigerian democracy

Two major related problems very often challenge the Governors performance, and these include unequal availability of resources and the over dependence of many states on the purse of an over-centralized federal government. These on their own, create further challenges, which are either structural national and intrastate in nature and bear with them the collective barge of the mis- representation of public service as sharing of the national cake, presided over by an abrasive Governor if he will set enough for himself and his state.

Other challenges to the role of Governors in providing good governance have been further articulated to include; over centralization of the Nigerian polity, lack of economic diversification, growing religious divide, growing human insecurity arising from civil strife and new dimension of terrorism et al.

I admit here, that critical challenges still remain in Nigeria's democratic governance. Yet there are concrete pointers of effective performance of Governors in many of Nigerians states. These and many other reasons give hope that democracy will grow and endure in Nigeria, while producing the quality of leaders to advance its course just like it happened in the United States of America.

Being extract from Governor T.A. Orji's lecture; the role of Governors in Nigeria's Federal Democracy: meeting the challenges, delivered at Paul H. Nitze School of advanced international studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. U.S.A.

#### PILLARS OF DEMOCRACY

"One of the real tests of democracy is the acceptance by those in power that others who criticize them and are indeed trying to democratically take over their exalted positions are legitimate players in the system".

The government of the people by the people and for the people as espoused in democracy is people initiated, people promoted, sustained by the people for the benefit of the people. In order to sustain this awesome and predictable system of government after it has been established, there are certain things, parameters or ideals that must be in place.

These parameters are like the rains that nurture the crops on the farm or water that man cannot do without; they are like the engine oil that lubricates your engines. Democracy on its own will not mean much if it cannot be sustained over the long hauls. Short term democracy cannot bring any material, economic or intellectual benefits to the people because it takes time for it to do so. The pillars of sustainable democracy as analyzed below are by no means exclusive.

#### The people

From the fore going paragraph, it is therefore a no-brainer to state that the people are the heart and soul of democracy and hence a major pillar for its sustenance. The people are the main reason why we embark on struggles to enshrine and defend democracy from the intrigues and evil machinations of powerful individuals and groups.

The people at all levels of governance of a state must be involved and be willing participants in defining and maintaining their democracy. The people must not be onlookers but the driving force behind democracy. Their participation must not be limited to seasons of elections and periods of changing the people in government but a continuing engagement with the process of democratic governance.

In doing so, the people will always be aware of even the intentions of government on issues before they are defined and implemented. They will be able to hold the leaders accountable and the leaders knowing they are being watched by active participants will be more circumspect in their undertakings. An uneducated people cannot effectively participate in modern day democracy, they are easily manipulated by their better educated leaders.

It is therefore important to state that the better educated and active people are the ones that can sustain spirited democratic discourse. The people must be aware of their rights and politicians must respect the rights of the people to choose who represents them. It is tragic when elected or appointed public servants decide behind our backs and above our heads on matters of life and death or bread and butter under the miss-guided assumption that we are not smart enough, not educated enough or they love this country more than us.

#### The constitution

The tenets of democracy of a nation, the democratic principles, limitations, privileges and definitions are usually captured in the constitution. The various ways and means of democratic governance and practices of a people are usually enshrined in the constitution. The constitution is to a democracy what the bible is to Christians or the Koran to Muslims. The words as written in a constitution are solemn words of agreement by the people and their representatives to abide with in the management of the country. They are inviolable statements of sovereignty. It is not unlike a company's handbook on policies, practices and standard operating procedure (SOP) for good corporate governance.

People routinely get sanctioned or fired for violating company policies. It is only in Nigeria that government officials often violate the constitution with impunity. Such impunities are gnawing at one of the critical pillars of our democracy!

#### The rule of law

The constitution by itself are sets of laws with which we govern our affairs whereas the rule of law is a state of mind, an understanding, a practice where a people under a constitution abide by the rules as stated in the constitution and the by-laws. The rule of law is acting on and by agreed rules of the law of the land or accepted method of behavior also referred to as due process. It involves setting of precedents and abiding by precedents based on the law.

The rule of law does not leave room for maneuvering and manipulation, it is either you abide by it or you do not. This concept, if adhered to by all practitioners of a democracy leads to equity, good governance, predictability in policy formulation and implementation, justice and fair play and sustainable democracy. Effective enforcement of applicable sanctions across board encourages adherence to the rule of law and by implication a sustainable democracy.

#### **Strong institutions**

The constitution as stated earlier is a document, and the rule of law is a state of agreement by participants in a democracy to play according to the laws or legal precedents. However, there are institutions within the constitution and body polity that gives teeth and meaning to these phenomena. The constitution and the practice of the rule of law of a nation are as strong or as weak as the institutions that implement, interpret and enforce them.

If our democracy is based on our constitution and the rule of law, it is safe to infer that the success of our democracy rests on strong institutional mechanisms. The sustainability of a democracy therefore is dependent on strong institutions like the three arms of government (executive, judiciary and legislature), political parties, electoral commission, NGOs, unions, civil society, armed forces, students and ethnic societies.

Strong institutions are the ones that know their roles, limitations and privileges vis-à-vis their responsibilities to themselves and other members of the democratic union. The functions of these groups within the society are all equally important and relevant to the sustenance of democracy. Whenever any of these groups shy away from their calling, violate their own institutional constitution or rule of law they create a weak pillar among the pillars sustaining our democracy and hence accelerate the collapse of the system.

#### Transparent electoral process

Elections are the midwives in the birth of democracy and the presiding wedding pastor when the people and the government renew their marital vows during subsequent elections. It is a very important pillar that can sustain or destroy democracy. The electoral process by design and implementation must be transparent. It must not only be free and fair but must be seen by all as so. Nigeria has fallen on all four in this area of democracy. Nigeria's vice president Atiku Abubakar recently was quoted to have said "many of our elections have not achieved the highest standards expected of democratic regimes". This is a true confession.

The electoral bodies openly and with impunity manipulate elections to favor their preferred candidates or party. Openly partisan and card-carrying members of the ruling parties are appointed to oversee elections. Transparent elections as a critical pillar for sustaining democracy, I consider the above situations a tragedy and reckless endangerment of our democracy.

Page xxiii

Atiku Abubakar further stated in the same address that

"An essential element in promoting free and fair elections in the country is the free and fair conduct of party nominations. Most elections are 'rigged' before they occur because candidates are eliminated through various methods. These include subverting party constitution and rules, the use of thugs, corrupting party officials to disqualify or annul the nomination of some candidates and other illegal methods of distorting the wishes of the electorate," A free and fair election is a nourishment for the growth and sustenance of democracy.

#### **Thriving economy**

A strong and thriving economy creates a burgeoning middle class. It is the middle class that sustains a robust democratic culture. The middle class is like a buffer or cushion between the rich and the poor. In order for the rich to enjoy their wealth and fortunes in a democratic setting a strong prosperous middle class is inevitable. Otherwise the poor will ventilate their anger directly on the rich leading to all sorts of upheaval and instability. Poor and hungry persons cannot be bothered about the virtues of democracy.

For democracy to survive all efforts must be made to promote a thriving multi-source private sector driven economic development. Jobs must be created and sustained by public and private sectors of the economy. Agriculture and research must be given priority attention as a critical element of economic development and job creation. Infrastructures must be provided at both rural and urban areas as benefits of democracy. Healthcare delivery must be affordable and provided to sustain a healthy workforce as the back bone of the economy. All these amenities must be seen by lovers of democracy as necessary investments for the sustenance of democracy and pursued with vigor.

#### **Education**

The level of literacy in Nigeria is still too low to sustain a robust democracy. The percentages of literate and educated Nigerians are too low for any government to be comfortable with the level of political participation by the masses. Going to school and earning a diploma without the engaging knowledge of civic and social responsibilities is inadequate. Citizens must be educated and made aware of their constitutional rights, privileges, obligations and responsibilities.

Nigeria can afford free education for all citizens up to secondary school level. They must be encouraged to be actively engaged with the process on a continuous basis. Democracy must be made attractive to the people to want to defend it. There must be obvious and tangible benefits derivable from democracy for it to be sustained not by force but by the will of the people. I am aware that some educated people are apathetic to politics while some illiterates are active participants in democratic governance or process but education and awareness of civic duties increases the possibility of being engaged with the process. It also increases the opportunities to influence and participate in governance.

#### The armed forces

The Nigerian armed forces have been engaged actively in the process of governance from way back. The military in Nigeria have become a destabilizing factor in the sustenance of democracy. The Nigerian military is not only highly politicized but polarized along religious and ethnic lines as result of their involvement in politics and administration of governance. Some commentators have gone as far as describing the Nigerian military as unprofessional and made up of pepper soup drinking generals and coup plotters.

The facts of history have borne this assertion out. Within a period of forty years of independence the Nigerian military have executed six successful coups and a similar number of failed ones. All these military adventures into politics have continued to undermine the growth and development of democracy in Nigeria. The armed forces are one of the critical institutions that must be strengthened and educated to understand their roles and their importance as a back bone of democracy. The military must be well trained and professionalized to know that their duty is to protect the nation against external aggression. They must not be used as tools of internal oppression and rigging elections by the ruling party or an instrument of instability through coup plotting by ambitious officers and their civilian sponsors.

I am so excited by the concept and practice of democracy. I could shout it from the roof top when I see it been practiced fairly and objectively in well established democracies. It is an awesome thing and beautiful to behold. Democracy is about freedom and obligations, privileges and responsibilities. What a great combination!

I appeal to my compatriots to deeply understand what democracy is all about before venturing into partisan politics especially the contest for elective office. This is more important as most of the pains and agony associated with the practice of democracy are brought upon us by the unwillingness of the politicians to abide by the principles of democracy.

Nigerian politicians have a high tendency to limit the rights and freedom of fellow Nigerians in an attempt to muzzle the opposition and hold on to power. The freedom to express ones distaste of government policies by critics is as equally as important as the freedom to sing praises of the government by its supporters. This is the true spirit of democracy. This is what Abubakar Atiku the VP recently observed in a statement that "One of the real tests of democracy is the acceptance by those in power that others who criticize them and are indeed trying to democratically take over their exalted positions are legitimate players in the system".

#### **GUIDELINES FOR MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION**

Submitting your manuscript for assessment and publication in any of the International Scientific Journal Series means that your work has not been published anywhere else in any other journal, book or in a book chapter, be it printed or online (except in the form of an abstract or an academic thesis). The editor(s) of journal(s) has the right to edit or to alter all contributions, but authors of the submitted work will receive proof before the publication of their work.

#### **Submission of Manuscripts**

Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor in Chief, typed in English with Times New Roman font size 12, doubled spaced with 1" margin at all sides of A4 paper. Manuscripts should not exceed 14 pages. Articles for publication should be sent to the Editor, International Standard Research Publishing through the journal.

#### Email: sustainable.development@gmail.com

Manuscripts should be legibly written with clear symbols, drawings, photographs, chemical structures to ensure clarity and easy reproduction. Authors are urged to pay attention to tables, figures and references which should be done in the correct format and appropriately cited in the main text.

#### Format of Paper

The paper should include: Title, authors name(s) (surname in full) and address (es), an abstract not exceeding 250 words, a few key words and the main paper. The main paper should have an Introduction, Materials and Methods, Results and Discussion, Tables and Figures, Plates, Conclusion, Acknowledgment, References. If the paper has more than one author, the first on the list is the Correspondence author.

#### References

The reference style should be the APA format.

#### **Review Process**

Articles for publication will be peer reviewed by 2 or 3 reviewers to ensure accuracy. Guided by the reviewer's comments on a paper, the decision of the Board is final.

#### Copyright

Upon acceptance of a paper by the journal, the author(s) have automatically transferred copyright of the paper to International Standard Research Publishing. The transfer will ensure widest possible dissemination of information.

#### Charges

Manuscripts must be submitted along with a processing fee. Upon acceptance of a paper for publication, the corresponding author must submit the corrected paper via and pay a publication fee of \$200 (USD) only. Corresponding authors shall receive one copy of the published Journal and could also download articles from the Journal's website.

#### Publication Ethics and Publication Malpractice Statement

Publication decisions: The editor is responsible for deciding which of the articles submitted to the journal should be published. The editor may be guided by the policies of the journal's editorial board and constrained by such legal requirements as shall then be in force regarding libel, copyright infringement and plagiarism. The editor may confer with other editors or reviewers in making this decision.

#### Confidentiality

The Editor and any editorial staff must not disclose any information about submitted manuscripts to anyone other than the corresponding author, reviewers, potential reviewers, other editorial advisers, and the publisher as appropriate. Institutional website: www.internationalpolicybrief.org

Page xxviii

## TIMELINE FOR MANUSCRIPT CORRECTIONS AND JOURNAL PUBLICATION

The timeline for manuscript assessment and publication is as outlined below,

- 1. The Plenary/Technical session is compulsory for all conferee. You are advised to note the comments pointed out by the Chairman of the Technical Session and other members of the plenary group. This will help you effect corrections as expected.
- Correction on manuscript(s) (full papers) must be effected and submitted within 2 weeks after the conference. All submissions must be made to: sustainable.development@gmail.com
- 3. The Conference Professional Peer Review Editorial Panel (CPPREP) will meet 2 weeks after the league conference to review papers. This usually takes 1 week, after which the papers are forwarded to Google scholar International Standard Peer Review Research Council for professional and disciplinary blind peer review and plagiarism check. Usually this takes about 3 weeks.
- 4. Letters of Paper Acceptance and Journal Publication will be issued to author(s) on the 6th week after the conference. Acceptance will be in three forms:
  - a) After peer review, papers with less than 50% accuracy level will be rejected. Author(s) will be required to re-write the paper based on observations.
  - b) Secondly, papers with 51 80% accuracy level will be accepted for publication, but with minor corrections effected by the Institute.
  - c) Finally, papers with 81 95% accuracy level will be accepted for publication with minor corrections effected by the Institute.
- On acceptance of paper for publication, authors will be required to make PAYMENT for paper publication/ pagination (hard print and online) and courier. Payment must be done within 2 weeks of notification of acceptance. Authors will receive their published journals within 10 weeks after the conference.
- 6. Accepted papers will be published in International Scientific Disciplinary Research Journals with high level Impact Factor (in hard print and e-version). Published journals will be indexed in Google scholar and other online research directory.

	CONTENTS	Page
1.	Rusting Project Prioritization Techniques to Evaluate Trends in	
	Government Spending for Social Infrastructure Provision in Nigeria	
	Mr. Bima Abubakar Muhammad	1
2.	Examining Procurement Policies for Public Sector Procurement	
	in Nigeria	
	Mr. Bima Abubakar Muhammad	2
3.	The Press Framing of the 2015 Presidential Election and the	
	Anxieties of Democracy in Nigeria	
	'Abdulnasir James & Sati Sheik Kubenu	3
4.	Sustainable Culture and Tourism Practices through	
	Infrastructural Improvement in Cross River State, Nigeria	
	'Nsobiari Festus Awara PhD² Jimmy Bisong Ogbidi, PhD &	
	<sup>3</sup> Joseph Amaechi Anyadighibe	4
5.	Public Private Partnership (PPP) and Effective Healthcare	
	Service Delivery in Cross River State, Nigeria	
	'Nsobiari Festus Awara PhD & Joseph Amaechi Anyadighibe	5
6.	The Impacts of Politics on Familiarity and Mediocrity in Nigeria	
	'Ven. Egesi Jonathan C., <sup>2</sup> Moemenam Ifeanyi C.,	
	<sup>®</sup> Rev. Canon (Dr) Chris Mbah, &⁴Oguegbuchulam Moses	6
7.	Poverty Emancipation of African Countries Under the Guise	
	of Poverty Reduction a Study of Nigeria	
	'Ven. Egesi Jonathan C., ²Alaneme Justina C.,	
	³Nwokeforo Churchhill, ⁴(Mrs) Egesi Juliet A. &⁵Dr. (Mrs) Lucy Apakama	7
8.	Foreign Induced Policy and Commercial Capitalism in Nigeria	
	Oluwagbohunmi Joseph Aduralere	8
9.	Statistical Approach on the Level of Education, Health,	
	Poverty and Socio-economic Condition of Almajiri in Northern	
	Nigeria, a Silent Challenge for new Democratic Administration	
	Dr. Kabir Musa Alhaji (CFA)	9

	CONTENTS	Page
10.	Managing Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria: the Case of Insurgency in the North-East Geo Political Zone	
	'Fatile, Jacob Olufemi & Bello, Olaide Wasiu	10
11.	Impact of Mathematics in Electronics Use in the Provision of Security Needed in Democratic Society	
	'Nwosu, Frederick Chukwuebuka, <sup>2</sup> Oguagbaka, Samuel Kennedy & <sup>3</sup> Akunna, Ogochukwu Agatha	12
12.	Policy Development: Redefining the Public Space for True Democracy in the 21st Century	
	Emmanuel U. Shebbs	13
13.	Strategic Framework for Adopting Innovation Capability and Creativity in the Operations of Nigerian Oil and Gas Sector	
	Nathaniel C. Ozigbo PhD	14
14.	The Elite and Politicization of Democracy in Nigeria, 1999 To 2014 Luke Amadi	15
15.	Improving Tourism for Economic Sustainability in National Development	
	'Ebodili, Chuka C, B. A. (ED) Hons, MILR, M.A. <sup>2</sup> Okolo Buchi & <sup>3</sup> Ewa Christabel Ifeoma	16
16.	The Incidence of Mass Poverty Amidst High Economic Growth in Nigeria: the Evidence of Gross Mismanagement of	
	Resources in a Democracy 1999-2014 'Asso Prof. Damian Mbaegbu, BA (HONS)	
	<sup>2</sup> Dr. Rosemary Obasi & <sup>3</sup> Dr. Chioma Ugwoke	17
17.	Climate Change and Solid Waste Management in Akure, Nigeria <sup>1</sup> S. Yakubu PhD, <sup>2</sup> K. J. Samuel & S. O. Durowoju	18
	5. $1anana 1 nD$ , $1a$ . $j$ . $5anaa e  5. O$ . $Darowoja$	10

Good Governance and Sustainable Development in the Context
of Healthcare Delivery, Poverty Alleviation, Quality and Affordable
Education, and Social Service Delivery: a Civil Society Solution
from the Literary Perspective
'Mogu, Ibe Francis (PhD) & moko, Finian Igbede (Mr)



# Abstracts Proceedings



ISBN: 978-4-56043-046-9

.

## RUSTING PROJECT PRIORITIZATION TECHNIQUES TO EVALUATE TRENDS IN GOVERNMENT SPENDING FOR SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE PROVISION IN NIGERIA

#### Mr. Bima Abubakar Muhammad

Project Management Technology Department Federal University of Technology, Minna, Niger State, Nigeria

#### **Abstract**

igeria in the last 10 years has seen an upward progression of government funding in social infrastructure. However, there is no significant correlation of the financial investment to achieving a sustainable improvement in the welfare of the populace. This research work used trend analysis to reinforce the findings from literature. During the course of this research in an attempt to examine the trend of financial spending for infrastructure provision, data was used from government statistical bulletin in determining the impact of government spending within these key sectors which include construction, agriculture, health and education. The empirical analysis reinforced the literature findings of an uneven trend in government spending influenced with global concerns and political up heals within the sector of health and education whereas some other sectors suffered a decline in government revenue. The trend was used with an assumption of attaching significant weight to the magnitude of spending in relation to a particular sector, after which a prioritization was been carried out based on the weight of each project. It was recommended that only projects that are deemed to be of immediate necessity will be funded. However, due to the volatile nature of the Nigerian State, insecurity and lack of full commitment, the research could not determine a silver bullet solution. However it determined from expert judgment that a long term strategy would have to be implemented or put in place which would include a sustainable prioritization technique embedded within all key sectors that are drivers of infrastructural projects in the economy.

**Keywords:** Rusting Project Prioritization Techniques Government Spending and Social Infrastructure



## EXAMINING PROCUREMENT POLICIES FOR PUBLIC SECTOR PROCUREMENT INNIGERIA

#### Mr. Bima Abubakar Muhammad

Project Management Technology Department Federal University of Technology, Minna, Niger State, Nigeria

#### **Abstract**

he success of performance of public sector projects in Nigeria is tied to the impact of procurement strategy or policy used in providing the building. Procurement policies significantly influence the success of construction projects since they are designed to provide solutions to specific project needs or conditions. The Nigerian construction industry was analyzed with particular emphasis on public sector procurement. The general performance of public sector projects in Nigeria was broadly assessed and quite unfortunately the literature review has criticized public sector procurement in Nigeria of been inefficient for efficient project delivery. Equally the respondents to the survey data obtained from the questionnaire distributed and oral interview conducted suggest that projects are affected by the procurement strategy adopted for project delivery. A significant number of the questionnaire respondents believe that performance of projects could be improved using alternative or hybrid procurement strategies. Recommendations were proffered in order to mitigate or reduce completely the challenges and complexities faced by public project procurement schemes in Nigeria.

**Keywords:** Examining Public Project Procurement Schemes



# THE PRESS FRAMING OF THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND THE ANXIETIES OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

# 'Abdulnasir James & 'Sati Sheik Kubenu

<sup>1©2</sup>Department of Political Science Gombe State University, PMB 127, Tudun Wada Gombe.

#### **Abstract**

he established centrality of the media to all political contests becomes more significant in the context of electioneering campaigns. Notwithstanding the much vaunted reputation of the Nigerian media as the most virile in Africa, as evidenced by its much documented historical antecedents, especially its ability to confront and survive the dangerous terrain of military rule, its track record over the course of Nigeria's latest experiment with democratic government appears to suggest that it has both yielded itself to the overtures of the political class as well as exploited the country's multiple fault lines in the pursuit of narrow political and commercial interests. Employing content analysis of Leadership and Daily Sun Newspapers, and using the first and second levels agenda setting theory as frame works of analysis, the paper examines how the media involved itself in the 2015 presidential elections, especially the keenly contested presidential election. While the media, especially the print media, generally set the agenda by sustaining in the forefront of public discourse the key issues articulated by the presidential aspirants, namely, corruption, the economy and insecurity, the framing of the discourse by some of its sections not only exploited the ethnic, regional and religious differences of the country, but even veered needlessly into the personal life of the presidential aspirants. The paper concludes by recommending a diversification of audience news source and a closer monitoring of media activity by regulatory agencies like Nigerian Press Council and professional bodies like the Nigerian Union of Journalists.

**Keywords**: Press Farming, Presidential Election, Anxieties, Democracy



# SUSTAINABLE CULTURE AND TOURISM PRACTICES THROUGH INFRASTRUCTURAL IMPROVEMENT IN CROSS RIVER STATE, NIGERIA

'Nsobiari Festus Awara PhD, 'Jimmy Bisong Ogbidi, PhD & 'Joseph Amaechi Anyadighibe

<sup>1,2,83</sup>Department of Marketing, Faculty of Management Sciences, University of Calabar

#### Abstract

he existence and sustenance of the tourism sector depend largely on the availability of viable infrastructures necessary for the enhancement of tourists' comfort and satisfaction at destinations are prerequisite for repeat behavior of customers (tourists). Therefore, improving basic infrastructures remains a panacea for sustainable culture and tourism practices in Cross River State, Nigeria. This paper aims at examining the concept of Cross River culture and tourism, improving infrastructure for sustainable tourism sector, and recommending strategic decisions as the way forward for sustainability of tourism and hospitality businesses in Cross River State. Enhancing sustainable culture and tourism services in the state requires the implementation of effective and efficient ancillary services such as accommodation, leisure, indoor and outdoor activities, just to mention a few. The hospitality sector provides an assortment of accommodation to satisfy the variety of tourists' needs. Conducive hotels (accommodation) of international standard need to be provided close to tourist sites, the electricity (power) sector must be improved to meet the expectations of tourists who demand standard services they are accustomed to. Also, services in health-care; emergence and safety systems; telecommunication and postal; and mass media, etc demand urgent improvements. The availability of these services at tourism sites and in transit facilities would heighten tourists' expectations and satisfaction. It is recommended that joint ventures or partnerships between the state governments and (local and/or foreign) private entrepreneurs should be entered into, in order to develop existing tourism sites to international standards, as well as identify more viable opportunities. For Cross River State to sustain her culture as well as remain the preferred tourism destination in Nigeria, she needs to embrace and improve her infrastructures necessary for increasing tourists' satisfaction, retention and patronage.

**Keywords:** Sustainable Culture, Tourism Practices, Infrastructural Improvement



# PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP (PPP) AND EFFECTIVE HEALTH CARE SERVICE DELIVERY IN CROSS RIVER STATE. NIGERIA

# 'Nsobiari Festus Awara PhD & Joseph Amaechi Anyadighibe

<sup>®</sup>Department of Marketing, Faculty of Management Sciences University of Calabar

#### **Abstract**

ublic Private Partnership (PPP) is a socioeconomic development model. It is typically medium to long term arrangements between the public and private sectors whereby some service obligations of the public sector are provided by the private entrepreneurs, with clear agreement on shared objectives for delivery of public infrastructure and/ or services. The objective of PPP is to provide more efficient and effective means of infrastructure and service delivery systems, representing better value to people than traditional direct public offerings. This study investigated public private partnership and effective healthcare services delivery in General Hospital Bekwarra, Cross River State. The study examined the financing, operation and management of capital assets under a PPP and their impact on healthcare services delivery. The study formulated three hypotheses and employed the survey research design. The sample size consisted of 32 management staff of the hospital using the Taro Yamene formula. Hypotheses were tested using simple regression analysis. Findings of the study revealed that financing, operation and management of capital assets have significant relationships with effective healthcare services delivery in General Hospital, Bekwarra, Cross River State. It was concluded that PPP is a veritable option for enhancing the quality of healthcare service deliveries as it provides access to funding, operations and management expertise provided by the private partner. Consequently, it was recommended that the Cross River State Government should aggressively pursue a deliberate policy of engaging with more private investors (entrepreneurs) through PPPs to improve public healthcare service delivery in the state.

**Keywords**: Private Partnership, Healthcare Service



### THE IMPACTS OF POLITICS ON FAMILIARITY AND MEDIOCRITY IN NIGERIA

'Ven. Egesi Jonathan C., 'Moemenam Ifeanyi C.,
'Rev. Canon (Dr) Chris Mbah, & 'Oguegbuchulam Moses
Department of General Studies,
Imo State Polytechnic, Umuagwo-Ohaji,
P.M.B 1472 Owerri-Nigeria

Abstract

Tor any meaningful and concrete development to be made in politics in Nigeria, the truth must be allowed to prevail. The domain of African politics is characterized by polities of familiarity and mediocrity. What is evident is that the friends, families and relatives of any public office holder(s) in a country like Nigeria begin to celebrate and jump into the air at the slightest opportunity that their relative(s) mount any political office but the question is does political position occupancy mean settlement for most of these politicians in their utter ignorance refuses to think of what is happening to people who are not close to them. This always results in mediocrity instead of meritocracy. Different people who merit occupying given office positions are denied that simply because of the interest of the rulers in one person or the other to occupy that position. Some of these leaders will go to the extent of hail their subjects or the people they are ruling by calling them different names or slogans to make them happy. But the question is those led are they really happy? These scholars made use of certain research techniques to gather data for this research to make their work indept. At the concluding stage, the paper concluded by mentioning that the leaders of this great nation are deceptive, and unless they learn to put round pegs into round holes, the issue of under development will continue to linger.



# POVERTY EMANCIPATION OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES UNDER THE GUISE OF POVERTY REDUCTION A STUDY OF NIGERIA

Ven. Egesi Jonathan C., 'Alaneme Justina C., 'Nwokeforo Churchhill, '(Mrs) Egesi Juliet A. & 'Dr. (Mrs) Lucy Apakama

123 @ 4 Department of General Studies

<sup>123&1</sup>Department of General Studies Imo State Polytechnic, Umuagwo-Ohaji, P.M.B 1472 Owerri-Nigeria <sup>5</sup>Alvan Ikoku Federal University Of Education, Owerri

#### **Abstract**

ne of the characteristics of under developed or less developed countries is that of poverty. Hunger aside, the major cause of poverty is mismanagement of public funds in these under-developed countries. Poverty leads to severe hunger and even extreme hunger. Efforts have been made by the leaders of the African countries at one time or the other under one umbrella or the other to launch or initiate poverty alleviations programmes that will help better the lot of the masses. But one factor that is observed is that the leaders of these countries and the people charged with carrying out these poverty alleviation or reduction programmes have not done well at all. Therefore going by the above, since there is insincerity in the execution of these programmes on poverty alleviation or reduction whichever name it goes by, the opposite which is emancipation other than eradication becomes what is obtainable. Nigeria has had different programmes aimed at reducing poverty level. These scholars try to take a look at the different failed poverty alleviation programmes mentioning the different reasons why they have been a scam. These researchers made use of different data collection techniques in gathering data for this work. Such techniques included the use of questionnaires, observation method, interview method and not leaving out the documented sources such as the internet, periodicals journals among others. The paper concluded by stating the possible ways that poverty reduction cum eradication could be made more realistic and realizable in Nigeria.

Keywords: Poverty Emancipation of African Countries

### FOREIGN INDUCED POLICY AND COMMERCIAL CAPITALISM IN NIGERIA

# Oluwagbohunmi Joseph Aduralere

Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan

#### **Abstract**

ver the past fifteen years, Nigeria has developed various development strategies and policies that aim at meeting the Millennium Development Goals. The Millennium Declaration are eight sets of measurable and time-bound goals that were unanimously adopted by 189 members of the United Nations on the eve of the twenty-first century with the objective of improving the living standards of the world's people. The Millennium Development Goals focuses on poverty reduction, universal primary education, gender equality and women empowerment, improvement in maternal health, reduction in child mortality, environmental sustainability, and partnership for development. These goals were conceived and designed based on a unilateral explanation of social, economic, structural and dehumanizing conditions of the world's people and hence, a unifying and 'one-size-fits-all' development initiatives that were couched from the 'civilizing mission' and 'modernization thesis' of the West. The theoretical paradigm and framework under which this policy is to be achieved is neo-liberalism. Rather than strengthening and creating industrial capitalism in Nigeria, the adoption and implementation of this foreign induced policy has further led to the de-industrialization process and promotes commercial capitalism in Nigeria. This paper examines the implications of foreign based policy and its implications on the development process in Nigeria.

> **Keywords:** Foreign Induced Policy, Development, Commercial Capitalism,



# STATISTICAL APPROACH ON THE LEVEL OF EDUCATION, HEALTH, POVERTY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ALMAJIRI IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, A SILENT CHALLENGE FOR NEW DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

### Dr. Kabir Musa Alhaji (CFA)

Department of Economics Faculty of Social and Management Sciences Umaru Musa Yar'adua University, Katsina, Katsina State, Nigeria

#### **Abstract**

lmajiranci is one of the serious socio-economic syndromes disturbing the governments in northern Nigeria, this research uses modern statistical and Leconometric technique to investigate the magnanimity of this palaver and possible solutions and recommendation for the new democratic administration. The paper is organized into sections with section one being the general introduction, section two is the review of relevant literatures both theoretical and empirical, chapter three discussed the methodology of this paper, chapter four discussed the main findings and finally chapter five summarizes the result and put forward possible recommendations. To trace the sample target a multi-stage cluster sampling technique was employed to get the targeted sample a random sample probability sampling technique was used to select the desired sample. Descriptive statistics and parametric statistical tests were used to analyze the cross-sectional data from the interview results. The results with 95% confidence level shows that the health condition of Almajirai in northern Nigeria is horrible, also the education (Islamic) standard of the Almajiri boys is not encouraging and the level of poverty of Almajiri is too high above expectation. The paper recommends immediate attention diversification of resources from the new government to tackle and rescue the situation by establishing modern primary health care facilities, sanitary condition, by providing a bench mark and guidelines for proper and adequate teaching for Almajiri, total overhaul of the system to go in line with modern Our'anic training on the globe, job creation and entrepreneurial training to the teaming population of Almajirai, sensitization and modernization of the system through adequate provision of guideline for the teaching as well as setting standards for the qualities and qualification of the Malams.

**Keywords**: Statistical, Education, Health, Poverty, Socio-Economic, Condition, Democratic Administration



# MANAGING INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN NIGERIA: THE CASE OF INSURGENCY INTHE NORTH-EAST GEO POLITICAL ZONE

# 'Fatile, Jacob Olufemi & 'Bello, Olaide Wasiu

Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Management Sciences, Lagos State University

#### Abstract

he issue of displaced persons in recent time has been a global problem especially in third world countries. The displacement across the globe is due to communal violence, natural disaster, internal armed conflicts, land/border conflicts, floods and drought, ethno-religious conflicts and terrorist attacks. Global experiences have shown that most displaced persons are vulnerable to threats to security and physical integrity, loss of contact with children and family members, inadequate and insecure shelter, discrimination in aids distribution, psycho-social stress, sexual and genderbased violence. The situation is the same in Nigeria, especially in the North East geopolitical zone, where the emergence of Boko Haram insurgent has led to wanton destruction of lives and properties, displacement of people from their place of origin, sharp segregation of community and polarization of once generally mixed population in term of faith. The main objective of this paper therefore, was to analyze the effect of displacement on citizens' life and sustainability and to determine the extent to which the style of management of internally displaced persons (IDPs) affect the living condition of the affected population. In an attempt to address the topic under investigation, the study relied on authoritative and valid secondary source of data such as books, journals, magazines, national dailies, articles etc. The major finding of the paper revealed that crisis induced displacement can hamper development in its entire ramification in developing countries including Nigeria. Further evidence showed that although the emergence of Boko Haram crisis in the North-East geo political zone has resulted in the establishment of temporary camps managed by National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) and other international agencies, low priority is given by both the federal and state governments to IDPs issues. Besides, there is absence of clear cut policy and legal instruments and institutions to deal with pre-and post-displacement situations. The paper noted that most IDPs live in informal settlements or settlements within host communities and some of these arrangements lack sufficient access to food, water and sanitation, health and non-food items. It was also observed that governments have not allocated sufficient human and financial resources, complemented by

accountability and monitoring mechanisms to find durable solutions to IDPs. The paper recommended, among others that the national emergency management agency and other international agencies should be well equipped, trained and financed to meet up with current challenges. Governments should acquire the state-of-the-art facilities and infrastructures for the containment of disasters. Also, for displaced persons to be managed effectively there is need for accommodation, such that displaced persons are settled in satisfactory conditions of safety, nutrition, health and hygiene and that members of the same family are not separated. Adequate measures should be taken to ensure that government aids to displaced persons get to them instead of being diverted by corrupt government officials. Finally, for IDP management to be effective, it must be driven across all sectors, disciplines and resources. This requires the commitment of all the tiers of government, private sector as well as civil society organizations (CSOs).

**Keywords**: Internally, Displaced, Insurgency, North-East Geo Political Zone



# IMPACT OF MATHEMATICS IN ELECTRONICS USE IN THE PROVISION OF SECURITY NEEDED IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

¹Nwosu, Frederick Chukwuebuka, ²Oguagbaka, Samuel Kennedy & ³Akunna, Ogochukwu Agatha

'Department of Electrical/Electronic Engineering Federal Polytechnic Oko <sup>2©3</sup>Department of Mathematics/Statistics Federal Polytechnic Oko, Nigeria

#### **Abstract**

ne of the dreams in human society is provision of security. The Nigerian masses, in democratic governance, expect the government to ensure security in the society. However, science and technology can be applied in provision of security needed in a democratic society. An essential aspect of science and technology in this modern era is electronics. Part of resources employed in advancement of electronics is mathematics. The paper discussed the role of mathematics in electronics which in turn is useful in provision of security. Issues the paper focused on are mathematics as a language of science and technology, application of mathematics in electronics, and importance of electronics in provision of security. Recommendations made in the paper geared towards effective study and utilization of mathematics and electronics.

**Keywords:** Mathematics, Electronics, Democratic Society



# POLICY DEVELOPMENT: REDEFINING THE PUBLIC SPACE FOR TRUE DEMOCRACYINTHE 21ST CENTURY

# **Emmanuel U. Shebbs**

Department of Public Administration, University of Calabar, Calabar, Cross River State.

#### Abstract

he public space of the Nigerian society is dynamic in structure and function. With steady developments in the fundamentals of the Nigerian social order, occasioned by the 21stsyndrome, the society is constantly tweaked by unpredictable happenstances and new challenges. This analytical research examines the public space in the 21st century with its attendant complexities and policy problems. It recommends effective utility of public policy development strategies for identification of common grounds for true Democracy.

**Keywords**: Policy Development, Redefining, Democracy



# STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK FOR ADOPTING INNOVATION CAPABILITY AND CREATIVITY IN THE OPERATIONS OF NIGERIAN OILAND GAS SECTOR

# Nathaniel C. Ozigbo PhD

Department of Business Administration University of Abuja

#### **Abstract**

his study emphasizes that the key challenge for harnessing oil and gas resources are making the right strategic choices and synchronizing their implementation in a context that supports fiscal prudence and minimizes macroeconomic distortions. The study noted that Nigeria has not capitalize on its vast oil and gas resources because it has not developed adequate policy framework and strategic plans to do so, showing that the vast resources have not been harnessed and managed well to make any difference to the economy and well-being of Nigerians. The study argued that the reform agenda of past administration's effort to rapidly regenerate the nation's oil and gas sector economy to position Nigeria as one of the world's twenty biggest economies by the year 2020 has not made any significant improvement. The study recommended among others that to enhance the innovation capability, it is necessary to drive interaction among educational, research institutions and industrial firms with appropriate policies, and that government should face the challenges of infrastructural constraints as a matter of urgency.

**Keywords:** Strategic Framework, Innovation Capability, Creativity, Oil and Gas Sector



### THE ELITE AND POLITICIZATION OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA, 1999 - 2014

#### **Luke Amadi**

Department of Political Science and Administrative Studies, University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria

#### **Abstract**

he return to democracy in 1999 opens a novel vista of interrogation of the quality of Nigeria's democracy, from the dialectics of tenure elongation by former President Obasanjo at the end of his tenure in 2006, violation of human rights, the uncanny repertoire of constitutional abrogation by a cabal at the demise of President Yar'Adua in 2010, to corruption and insecurity that trailed the President Jonathan administration—The quality of Nigeria's democracy remains largely contestable. The paper conceptualizes the politicization of democracy which expediently defines and explains the "lip service" paid to democratic governance and values by the Nigeria political elite in the period under review and builds on the elite theory as a framework for broader elucidation of the dimensions and logic of politicization of democracy. These suppositions are important to explore the resurgence of democracy recession and challenges of institutionalization of democracy culture, as most fundamental implications of democracy failure and sustainable development. In particular, to understand the direction Nigeria's democracy is going—possible advancement or retreat and available policy options.

**Keywords**: Elite, Politicization, Democracy, Governance, Development, Nigeria



# IMPROVING TOURISM FOR ECONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

'Ebodili, Chuka C, B.A. (ED) Hons. MILR , M.A. , 'Okolo Buchi & 'Ewa Christabel Ifeoma

Federal College of Education (Technical)
Asaba, Delta State

### **Abstract**

he purpose of this paper is to examine in its totality tourism as a source of economic sustainability in national development. Tourism is one of the sectors for economic development of a nation. It is also one of the largest and the fastest growing industry in the world. Nigeria has abundant tourism components with numerous attractions ranging from places of natural beauty to cultural and historical heritage. These potentials could make her the leading tourism provider in Africa. Tourism is a value adding enterprise because it has the capacity of growing the economy by increasing the economic activities in the environment. It has become potentially a major source of income for some countries of the world. Apart from being an economic backbone of some nations, it has also helped in the social life of the host communities. This study focused on tourism as a means for sustainable development. It examined the benefits and importance of tourism in nation building, its potentials and the challenges facing the development of tourism sector in Nigerian. While trying to develop and establish the concept of tourism as a source of economic sustainability, the study observes that inadequate infrastructural facilities such as electricity, water and good roads were major problems facing the development of tourism in Nigeria. It therefore recommends that government and private sectors should give the needed attention to infrastructural development so as to boost tourism in Nigeria.

**Keywords:** Tourism, Economic, Sustainability



THE INCIDENCE OF MASS POVERTY AMIDST HIGH ECONOMIC GROWTH IN NIGERIA: THE EVIDENCE OF GROSS MISMANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES IN A DEMOCRACY 1999–2014

'Associate Prof. Damian Mbaegbu, BA (Hons), <sup>2</sup>Dr. Rosemary Obasi & <sup>3</sup>Dr. Chioma Ugwoke

<sup>1©3</sup>Department of Business Administration & Management, Modona University, Okija Campus <sup>2</sup>Department of Accounting, Benson Idahosa University, Benni City

#### **Abstract**

he incidence of mass poverty in Nigeria amidst high economic growth is evidence of gross mismanagement of resources by the leadership. The study spanned from 1999 to 2014. Available statistics had shown that Nigerian economy on the average had grown at the rate of 7.4% which compared favourably with the global average of 3.5%. However, within the study period World Bank reported that 7% (84 million) of the world's poorest people lived in Nigeria. Our objectives was unravel this paradox and find out if there was any significant relationship between the mass poverty and mismanagement of resources. Secondary data were sourced from National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Statistical Bulletin. The data were subjected to inferential statistical analyses and used to test the hypotheses formulated from the study. The finding was that mismanagement of resources had impacted significantly on the incidence of poverty in Nigeria. There had been many leakages from circular flow of income through high cost of governance, unbridled importation of foreign goods and capital flight. The researchers recommended ways to block the leakages through public policy thrust in order to increase domestic investment, create jobs and reduce the level of poverty.

**Keywords:** Incidence, Mass Poverty, High Economic Growth, Mismanagement, Resources, Democracy



### CLIMATE CHANGE AND SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT IN AKURE, NIGERIA

# <sup>1</sup>S. Yakubu (PhD) <sup>2</sup>K. J. Samuel & <sup>3</sup>S. O. Durowoju

Department of Geography, Osun State University Osogbo, Nigeria

#### **Abstract**

his paper examined the impact of climate change on solid waste management in Akure, Nigeria. While the management of waste is a matter of national and international concern, recent events in major cities of world have shown that the problems of waste management have become a "monster" that has aborted most efforts made by international, federal and state governments. It has been established that the process of waste management contributes to increasing generation of Green House Gases (GHGs) that cause climate change. The generation is more common in the developing countries particularly in capital city like Akure due to urbanization and industrialization. This justifies the need for adequate management of waste for sustainable development. Although, the volume of waste generated does not actually constitute major environmental problems, but the inability of both public and private agencies to keep up with the task of proper and efficient management of waste constitute the burden of environmental management and its impact on climate change as witnessed today. Haven identified problems of waste management in the area, some strategies for reducing green house gases in solid waste are suggested for effective and sustainable management of waste in order to control and reduce GHG in the atmosphere.

**Keywords**: Climate Change, Solid Waste Management

GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF HEALTHCARE DELIVERY, POVERTY ALLEVIATION, QUALITY AND AFFORDABLE EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICE DELIVERY: A CIVIL SOCIETY SOLUTION FROM THE LITERARY PERSPECTIVE

# 'MOGU, IBE FRANCIS (PhD) & 'MOKO, FINIAN IGBEDE (MR)

'Department of English and Literary Studies University of Calabar <sup>2</sup>Department of Philosophy University of Calabar

#### **Abstract**

he current paper aims at striking a nexus between sustainable development and good governance within the context of healthcare delivery, poverty alleviation, youth empowerment, and social service delivery in Nigeria, with a view to suggesting from a variety of literature, especially those of John Locke, Paulo Freire, and Prof. Chinua Achebe, a paradigm ship from the presidency-driven paradigm of development to a civil society-driven paradigm made possible by the literary tools of legal and media activism. The paper is critical of the current paradigm which the study identifies as largely based on the philosophies of the Four National Development Plans and the current 1978 Federal Character Principle of Governance in Nigeria. The study rejects the Singaporean paradigm, pointing out that Nigerians calling for the Singaporean example should be ready to tolerate some levels of benevolent dictatorship from the current political administration in the country president Mohammadu Buhari. The paper was motivated by the ugly realization that Nigeria is still rated as an underdeveloped country despite huge financial and natural resources. The paper adopted a non-empirical (analytical) method of research and proceeded to recommend from, especially, the political literature of John Locke, Paulo Freire, and Prof Chinua Chebe, via some imperfect Nigerian examples with the NADECO experience of 1993 in the country, the grooming of the Nigerian civil society by public universities in the country into a "fourth arm" of government and a "second political party" in a two-party state that would be run, no longer between PDP and APC, but between the Nigerian civil society and the government of Nigeria with the law and the press as their common judge

**Keywords:** Good Governance, Sustainable Development, Healthcare, Poverty, Education, Employment, Civil Society, Nigerian Government.



Note	4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Development

Note	4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Development

Note	4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Development

Note	4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Developmen
_	

Note	4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Development

Note	4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Development

4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Developmen

Note	4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Development

4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Developmen

Note	4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Developmen

Note	4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Development

Note	4thNigerian Strategic Conference on Governance & Sustainable Development