stage, the recorded data obtained from the field were translated to English language. In the second stage, the translated data were transcribed and verbatim quotations were utilized to describe the responses from the qualitative instrument; descriptive and informative issues that emerge from sorting, categorization were organized into easily retrievable sections. Each interview was given a code while field notes were broken up into sections identified by date, context and names. Other forms of identity of the respondents were removed from the transcription to ensure anonymity of the respondents. At the third stage, the data were examined in details and themes were identified. Lastly, relationships between the data categories were explored. The pattern and relationships found under the themes formed the basis of the findings which included extracts from the original data.

Ethical Consideration

Ethical clearance was obtained from Ekiti state teaching hospital (EKSUTH). At each of the selected study sites, all the participants were duly informed and their consents were sought after the objectives of the study had been explained to them for proper understanding of the study and to encourage their voluntary participation. Pseudo names were used to protect the identity of the participants. In addition, the interviewees were duly informed about the recording gadgets used and the participants preferred the language used to conduct the interview.

Findings and Discussion

Profiles of Participants

Out of the 15 participants, majority of the teenage mothers and pregnant girls in Ilokun and Irasa communities are 15 years with the value (9), while 2 are 16 years, and the remaining 4 are 17 years. In addition, all the 15 respondents are married and are from polygamous families. There are more Christians (8) than Muslims (7). High proportions of the respondents are farmers with the value (12) and (3) had no job. 3 of the respondents had Primary School Leaving Certificate, 11 had Junior Secondary School Certificate and only 1 of the respondents had Senior School Certificate. These revealed a very low level of educational attainment among the young ladies. Also, it was observed that the study community held marriage in high esteem and since education is known to be one of the major factors that delay ladies marriage (Barcena, 2013), the participants had to drop out of school; this being a significant factor which accounts for the prevalence of early teenage pregnancy and teenage motherhood in the communities.

Cultural Practices that Aid Teenage Pregnancy in the Study Communities

Cultural practices include norms, belief system, marriage practice or pattern, and other aspects of social life of the people that are societal based. In the study communities, the notion of sexuality vis-à-vis the teenager is deeply embedded in the cultural ethos of these migrant communities which in turn engenders unsafe sexual practices among the adolescents. The practices in the community enhance male authority over the female and sustain the cultural devaluation of women. The female child is brought up to accommodate male influence and instructions. The practice makes the women folk 'silent' on matters that have to do with age at marriage or choice of marriage partner. And the married women are equally quiescent on matters concerning the marriage of their daughters.

The cultural regulation of women folk has a very strong impact on the marriage of the girl-child who is denied the right to choose her spouse or determine her time of marriage. The

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teenage mothers and 10 pregnant teenagers' views on the factors influencing the occurrence of teenage pregnancy within the communities. One-on-one interviews built rapport between the researchers and the participants and also offered the participants the opportunity to reflect, speak, and be heard. (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009; cited in Agunbiade, 2014).

Purposive sampling technique was used in selecting two secondary schools from the communities – the only secondary school in Ilokun and the nearest secondary school to Irasa. This was due to the ages of the pupils in the school. In addition, the only health centre close to the two communities was selected. Seven (7) teenage girls were selected from the two schools using simple random sampling technique for the FGD sessions held in each school. In addition, two health teachers each were selected in each school for an In-depth Interview (IDI). Also, two doctors and a nurse were selected purposively for IDI in the only health centre close to the communities. One female and one male community leader, making two community leaders, were selected in each of the communities for IDI based on their knowledge on the culture and the belief system of the communities. Finally, two female-headed households and two-male headed households were selected for household interview, using purposive sampling technique. In all, a total number of 27 respondents were interviewed, with two FGD sessions participants.

Sample Selection

Recruitment of participants was among teenage girls (13-17) who are pregnant or nursing mothers residing in Ilokun or Irasa community. The rationale was to reduce bias in the interviews. The purposive selection of participants was with the assistance of an informant who knew a number of pregnant teenagers in the study location due to his profession as a midwife. He is a student of Nursing School in Ado Ekiti and he has been in the community from his childhood. This resulted in the initial selection of the core group of participants who referred us to friends and acquaintances who they perceived to be "similar to them." Despite the limitations with the snowball technique, (Karasz and McKinley 2007) observed that it is an approach that is useful for a study of this nature. Additional 4 pregnant teenagers and 5 teenage mothers were found with the assistance of peer referrals. In all, experiences of 15 willing teenage mothers and pregnant teenagers are presented in this study. Also, from the two FGD sessions we have fourteen participants and each FGD session lasted for about 50 minutes.

Interview Procedure

With an unstructured interview, interview guide which focused on the major aspect of the teenagers' lives were used. The first part dealt with their family structure. Next to this was a look at the socio-economic and cultural factors which led to the present conditions. The interviews were conducted in the participants preferred locations and language (Igede, and Ebira language), the indigenous language of the participants. Two females and a male field worker assisted the researchers in the data collection. The research assistants were trained with the interview guide. The interview sessions lasted an average of 55 minutes.

Analysis

A thematic content analysis approach as suggested by Ryan and Bernard (2003) was adopted in analyzing all the interviews. The primary aim throughout the analysis process was to make sense of the rich information to establish a sense of salient themes, patterns, and shared experiences (Marshall and Rossman 1995). The analysis was done in stages. At the first

males. Family as a social institution is a wedge for patriarchal practices by socializing the young to accept sexually differentiated roles. In Ilokun and Irasa culture, from a tender age, the socialization process differentiates the girl child from the boy child. Males are socialized to view themselves as breadwinners, strong, brave and heads of households, who should be able to give instruction and withstand any situation while females are taught to be obedient, silent when men are talking, submissive house keepers and second class citizen at home who could not take any decision on her own. The cause of such differentiation and discrimination is the fact that society views women as sexual beings and not as human beings (Charvet, 1982). McDowell and Pringle (1992) further state that women are not only constantly defined in relation to men, but are defined as dependent and subordinate to them as well. As a result, women are socialized to acquire those qualities, which fit them into a relationship of dependence on men. These qualities include gentleness, passivity, submission and striving to please men always (Moore, 2013). Based on Ilokun and Irasa peoples' culture, once a girl reaches puberty age all teachings are directed towards pleasing one's husband as well as being a gentle and obedient wife. Her sexuality is further defined for her, as she is taught on how to use it for the benefit of the male race.

Furthermore, these cultural teachings foster a dependence syndrome. This is why their women depend heavily on their husbands for support. Also, patriarchal attitudes are found in Christianity and Islamic religion, and are even more pronounced in Islamic religion as women are not allowed to lead or worship where men are worshiping. It is a practice that has strengthened the traditional customs which men use to control women's sexuality. (Human Rights Monitor, 2001).

Method

The Study Setting

The study population consisted of pregnant teenagers and teenage mothers in Ilokun and Irasa communities of Ado local government area of Ekiti State, Nigeria. Ilokun and Irasa communities are situated along Iworoko Ekiti. Ilokun community is a farm settlement dominated by Ebira people. The Ebira people are Nupoid-speaking ethno-linguistic group from Kogi State and Irasa community is a Farm settlement dominated by Igede people from Benue State. The two migrant communities are from the north central Nigeria settling in rural communities in Ado local government area of Ekiti State. They are majorly farmers; they specialised in farm products like yam, cassava, pepper and maize. Their women and children also assist in the selling of the farm products. Ilokun and Irasa communities are very close to Ekiti State University and they are one of the biggest farm settlements in Ado local government with over 1500 residence. Ilokun and Irasa communities are situated about 5km to Ado Ekiti town and about 20Km to Iworoko Ekiti. The Ilokun people are majorly Muslim who believe so much in Islamic teachings of authority of the father or man while the Irasa people are dominated by Christians but also have similar marriage practice. They are core adherents of polygamous marriages. These two communities have similar marriage practices which subject their female children to early marriage.

Design

The study used descriptive cross sectional design to document the experiences of teenage mothers arising from child marriage and pregnancies within wedlock in the study communities. Face-to-face in-depth interviews were used to obtain information from 5

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Editorial Comments

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

age has been seen as an incredibly feminist issue. Sigot (2000) (in Aina, Aransiola & Osezua 2006) offers that, in a patriarchal setting, the woman achieves her personality and status simply by bearing and caring for children. Motherhood, therefore, gives the married woman cultural dignity and respect, while simultaneously providing the validation of her subordination. In addition, (Ainal etal 2006:6) stated that "Women generally lack sexual autonomy in many cultures of the world, thus, unwanted pregnancies as a result of powerlessness over contraception usage are the end result".

Child marriages can therefore be described as teenage girls who are forced into marriage against their will before the age of consent, which is eighteen years. Teenage mothers are those who have given birth to child/children before age eighteen, which is the legal age in Nigeria. Child marriage happens because adults who are significant others in the lives of the teenagers believe they have the right to impose marriage on them. Teenagers, who are seen as prospective mothers are denied rights to make a choice as to who they want to have marital relationships with. Their dignity and the opportunity to make choices that are central to their lives are seriously undermined. Choice de□nes humans with rights and allows one to realize one's potentials. Child marriage robs girls of this chance (UNICEF, 2015). Despite the fact that Nigeria Child's Right provision forbids betrothal and marriage of children, many cultural denials of female children of their sexual right in most Nigerian rural communities hide under patriarchy rule of men's autonomous authority in the family.

Radical Feminism Theory

Radical feminism was a branch of feminism which came surfaced during the second wave of feminism in the 1960s. At this point in time, women had won the right to vote and were working more outside of the home. In addition, the United States had gone through the sexual revolution which had lowered the pressure for people to be strictly monogamous and had given them more room for sexual expression. In other words, life for women had greatly improved over the previous half century. However, women still experienced oppression on a regular basis.

Basic proposition of Radical Feminism

Their beliefs are based on the idea that the main cause of women's oppression originates from social roles and institutional structures being constructed from *male supremacy* and *patriarchy*.

They believed that these were deliberate power plays by men and that the institutions and systems that supported this oppression were just the tools they used to maintain control.

It emphasizes the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women, or, more specifically, social dominance of women by men.

They view patriarchy as dividing rights, privileges and power primarily by gender, and as a result oppressing women and privileging men.

Radical feminism defines patriarchy as a social system in which men appropriate all social roles and keep women in subordinate positions. They argue that patriarchal attitudes are bred in the family through the socialization processes. These socialization processes include marriage, religion and patriarchal practices which lead to the control of female sexuality by

the incidences of teenage pregnancy and give equal access to essential facilities which will subsequently improve the health and social wellbeing of teenagers in low-income countries like Nigeria.

Invariably, the Federal Republic of Nigeria has a population of more than 160 million, the largest in Africa and a fast-growing economy. About 70 per cent of the population live in rural areas with extreme poverty and limited access to services such as good schools, good roads and well equipped health centres and other social amenities like safe drinking water (Sarkar & Charabarti, 2007). Moreover, due to the inadequate and dilapidated infrastructural facilities common to majority of the rural communities in Nigeria, poverty is especially severe among rural dwellers (Brown & Brown, 2008). This in turn increases the menace of teenage pregnancy in the rural areas, as up to 80 per cent of the population live below the poverty line. The limited social services and infrastructures coupled with the difficulties faced by dwellers in rural communities make some teenagers to engage in illicit and often unprotected sexes which lead to pregnancy, STIs, and unsafe abortion.(Envuladu, Agbo, Ohize & Zokah, 2014).

Based on the foregoing, teenage pregnancy has therefore assumed a socio-economic challenge and an important public health problem for rural communities(Kanku & Mash, 2010) . Pregnant teenagers and teenage mothers are more likely to experience complications during pregnancy and delivery than older mothers (Amoran, 2012). According to the National Population Commission (NPC), the rate of teenage mothers in the country as at 2008 was 22.9% while that of pregnant teenagers was 31.5%. It was then projected that the figures may increase to over 6 million by the year 2015(National Population Commission (NPC) (Nigeria) and ICF Macro 2009) . Added to this threat, Obansa & Orimisan (2013) noted that the health, social and economic implications of teenage pregnancies are enormous as pregnancy is the greatest killer of teenagers in Nigeria. This invariably means that teenage girls in rural settings lack adequate knowledge on how to cater for themselves during pregnancies. (WHO & UNICEF 2014).

Rurality, Patriarchy and Child marriage

Rural environment represents the framework of regulations, institutions, and practices in villages which define parameters for the sustainable use of environmental resources while ensuring security of livelihood and a reasonable quality of life . (Hahn & Nunan, 2000)Services are often difficult to access, often little choices are provided at times and in ways which are inappropriate and often cannot provide the confidentiality and anonymity which young people feel they need as they explore their sexuality. Based on this, rurality in the context of this study simply means the environment/communities whose dwellers are primarily farmers, with varying cultural practices, determined by the topography and ecology of the location.

Patriarchy in this study is a social system in which family systems or entire societies are organized around the idea of father-rule, where males are the primary authority figures in the family. According to Oke (2006), patriarchy is a system where men are in authority over women in all aspects. Radical Feminists define patriarchy as a social system in which men are appropriated with social roles and keep women in subordinate positions. Teenage pregnancy is inherently patriarchal in the sense that it keeps a woman in her place, and usually does so for life(Deanna, 2012). In addition,(Deanna, 2012) argues further that supporting teenage mothers and a woman's right to choose the course of her own life by having children at a young

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

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What about their Rights? Social-Cultural Factors in Early Girl-Child Marriage Practices and Teenage Motherhood among Migrant Settlers of Ilokun and Irasa Communities of South Western Nigeria

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Abstract
The study documents the experiences of teenage mothers arising from child marriage practices, which are common phenomena among migrant settlers of Ilokun and Irasa communities in Ekiti State, Nigeria. Ilokun community is dominated by Ebira people; they are Nupoid-speaking ethno-linguistic group from Kogi State while Irasa community is dominated by Igede people from Benue State. Teenage motherhood and early child bearing pose critical challenges to these young mothers in particular, both directly and indirectly in terms of their physical health and emotional wellbeing. More often than not, teenage mothers suffer disillusionment as a result of unfulfilled aspirations. Hence, the article aims to explore the influences of socio-cultural factors in the continual increase of teenage pregnancy and motherhood in the Ilokun and Irasa communities. Empirical data were generated using in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with interviewees and participants including household heads, pregnant teenagers, teenage mothers, health practitioners and traditional rulers. Findings revealed that rurality is a critical factor that affects social behaviour of many of the migrants who are now settlers in the selected communities. Another important finding is the resilience manifested by both communities in cultural retention of early marriage practices, despite the neighbouring community's value for educational attainment for girl children. Moreover, majority of teenage mothers showed a strong sense of despair about their predicament which, according to them, had considerably hindered their access to healthy life chances. Although, from the findings, Ilokun people seems to be more flexible on issues concerning marriage than Irasa people, the two communities share the same cultural value for male dominance and control which affects the position of women and female child in the two communities. The study concluded that sustainable development in a nation is not achievable when the lives of her growing population are still adversely affected by harmful cultural practices that are jeopardizing their potentials.

Keywords: Migrant, Rights, Motherhood, Girl-Child Marriage

Introduction

In Nigeria, the rate of teenage mothers was reported in 2008 to be 22.9% with the poor socio-demographic status of the pregnant teens playing a major role in the poor maternal and child health indices which, in turn, contributed to the slow pace of attainment of the related Sustainable Development Goals (MDGs) (Envuladu, Agbo, Ohize & Zokah, 2014). Buga, Amoko and Ncayiyana (2006) had enumerated the risk factors associated with teenage pregnancy as disruption of education, future unemployment, sexually transmitted infections, including the dreaded HIV-AIDS, poor mental health, increased risk of preterm births, among others. This has far-reaching implications on the development of policies that would reduce

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

The study concluded that government regulations have great influence on the survival of SMEs as the regulations shape the way and manner SMEs operate in Nigeria, Kwara state inclusive. Besides, tax policy and growth of SMEs had a very strong relationship such that favourable tax policy such as tax holiday, tax bonus, legislation against multiple taxation etc, could enhance and encourage the existing and potential business man to invest heavily when taxes that are payable to different levels of government are well regulated.

Recommendations

i. Government should assist SMEs through the promotion of rules and regulations that is favorable to the SMEs such as tax holidays, legislation against multiple tax imposed by government at various levels, reduction in interest rate payable on business loans, making foreign exchange accessibility, building our foreign reserve to make our currency worthwhile and discourage the use of foreign goods through high importation tariffs, etc.

ii. Government should seriously supervise the activities of the various agencies established to help actualize its mandate of provision of needed support to SMEs in terms of financing, regulatory and monitoring to avoid possible excesses.

iii. Government should strengthen a good communication mechanism with SMEs owners through their existing bodies so as to give room for synergy in getting direct feedback on the efficacy or effect of the various regulations and policies of government targeted at enhancing the growth and development of their businesses. A good feedback mechanism is important to avoid a window dressing one way communication and feedback as corruption has eating deep in the country.

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Abstract
Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) have been recognized by government and development experts, most especially the developing countries of Africa, as the main engine of economic growth and major factor in promoting private sector development and partnership. Nigeria has facilitated the growth of SMEs through the creation of many agencies, institutions and promulgation of laws and regulations that aid government in regulating and boosting the growth and development of SMEs. Therefore, this study seeks to examine the impact of government regulations on the survival of SMEs in Kwara State. Other specific objectives were to *examine the extent to which government regulations influence the survival of SMEs and determine the nature of the relationship that exists between tax policy and growth of SMEs.* Questionnaire was served to 144 out of 226 registered SMEs in Kwara State through stratified, simple random sampling technique. The two hypotheses formulated were tested through regression and correlation analysis. *Findings of the study revealed that* government regulations have significant influence on the survival of SMEs (r^2=73.2%, p-value<0.05) and that strong relationship exist between tax policy and the growth of SMEs (P-value<0.05). *The study therefore recommends that government should legislate against multiple taxation and make funds available to regulatory agencies and financial institutions established statutorily to cater for the growth and survival of SMEs.*

Keywords: Government Regulations; Government Policies; Small and Medium Enterprises; Tax Policy.

	tailed)					
	N	137	137			
Company tax	Pearson Correlation	.768	.558	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000			
	N	137	137	137		
Value added tax	Pearson Correlation	.627	.471*	.427**	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.003	.000		
	N	137	137	137	137	
SMEs growth	Pearson Correlation	.672	.521	.833*	.629	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000	.001	.003	
	N	137	137	137	137	137

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Sources: Researcher's computation, 2017

The table above is a correlation matrix that reveals the nature of relationship that exists among tax policy variables and SMEs growth. Interchangeably, strong and positive relationship exist among the variables of tax policy while on the other hand, the variables were significant and positively related with SMEs growth. This was evidenced by the p-value of less than the 0.05 level of significance.

Based on the above result of the analysis, most of the variables were found to have positive and statistically significant relationship among each other. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected while the alternative is accepted, i.e. there is a significant relationship between tax policy and growth of SMEs. This outcome, however, is in tandem with the findings of Stanislous, Norman and Reginald. (2012)

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Access to Capital	.575	.480	.571	9.32	.000
Business Culture	.527	.358	.598	3.927	.000
Legal Protection of Property Rights	.858	.057	.388	12.761	.000

a. Dependent Variable: SMEs survival

Source: Researcher's Computation, 2017

The table above reveals the coefficient values of the independent variable where all the proxies to government regulations were positive and thus significantly influenced the survival of SMEs. The probability values of 0.000 as less than 0.05 evidence this assertion. This led to the reflection of the null hypothesis and acceptance of alternative hypothesis which states that government regulations have significant impact on SMEs survival. This result is in line with the conclusion of Keter. (2004)

H_{02}: There is no significant relationship between tax policy and growth of SMEs.

Correlations

		Personal income tax	Business premises permit	Company tax	Value added tax	SMEs growth
Personal income tax	Pearson Correlation	1				
	Sig. (2-tailed)					
	N	137				
Business premises permit	Pearson Correlation	.533	1			
	Sig. (2-	.000				

Introduction

Since the early part of the post independence Nigeria, researchers and economists have identified the continuous existence of small-scale industries in less developed economies as necessary due to the inadequacy of capital to acquire the needed high technological equipment and administrative capability expected of big organizations. They further argued that as time goes on, the small traditional type of enterprise would from one sector to the other, be succeeded by modern forms of large-scale production.

Therefore, in order to ensure an orderly switch, small scale enterprises were appreciated to deserve getting support, but mainly in areas where modern techniques could not be applied so immediately. Successive governments in Nigeria has since independence align to the general belief in the need for consistent promotion of small and medium scale enterprises as a basis of economic advancement. This is because of its apparent consequence in guaranteeing sustained per-capita income, enhanced productivity, employment generation and promotion of effective and efficient use of available human and material resources.

The Federal government of Nigeria has facilitated the growth of SMEs through the creation of many institutions such as the Nigerian Industrial Development Bank (NIDB), Bank of Industry (BOI) and the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN), to mention but a view. This is because of her concern for the survival of the SMEs.

Undoubtedly, successive government in Nigeria have in the last three decades shown interest in ensuring satisfactory financing for SMEs by establishing various schemes and specialized financial institution to provide suitable working capital to the sub-sector. Meanwhile, evaluation of government regulations to improve the performance of small business sector attracted a great deal of discuss and empirical enquiries in recent years.

Government regulation is referred to as a legal provision that creates, limits, or constrains a right, creates or limits a duty, or allocates a responsibility. Regulation can take many forms: legal restrictions promulgated by a government authority, contractual obligations that bind many parties, self-regulation by an industry such as through a trade association, social regulation, co-regulation, or market regulation. One can consider regulation as actions of conduct imposing sanctions, such as a fine, to the extent permitted by the law of the land. (Boundless, 2016).

However, government regulation is key to business operation. It is either a factor that promotes the performance of SMEs or an obstacle to it (OECD, 2017). Hence, SMEs owners today are faced with different regulations to accomplish their business objectives. It is in line with this background that this study seeks to examine the influence of government regulations on the survival of some selected SMEs in Kwara State.

Research Problem

Government from time to time has done much through the establishment of various agencies and even the enactment of laws and regulations to aid the growth and survival of SMEs in Nigeria. Ironically, it has so far proved ineffective as the growth of SMEs still leaves much to be desired, especially in Kwara State. Besides, a good number of SMEs established many years back are growing at snail speed, while some have even gone on extinction and the rate at

which new ones are coming up is far from being encouraging.

The imposition of multiple taxes on businesses by government at various levels constitutes a great barrier to the growth of SMEs. Taxes such as: business premises permit (B.P.P), personal income tax (P.I.T), environmental sanitation certificate through a third party agent and all sorts of taxes have made many owners to fall while some quits totally for other jobs. Favorable government regulations, notwithstanding the security challenges and the dearth of infrastructural facilities such as stable electricity, good road, etc. constitute great barrier.

Research Questions

Based on the foregoing, the following research questions were raised:

i. To what extent do government regulations influence the survival of SMEs□

ii. What nature of relationship exists between tax policy and the growth of SMEs□

Research Objectives

The main objective of this study is to examine the impact of government regulations on the survival of SMEs in Kwara State. Specifically, the study sought to:

i. examine the extent to which government regulations influence the survival of SMEs; and

ii. determine the nature of the relationship that exists between tax policy and growth of SMEs.

Research Hypotheses

H01: Government regulations have no significant influence on the survival of SMEs.

H02: There is no significant relationship between tax policy and the growth of SMEs.

Literature Review

The Concept of Regulation

A regulation is a legal provision that creates, limits, or constrains a right, creates or limits a duty, or allocates a responsibility. Regulation can take many forms: legal restrictions promulgated by a government authority, contractual obligations that bind many parties, self-regulation by an industry such as through a trade association, social regulation, co-regulation, or market regulation. One can consider regulation as actions of conduct imposing sanctions, such as a fine, to the extent permitted by the law of the land.

Regulatory agencies deal in the areas of administrative law, regulatory law, secondary legislation, and rulemaking (codifying and enforcing rules and regulations and imposing supervision or oversight for the benefit of the public at large). The existence of independent regulatory agencies is justified by the complexity of certain regulatory and supervisory tasks that require expertise, the need for rapid implementation of public authority in certain sectors, and the drawbacks of political interference. Some independent regulatory agencies perform investigations or audits, and other may fine the relevant parties and order certain measures. (Boundless, 2016)

Data Presentation and Analysis

Test of Hypotheses

H_{01}: Government regulations have no significant influence on survival of SMEs.

Model Summary

Mode	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.650[a]	.732	.651	.63938

a. Predictors: (Constant), Legal Protection of Property Rights, Tax Policy, Regulatory Policy, Business culture, Access to Capital.

Source: Researcher's Computation, 2017

The table above is a model summary for the tested hypothesis where correlation coefficient of 0.650 signifies that government regulation variables were strong, positive and jointly related to the survival of SMEs. It also reveals the R-square value of 0.732 which suggests that Government regulation variables jointly accounted for 73.2% when determining SMEs survival while the remaining 26.8% was accounted for by the exogenous variable not considered by the model.

ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig
	Regression	13.439	5	.688	5.972	.000[b]
1.	Residual	7.947	69	.115		
	Total	21.386	74			

a. Dependent Variable: SMEs survival

b. Predictors: (Constant), Legal Protection of Property Rights, Tax Policy, Regulatory Policy, Business culture, Access to Capital

Source: Researcher's computation, 2017

The ANOVA table above reveals the F-statistic value of 5.972 to be significant because the probability value of 0.000 is less than the 0.05 level of significance. This signifies that government regulations proxies were jointly significant and have significant effect on SMEs survival.

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
	(Constant)	4.998	.730		6.851	.000
	Tax Policy	.655	.148	.639	8.375	.000
1	Regulatory Policy	.672	.348	.596	9.663	.000

As survival-based theory argued, if SMEs are not adapting to the ever-changing government policies and become efficient in it, it will simply go on extinction.
The study therefore adopts both theories as they touch issues bothering on determinant of and emergence of government policies, rules and regulations as well as its effect on the survival of the corporate system.

Empirical Framework
Keter (2004) examined the influence of government regulations and procedures on the establishment of SMEs in the rural areas of Kesses Division in Kenya. Probability sampling techniques were employed in the research to select a sample of 105 enterprises from the population of 700 SMEs in Kesses Division. The study used questionnaire and interview to elicit information from the respondents. Meanwhile, the quantitative analysis was done through the use of Microsoft computer data processing and Microsoft Excel while qualitative analysis was carried out using content analysis of the literature reviewed and by making the necessary inferences. The error margins were established using statistical error analysis. The study concluded that regulatory frameworks affect business establishment, growth and competitiveness of enterprises in Kesses division more positively than negatively.
Stanislous, Norman and Reginald (2012) conducted a study on the impact of government and other institutions' support on the performance of Small and Medium Enterprises in the Manufacturing Sector in Harare, Zimbabwe. Out of the target population of 609 SMEs, a sample size of 241 SMEs owners participated in the study. Data analysis employed regression and analysis of variance to statistically test the assertion. The study discovered that SMEs in the manufacturing sector valued and appreciated government and other institutions' initiatives to promote their growth and development. These initiatives include investment promotion, access to finance, favourable tax policy, etc.

Gap in Literature
The empirical reviews above attest to the several studies conducted on government regulations and SME's survival in developing countries of Africa. Though the studies dwell on issues of survival of SMEs, it is not across various sectors or types of business as done by this study. Besides, the studies were carried out in countries with different social, cultural and regulatory business environment with Nigeria.

Methodology
The study adopted survey research design to inquire the impact of government regulation on the survival of SMEs in Kwara State by administering a well structured questionnaire to 144 owners of Small and Medium Scale businesses from the total population of registered 226 SMEs in Kwara State (SMEDAN, 2013) through the use of Taro Yamani sample size determination formula. Out of 144 copies of questionnaire administered only 137 were adequately completed, filled and returned which brings the response rates to 95%. Stratified and Simple Random Sampling techniques were adopted for the distribution of the questionnaire. Correlation and multiple regression analysis were used to test the stated hypotheses with the aid of statistical packages for social science (SPSS) software.

The Concept of Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs)
Small and medium scale enterprise is seen in this study as an enterprise whose total assets (excluding land and buildings) are above five million naira but not exceeding five hundred million naira with a total workforce of 11 to 200 employees. (BOI, 2017)
Strategies for Encouraging Small and Medium Enterprises
Business activities lead to economic growth and help to reduce poverty, create a middle class, and- foster stability. It is in the interest of all governments to implement regulations to foster entrepreneurship and reap the benefits of its activity. Among the most successful strategies for encouraging small and medium enterprises are changes in tax policy, regulatory policy, access to capital, and the legal protection of property rights. (Mawoli & Aliyu, 2010)

Tax Policy and SMEs Survival
There is no doubt the fact that governments use taxes to raise money, but at the same time taxes increase the cost of running business. Therefore, policy makers need to balance the goals of raising revenue for infrastructural development and that of promoting entrepreneurship through corporate tax rate reductions, tax credits for investment or education, tax holidays, etc., as proven methods for encouraging the growth and survival of SMEs.
Access to Capital and SMEs survival
Starting a business requires capital. There are required procedures and fees as well as the initial costs of the new enterprise itself. Therefore, the most important activity a government can undertake is to assist potential SMEs with finding money for start-ups. This policy makes many loans available for risky new businesses. This they do through the establishment of various financing institutions such as Bank of Industry (BOI), Bank of Agriculture, etc. (Mawoli & Aliyu, 2010)

Legal Protection of Property Right and SMEs Survival
Small business can thrive where there is respect for individual property rights and a legal system to protect those rights. Without property rights, there is little incentive to create or invest. (Mawoli & Aliyu, 2010)
Effects of Government Policies on Businesses
According to Williams (2008), governments establish many rules and regulations that guide businesses. Businesses will normally change the way they operate when government changes these rules and regulations. Government economic policy and market regulations have an influence on the competitiveness and profitability of businesses. This includes: market catalyst, political stability, level of government spending, interest rate and government regulations in term of its perceived fairness and effectiveness.
Problems and Challenges of SMEs in Nigeria
Basil (2005) identified the following as the problems and challenges militating against the growth and survival of Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) in Nigeria.

Dearth of Infrastructural Facilities
Inadequate, inefficient, and at times, non-functional infrastructural facilities, which tend to escalate costs of operation as SMEs are forced to resort to private provisioning of utilities such as road, water, electricity, transportation, communication, etc.

Bureaucratic Bottlenecks

Bureaucratic bottlenecks and inefficiency in the administration of incentives and support facilities provided by the government. This discourages would-be entrepreneurs of SMEs while stifling existing ones.

Difficulty in Accessing Fund

Lack of easy access to funding/credits, which can be traceable to the reluctance of banks to extend credit to them owing, among others, to poor and inadequate documentation of business proposals, lack of appropriate and adequate collateral, high cost of administration and management of small loans as well as high interest rates. There is also discrimination from banks which are averse to the risk of lending to SMEs especially startups.

Uneven Competition

Uneven competition arising from import tariffs, which at times favour imported finished products. Besides, lack of access to appropriate technology as well as near absence of research and development also hinders the growth and survival of SMEs. High dependence on imported raw materials with attendant high foreign exchange cost and scarcity at times reduces the competitive strength of SMEs.

Influence of Economic Hardship on the Consumers

Weak demand for products, arising from low and dwindling consumer purchasing power aggravated by lack of patronage of locally produced goods by the general-public as well as those in authority constitutes a barrier to the survival of SMEs in Nigeria, Kwara state inclusive.

Unpatriotic Trade Practices

Unfair trade practices are characterized by the dumping and importation of substandard goods by unscrupulous businessmen. This situation is currently being aggravated by the effect of globalization and trade liberalization, which make it difficult for SMEs to compete favourably even in local/home markets.

Solutions to the Problem of Small and Medium Scale Enterprise in Nigeria

Provision of Adequate Infrastructure

Efforts should be made by government to ensure that adequate physical infrastructures like: good road network, adequate supply of electricity, good health care system, and good communication system are all in place in a bid to further encourage small and medium enterprise in participating actively in the sub-sector of the economy.

Elimination of Multiple Taxes

This should be ensured in order to further encourage business owners to participate actively in the private sector of the economy. Furthermore, effort should be made to remove any sort of unnecessary dues, levies and taxes which have the tendency of frustrating small business owners, and replace them with single tax system.

Provision of Adequate Capacity Building

Capacity building is arguably one of the major constraints of SME's in Nigeria. However, efforts should be made to address the issue of marketing, accounting, administrative, information and technology, and technical problems in order to further enlighten entrepreneurs.

Provision of Accessible Credit Facilities

Government should make sure that entrepreneurs have easy access to credit facilities, either through government agencies like SMEDAN (small and medium enterprise development agency of Nigeria). This will eliminate the hassle associated with obtaining high interest loan from banks.

Prospects of Small and Medium Scale Enterprise in Nigeria

Economic development: The role of SME's in economic development cannot be overemphasized. This is owing to the fact that the profits made by these entrepreneurs flows as an increase into the national income and thereby increases the nation' s Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The contribution of SME's in industrial sector to the Nigerian Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was valued at 37% thereby making it the second largest contributor to the nation' s GDP after the oil sector (SMEDAN, 2005).

Encourage investment: The introduction of an enabling environment for SME' s in the sub-sector will further attract both local and foreign investors into the private sector of the economy.

Structural balance: SME's will enhance structural balance in terms of small and large scale sectors of the industry as well as bring about rural-urban development.

Encourage technological development and innovation: SME's will produce specialized items in small quantity to meet current and diverse demands in the market.

Healthy competition: The emergence of SME's will bring about healthy competition in the market among several competitors.

Creation of employment opportunities: Entrepreneurship encourage the creation of employment opportunities for the Nigerian citizens, which in turn increases the participation of small business owners in contributing to the nation' s development, by drastically reducing unemployment in our society. The existence of small businesses in the country has provided her citizens with more jobs than the multinationals. (SMEDAN, 2013).

Theoretical Framework

Elite Theory

In the middle of 1848-1923, Vilfredo Pareto propounded the elite theory. Approached from the perspective of elite theory, public policy can be regarded as reflecting the values and preferences of the governing elite. The essential argument of elite theory is that public policy is not determined by the demands and actions of the people or the "masses" but rather by the ruling elite whose preferences are carried into effect by public officials and agencies.

The Survival-Based Theory

This theory was initially introduced by prominent researchers in the field of economics (such as Schumpeter (1934), Alchian (1950), Harrod (1939) and Marshall (1949). The survival-based view in strategic management emphasized on the assumptions that in order to survive, organizations has to deploy strategies that should focused on running very efficient operations and can respond rapidly to the changing of competitive environment (Khairuddin, 2005), since the one that survive is the one that is the fittest and most able to adapt to the environment.

developed countries and impoverished the third world countries from where these resources are derived.

The advocates of the theory of neo-imperialism argued that although imperialistic expansion has come to an end, the imperialists control the economy of the erstwhile colonies even though they gained political independence. The developed countries were able to accomplish this through their pre-eminent position in world trade and activities.Developed nations consolidate this advantage position by dictating terms of transactions of international trade (see Offiong, 1980; Warren, 1981). Thus, while the developing countries may claim to be politically independent, they are still caged-in theory, which posits that the uneven development between the industrialised nations and third world countries is such that the former play dominant role while the latter become independent. The dependent status of the third world countries stem from their position as former colonies that sell cash crops and other raw materials needed by the industries of the developed industrial societies. Thus, their impoverishment becomes a direct consequence of their subordinate status while the industrialised societies become richer at the expense of the third world countries (Giddens, 1996).

World system theory is yet another theory that was propounded to explain the inequality existing between the developed and less developed countries of the world. As expounded by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1979), the world system theory states that the capitalist economic expansion has depicted the global community as a system consisting of the core, the semi periphery, the periphery of the periphery (i.e. the external arena). The core countries were those that took the lead in developing modern economic enterprise while the semi-periphery is made up of those who were linked with them in independent trading relationship notwithstanding their fairly stagnant economy (Giddens, 1996). The peripheral countries, on the other hand, were those who were integrated in the capitalist economy as sole supplier of raw materials to the core while the external arena or periphery were those outside the commercial links established by the core. African countries constituted the bulk of the external arena until colonialism and subsequently multi-national corporations got them integrated as the periphery. Today the bulk of third world countries are among the peripheral actors in the world economic system. Many have even been relegated to the periphery of the periphery.

In the understanding of the concept globalization, which is rooted in economic value and focus to serve the interest and common good and welfare of mankind and humanity, this paper, will adopt the "Imcercantile Jamboree" theory by Fraser and Long (1992) where they observed the irrelevance of national sovereignty and national boundaries in terms of world markets and trade and the denationalization of capital flows. This theory takes for granted that all nations of the world will participate in a "mercantile jamboree" where all nations are assumed to be equal and thus even the poor nations will benefit equally as the developed ones, irrespective of their contributions to such trade, from the income growth that will arise from the conjecture.

ECA (2000) lends credence to the expected positive result of this causal relationship particularly to the developing countries when it observed that in the context of globalization and poverty reduction, Africa's integration into the global economy and regional integration will enhance benefits from the mutual exchange of goods, services and financial assets and

time and the choice of marriage partner of the girl-child is ultimately the prerogative of the father. This is an important factor in the communities that culminates in an increase in the occurrence of teenage pregnancy.

Teenage pregnancy is not viewed as a social vice by the people of Ilokun and Irasa communities. Based on the fact that the communities are culturally rooted in patriarchal system and belief so much in the father autonomous authority in the family, they practice polyandry which encourages large family size and increase their poverty level. In the two communities, girls are married off early because they are viewed as 'someone else's wealth' and even a liability to be got rid of as soon as possible. In addition, some parents think that if they marry off their daughters earlier, then they can reduce the expenditure of food and education (Sharma, 2002). In response to how Irasa community view teenage pregnancy, a key informant affirmed thus:

> Based on our custom, a lady must be given out in marriage from age fourteen upwards. This is done to prevent her from becoming a prostitute, because if she is under the control of her husband, no man can just come to her, they will be afraid of her husband and as you know that "ile ti ko bani lekun ni were n sa wo" (A house without door is easily infiltrated by a mad man)…

Extract 1: IDI/Male/80 years/community leader

He emphasized the primacy of a firm decision of the father on his daughter's choice at marriage. In almost all instances, a girl's choice of a marriage partner should be treated as irrelevant or as a brazen effort to usurp the father's duty. When asked about whether or not the girl to be married out would be satisfied or happy with the suitor chosen for her by the father, the informant retorted (with amusement):

> ….as long as the father of a girl is in support of the marriage irrespective of the age of the girl, the man can marry her. You know in our culture the father determines the right time to give his daughter hands out in marriage; not the mother or the girl. Women are not allowed to intervene in any crucial matter in our culture.

Extract 2: IDI/Male/80 years/Irasa/community leader

This practice of disregarding the choices of the girl-child in marriage matters even in this 21st century looks queer in the face of modernization, female liberation and rational choice campaigns. The practice in most modern societies in Nigeria is that matured females choose, court, and determine marriage partners from among their many suitors. Only after that is the approval and blessing of the parents sought. In certain instances, the marriage is contracted with or without the parents' approval. What most people emphasize as the basis of marriage these days is 'love'.

However, in the situation where the feelings and the choice of the girl-child on the issues of her marriage rarely matters, questions of how such a practice is sustained and why it subsists are very important. By anthropological intuition, and in line with the "functionalist perspective," a cultural practice only subsists because it performs the function of maintaining the structure of the society. Drawing more on this principle, therefore, since teenage pregnancy is encouraged by the communities through early marriage, the choice of a marriage

partner cannot be left in the hands of the uncouth, inexperienced teenage girl. The father therefore has to play the role of a guardian in choosing a marriage partner from a family in whose care he is confident, he could entrust his inexperienced child. In a way, teenage pregnancy has been used as a way to checkmate irresponsible sexual adventures by the adolescents. The negative effect of the cultural practice of teenage pregnancy through early marriage is very obvious. Pregnant girls and expecting teenage mothers automatically drop out of school. One of the health education teachers interviewed revealed that the marriage custom in the community is peculiar. He confirmed that the people value their custom over their children's education. He explained that the children hardly complete their junior secondary education because of the insistence of their parents to give them (the female ones) out in marriage. He concluded that this act predisposes the female child to helplessness and fatalism in early and later life.

Under normal circumstances, early marriage and consequently teenage pregnancy enhances fecundity and may lead to large family size. This may be another 'functional' purpose of teenage pregnancy in the study community. As earlier discussed, these two settlers are completely agrarian and derive their livelihood from the cultivation of yams and other tuberous food crops. The part played by family labour in such communities cannot be over-emphasized.

From the above, it is apparent that teenage pregnancy is tacitly supported by the culture of the subjects of study through the endorsement of Child marriage, large family size which rests on a woman's fecundity and commencement of child delivery at an early age, which encourages teenage pregnancy in the community. The quest to prevent promiscuity by child marriage attachment and the need for large labour in the farm are also contributing factors. It is a known fact that when a teenager starts having children, the tendency is higher that such a person will not only attain her desired family size at the end of her reproductive age but will have more children than she would have loved to have, if she did not start motherhood as a teenager.

Patriarchy

Findings from the study reflect that the communities were strictly a patriarchal one. The belief on the domineering position of the man in the society is another salient factor that predisposes teenagers to early pregnancy in the study community. Patriarchy is a system where men are in authority over women in all aspects (Oke 2006) . Radical feminist define patriarchy as a social system in which men are appropriated with social roles and keep women in subordinate positions. Patriarchal beliefs are noted in the family and perpetuated through socialization. This dominance of men over women in the society begins from the socialization of the children into the society; a boy is trained to see himself as the breadwinner, as someone who has to be very hardworking, have courage, be strong, and who should not be emotional but rather, secretive. On the other hand, girls are trained to be submissive, humble, sensitive, emotional, and dependent.

Therefore, based on this mode of socialization, the female folks are denied the right to talk when the men are talking, and they must make sure they respect males. Hence, with this picture in their mind, they grow up with the idea that they are inferior to the men, and must depend on men for assistance. This in turn deprives the woman from being able to choose

development over the years has come to acquire a variety of meaning in the social sciences to include:

Development as economic growth;

Development as modernization;

Development as socio-economic transformation

Development as distributive justice.

Noting the various aspects of development, this paper will look at the process of economic and social transformation that is based on globalization as demonstrated by increased liberalization of trade and investment and strong competive pressures. Thus, globalization fosters economic growth and development. It has been argued that trade liberalization promoted competition both locally and internationally. This argument is based on the fact that in an attempt to enter the foreign market or compete with foreign firms, domestic exporting firms have to eliminate inefficiency and produce high quality goods at low cost. Domestic exporting firms can only do this by acquiring new and modern technologies that will make them competitive at the international market. Export production can be encouraged by designing and implementing favourable macroeconomic policies that attract foreign investment and technological diffusion into the export sector. With this, the income of the producers of exports will increase and given the linkages between export sector and the rest of the economy, part of the increased income in the export sector will flow to the rest of the economy. This circle therefore could be used as a standard of evaluations of development as being used to a large extent in this paper. For example, booming export sector will provide employment opportunities in the economy while free flow of import facilitated by liberalization will increase consumption and input choice of economic agents, especially the household and firms.

Consequently, the expanded consumptions choice will improve welfare of households and enable firms to have access to modern technologies that promotes productivity and competiveness. Thus at aggregate economy level, liberalization of trade and investment will promote competition and efficiency in resource allocation and hence, total factor productivity growth, which is a major factor that propels long-term growth and development.

Theoretical Framework: The issue of globalization has raises concern on development in Nigeria and other developing countries of the world. A major point of emphasis is that globalization has deepened inequality between the developed and developing countries and this has brought about different theories in an attempt to explain the dynamics and linkage between globalization and development. Scholars have come up with various theories to explain the inequality between the rich countries of the west and the third world countries. These theories include the theory of imperialism, the neo-imperialism theory, the dependency theory, and the world system theory. In explaining the word inequality, the theory of imperialism posits that the drive to conquer and subjugate other countries in the form of colonialism enriched the conquering nations at the expense of the conquered ones. This is because, the propelling force behind colonialism is a constant quest for new markets in which to sell manufactures goods as well as securing more avenues for input resources such as raw materials and cheap labour. Thus, these pressures for external expansion, according to Hobson (1965) gave rise to imperialism. Imperialistic accumulation therefore increased the wealth of

economic globalization and reap the benefit inherent in it.

In the light of the above, this paper examined globalization and its challenges to development in Nigeria taking into consideration the burden of economic technological limitations and inconsistences in policy implementation which has negatively affected our performance in global competitive activities. The paper made some concluding remarks and offered some recommendations.

Theoretical Framework and Operationalization of Key Concepts:

Globalization and Development.

Globalization: According to Greenspan (2002) is "the increasing interaction of national economic systems". It is believed to have considerably improved the allocation of resources and living standards, but at the same time, it has been blamed for growing trade imbalances, increased financial market volatility and less effective domestic macroeconomics policies (Khan, 2000). Within the African countries, other developing economies and Nigeria in particular, globalization entails competitive trade with its implication for development. This is why this paper attempts a linkage between globalization and development. Musa (2000) noted, that the basic forces driving globalization fall into three categories- technology, preference, and public policy. Thus, improvements in technology have increased integration by lowering the cost of transporting goods and people from one place to another and by reducing the cost of communicating ideas through the development of internet facilities. Socially,an individual preferences for the benefits of globalization and including an increasing variety of goods and services also contributed to integration. Consequently, public policies such as deregulation and privatization are now evident in developing economies such as Nigeria with its implications.

Arising from the above therefore, is the political attributes of globalization which is very important in operationalizing the concept within the purview of this paper. Barros and Cabral (1994), and Clougherty (2000, 2001) argued that strategic incentives to consolidate domestic industries must be followed by effective political forces for globalization to ultimately promote domestic consolidation. This is why Dunning (1997) states that the institutional frameworks and governance systems of the country must not disadvantage their own firms with respect to competition policy. Thus, the political process is a crucial link in the globalization contention. (Clougherty, 2001). Again, the relationship between competition and economic development in a globalized economy is controversial, both in economic theory and in relation to empirical evidence. Globalization here therefore seeks to expose the fact that Nigeria and indeed other developing Nations clearly need a competition policy in order to be able to deal with the issues of market dominance and abuse of dominant positions but has been seriously challenged owing to lack of technological advancement, inadequate development of the legal and institutional framework and it is being manipulated by international cartels.

Development: Development generally, could be seen as the systematic use of scientific and technical knowledge to meet specific objectives or requirements. It is an extension of the theoretical or practical aspects of a concept, design, discovery or invention. Again, it is the process of economic and social transformation that is based on complex cultural and environmental factors and their interactions and more importantly, it is the process of adding improvements to a parcel of land, such as grading, subdivisions, drainage, access, roads, utilities (www.businessdictionary.com). According to Mabogunje (1980), the concept of

whom her spouse will be. The society sees choosing of a spouse for a female child as the responsibility of the father of the girl, and the mother must be silent as the culture forbids her from intervening. A female household head, when asked of her opinion on the appropriate age for a lady to get married, exclaims:

> Ha, I don't know. Assuming my husband is still alive, he will answer that one, because in our culture, I do not have the right to give my daughter's hand in marriage. It is only the father that can determine the appropriate age for her to get married.

Extract 3: IDI/female/household head/65 years

In addition to this, a key informant clearly states that women are to be silent on important issues:

> ...Who is the mother to interfere That shows she is ready to go back to her father's house. And, in the case of the girl, they don't need her consent on whom she is to marry. All we need is the father's consent…

Extract 4: IDI/female/Community leader

In this vein, the situation in these communities becomes tougher for girls, especially the teenagers. Findings from the study communities show that patriarchy devalued women, as it lowers the socio-economic status of the women. The situation in the communities makes it difficult for women to independently train their children either in school or in other vocational studies, as they do not have their own personal pocket. A female household head, when ask how much she realizes monthly, stated:

> I do not know because whatever I made after selling I do give to my husband and that is what we are using to pay our children tuition fees….

Extract 5: IDI/Female/Household head/50 years

Akin to the above statement, a student, when asked during one of the FGD sections, who do they think children should go to during financial difficulties, reveals that her mother depends solely on her father; she could not afford to buy just a pen for them to take to school:

> I will go to my daddy, and he will give me whatever he has, or I will go to my friends or our church members, because if you ask my mummy for even money to buy a pen, she will tell you she has given all the money she made from her market to my daddy and that is what a good wife should do….

Extract 6: FGD/Female/SS1/discussant 1/15 years

She explained further that any time the mother asks her to hawk, she has a way of making her own money to make contribution in the school with her friends in order to be able to meet her immediate needs, especially when the father is not in the right disposition to give them anything.

In addition, it was observed from the study community that the patriarchal nature of their society affects the girl-child status in the family. Teenage girls are made by the society to understand that the only thing they can become in life is to be responsible wives to their husbands. This cultural orientation could be traced back to the fact that the people of the communities are migrants from the North-Central Nigeria, a region not too popular for the

high premium placed on their women. This fact can be clearly seen from the recent response of President Buhari to a question posed to him in Germany about his wife's comment on his government. President Buhari's rejoinder that his wife "belongs to my kitchen, . . . my sitting room, . . . and the 'other room'" encapsulates the view of those from northern extraction on the position of a woman in the society, and educational qualification and religious inclination often do not change the cultural orientation and views of some individuals.

The cultural mode of socialization exhibited by the Nigerian president is equally applicable to the study communities. The females believe that no matter how much they strive in life, once they have reached the society-stipulated age for marriage, they have to follow the decision of their father and get married. Findings from the study communities revealed that girl-child education is viewed by the communities' dwellers as the responsibility of the husband of the girl, and not that of the parents. The parents see training a girl-child in school as carrying out another man's responsibility.

Although both communities did not state categorically that they are against western education, but the values placed on early child marriage has jeopardized the needed attention that should have been given to western education. Consequently, it is crucial for these communities to understand its importance as an instrument in fostering a healthy and virile society, where human rights are respected. Indeed, the patriarchal nature of these societies makes the dwellers believe that girl-child education should be the sole responsibility of her husband and not the parents. The education of the girl-child by her husband is believed to make the female folks respect and see their husbands as lords. In addition, it is believed that in other for wives to be subjected to their husbands, they have to be trained by them. The societies believe that a girl trained by the husband will be more submissive to the husband compared to those trained by their parents. In the light of this, most of the respondents opined that if a female child is trained by her parents to higher institution level, she will be very proud and have no regard for whoever she marries, as she would not see any reason to be submissive. An interviewee affirmed thus:

> ...Oju to ti rokun to ti rosa ni, kini omi agbara loju re….
> (Someonewho has seen a lot in life will not value small issue).
> **Extract 7: IDI/Male/household head/50years**

In a similar statement, one of the community's leaders, when asked if there is anything wrong in a father training his daughter to higher institution level, maintained:

> If a lady is allowed to stay till the time she finishes her university education, she can become a prostitute and you cannot guarantee her virginity by the time she graduates. But if she is under her husband, she will fear the man and would not involve herself in any unnecessary relationship…
> **Extract 8: IDI/Male/community leader/80years**

Another key informant further elaborated on the effect of the dominant patriarchy on female children:

> Most of the girls here are not allowed to have higher education because I can remember one in my class. She was very brilliant and she won this Cowbell scholarship, but the father said she needed to get married. Despite all my objection and discussions

play active part in the economic affairs of their respective countries, globalization seeks to erode national sovereignty and diminish the citizen's participation in national economic and political affairs by substituting the "market" for the people. Thus, while each sovereign nation is trying to have a voice in international affairs on "equal" footing, not all countries are participating in the global economy on anything near an "equal" footing. Globalization has acquired considerable emotive force with most of the major issues and challenges currently engaging the world's attention today. As a matter of fact, in the last three decades, globalization has been inextricably linked with the new-liberal economic policies manifested in unleashing of the market forces, deregulation and liberalization, privatization of State owned enterprises, and minimizing the role of the State among other things. This is typical of the practical situation in Nigeria as demonstrated by government policies and actions today.

Globalization fosters the advancement of a "global mentality" and conjures the picture of a borderless world through the use of information technology to create partnerships and to foster greater financial and economic integration. (Obadan, 2011). Therefore, globalization is about increasing interconnectedness and interdependence among the world's regions, nations, governments, business, institutions, communities, families and individuals.

Globalization and the emerging issues of development in Nigeria has become topical issue because it is not just a process that integrates world economics alone but more importantly, culture, technology, and governance. In addition, it has religious, environmental and social dimensions. Consequently, national policy making has also been globalized as a result of the liberalization of financial markets, development in technology and activities of global institutions such as the World Bank, IMF and World Trade Organisation.

The factors that have challenged globalization and its implication for development which have become contending issues for evaluation in this work, are grossly rooted on the economic aspect of globalization. As a matter of fact, this aspect has received greater attention in current debates on globalization bearing in mind its powerful force in determining or shaping the well being of any nation or otherwise. Indeed, the work recognized the political, cultural, social and environmental aspects of globalization which are no doubt important, it nonetheless maintained an emphasis on the economic factors which has necessarily influenced greatly and determined the other contending aspects of globalization.

For example, the standard of leaving of citizens is key in the analysis of the economic aspect of globalization. This is why Kiggundu (2002) noted that, historically, countries with successful entrepreneurs operating in a supportive and competitive environment and in different societal endeavors have achieved faster growth rates, enjoyed more broad-based improvements in people's standard of leaving and quality of life and participated more competitively in the global economy and society. Hence, economic globalization as defined by Obadan (2001) connotes the process of change towards greater international economic integration through trade, financial flows, exchange of technology and information as well as movement of people. In the creation anddistributions of wealth among and within nations, trade and investment remain the principal key element and this account for reasons why countries that are more active and benefitting most from globalization are those with largest share of globalization investments and trade. By implications, those countries lacking the institutional capacity for global trade and investment find it difficult to resourcefully participate in

GLOBALIZATION AND THE EMERGING ISSUES OF DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Globalization encompasses the network of interaction between countries all over the world in the area of trade, foreign investment, capital market (human and material) and technology. This has encouraged the identification of the area of strength and comparative advantages of each country in the sphere of global interaction. Indeed, it creates competition and development especially in the capitalist economy. Nonetheless, the quest for development in Nigeria within the framework of globalization has become a challenge due to inequality in economic power as a developing economy. Developed economies dominate global relations as increased competition has led to strangulation of weaker economies. Different policies have come to play in enhancing the power of capital such as IMF/World Bank-imposed economic reforms. Consequently, the socioeconomic foundations of the state are fast collapsing, resulting in rising unemployment, hegemony of private initiatives, inequalities in income distribution and dampened confidence of the people and external partners. Thus, the developing countries struggle endlessly for survival.In the light of the above, this paper examined globalization and its challenges to development in Nigeria taking into consideration the burden of economic technological limitations and inconsistences in policy implementation which has negatively affected our performance in global competitive activities. The paper made some concluding remarks and offered some recommendations.

Keywords: Globalization , Emerging, Nigeria Development.

Introduction: Globalization as a concept, reflects the increasing interaction among persons and institutions across the globe. Indeed, these interactions permeate all facets of human endeavor. Therefore, globalization could be seen as multidimensional taken into consideration economics, political, cultural and social activities of a people. Globalization today and essentially in the context of this work, refers to the growing interactions in world trade, national and foreign investments, capital markets, technology and the ascribed role of governments in national economies. The essential elements of today's globalisers is their conscious attempts to minimize or neutralize the role of government in their national economies as opposed to the ancient, medieval and the more recent international entrepreneurs who depended largely on their national governments for support, sponsorship, financing and patenting. Globalization seeks to encompass all the countries of the world into one economic unit, possibly, without governments or without borders. Thus, while internationalization aims at improving relationship between and among sovereign nation-states, globalization seeks to undermine the very essence or concept of the sovereign nation-state.
According to Aluko (2003), while internationalization expects the citizens to influence and

with him, he took the girl back to their village. So, I think their culture does not support western education.

Extract 9: IDI/female/health teacher/34years

However, majority of the male household heads interviewed affirmed that if a lady is allowed to get to high institution before she is given out in marriage, she would have come across different men in life and she would have been able to identify their strengths and weaknesses. This discovery would therefore not make her to have regard for men. To buttress their point, most of the respondents affirmed that such a girl would end up becoming a prostitute, as western education is like an eye opener for ladies to display their infidelity. A community leader, when asked of his take on girl-child education, openly stated:

> Ha! Education is good and it is good to train your children in school because if you don't give them education, they will definitely become the slave of those who went to school. But concerning the female child, if you allow them to go to UNAD, they would be exposed to the opposite sex, and you will see them keeping two, three intimate friends, which is an abomination. So, it is better for them to be under the control of their husband while schooling.

Extract 10: IDI/Male/Community leader/80years

In summary, it was observed from the findings that the society is organized and run by men. Men make the rules and dominate in all areas including making decision on how the women run their businesses. The man determines the kind of job the wife will do, the type of cloth she wears, and even where she goes to. Specifically, the study communities reduce women power totally and lower their economic value since they are not allowed to manage their resources themselves.

Religious Beliefs of the Ilokun and Irasa Communities

The two major dominant religions practiced in these communities are Islam (Ilokun) and Christianity (Irasa). The findings revealed that the practices of the people are derived from these two religions. In the Irasa community, the findings showed that there is a high rate of teenage marriage and the reason given for this is that the "bible preaches against promiscuity and infidelity, and therefore advises everyone to get married and have planned pregnancies". Based on these biblical reference, majority of the key informants reported that early marriages prevent promiscuity in women's life and gives men a sense of responsibility, which God even approved of. Hence, a male household head pointed out that:

> Mary, the mother of Jesus, was betrothed to Joseph when she was twelve years and Holy Spirit did not say she was a small girl. She got pregnant and gave birth to Jesus Christ. Also, in the Quran Mohammed married Aisha in her tender age. So, God himself does not support late marriage for ladies.

Extract 11: IDI/ male/household head/45 years

Similarly, a key informant remarked:

> In the bible, King Saul gave his daughter to David in her tender age, and even the bible referred to David as a boy. So, according to God, we need to marry early, so that we can fulfil God's plan for man to replenish the earth.

In Ilokun community, they believe in Quranic injunctions that give men authority to give their female children in marriage at any age that is appropriate in the father's sight. This is extremely subjective, but has been largely interpreted to mean that young girls must be given out shortly after the onset of their first menstrual period. The instance that Prophet Mohammed got married to Aisha when she was nine years old is usually used to support early marriages among Muslim adherents. Hence, some of the respondents maintained that the Quran gives the father the power to give his daughter's hands in marriage at any age that pleases him. This explains largely the pervasiveness of early girl-child marriage in the existing culture.

It was discovered that both Irasa and Ilokun communities viewed teenage marriage as a religious act which pleases God as it assists the communities' dwellers, especially the ladies, to keep God's commandment that says "thou shall not commit adultery". The two communities believe and agree with the religious teachings that are in line with their traditional beliefs, such as girl child marriages. Based on this, a key informant from Irasa pointed out:

> No religious practice is superior to our tradition. You know culture is supreme as no religion can overcome culture because it has been in existence before we were born. Many of these western religions are just deceiving us, as they will never tell us the truth. In our own place, we don't value western religion like our tradition.
>
> **Extract 12: IDI/Male/Community leader/80years**

The role of religious beliefs in perpetuating the phenomenon of girl-child marriages leading to teenage motherhood was observed from the study area that religion is sometimes a central element of culture, and that the two are inseparable. Majority of the teenage pregnant girls who are Christians affirmed that Christian teachings were against women disobeying their husbands or going against their parents' will. So, based on the Christian teachings, they see the men as the crown on a woman's head that she must worship till death. Also, the teaching that children should obey their parent for their days to be long in the land of the living was used to buttress why such young women grudgingly obeyed their fathers, even when they hated being married out at such an early age. The same stance was also supported by the Quran on the instruction that Allah gave to Musa that children are to follow their father's instruction, and women should remain silent as they are unclean beings. Clearly, religious teachings have exacerbated the prevalence of teenage pregnancy in both communities. Although the Ilokun people seem to be a little bit flexible in issues concerning marriage than Irasa people, they usually make their female children see the reason why they need to marry early and reasons why they have to marry the man. But despite this difference, with regard to early marriage among minors and teenage motherhood issues, both communities share similar beliefs.

A teenage mother from Ilokun community, when asked how she felt when her father told her to marry her husband, replied:

> Hmm! I was not happy, but you know the bible said we should honour and obey our parents. And my mother used to tell me when I was young that men are the crown on ladies' head; that a lady without this crown is not honoured or respected in the society. So, I agreed to marry him.

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Recommendations

Based on the findings, corporate governance is a very essential factor that determines firm's performance. Organizations should therefore comply with code of corporate governance. The study recommends that:

i. firms should not have a board size that is too large or too small, a maximum of (10) members and minimum of five (5) as given by SEC would make performance of board more effective;

ii. chairman of the audit committee should be a non-executive member and the committee should have at least three (3) non-executive members out of six (6) members in total as directed by the SEC; and

iii. ownership should not be concentrated in the hands of directors, institutional investors should be allowed greatly in the firm.

Conclusion

Based on the objectives and the results of the findings, this study concludes that corporate governance has significant influence on the performance of oil and gas firms in Nigeria. The variables individually have negative and positive influence on the performance of the firms, but generally there is a positive relationship between corporate governance and performance of oil and gas firms.

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Extract 13: IDI/Teenage mother/ 17 years

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to explore the socio-cultural factors in early teenage pregnancy among rural dwellers of Ilokun/Irasa community. Teenage pregnancy is a global epidemic as more than half of the world population falls into this category. The findings from the study revealed that polygamy, patriarchal domination, reinforced by religious institutions, rurality and lack of access to education are significant factors contributing to early girl child marriages which have directly resulted in teenage pregnancy and teenage motherhood in the study communities. Findings from the study also revealed the prevalence of teenage mothers and teenage pregnancy, lending credence to the fact that these young girls' rights to education and rights to choice are being denied. This is very unacceptable and can undermine the possibility of achieving education for all and the actualization of a zero poverty tolerance as stated by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). This may be a mirage in the light of this situation. The teenage girls are compelled to abandon school for what is perceived as a higher call to duty – being a mother. This is in line with the work Walker(2012)of which highlighted the fact that child marriage leads to school drop-out, lower levels of education among girls, and the inter-generational transmission of poverty. The woman's body has always been the man's field in patriarchal settings (Osezua, 2012). The woman's sexuality and virginity is a highly gendered site central to radical feminist posture about patriarchy.

It was equally discovered that a larger proportion of the participants who are either nursing or expecting mothers had little or no formal education, as majority of the respondents claimed to have stopped school at their junior secondary level. The educational qualification of these young wives and mothers plays a major role in determining the rate of teenage pregnancy, the time of first sexual intercourse, and delays marriage. This discovery agrees with Marteleto & Dondero (2013) that educational attainment is negatively associated with teenage pregnancy. These practices which are against the sexual rights of the girl child and their right to sexual autonomy usually resulted in unhealthy sexual health for the victims, as most of them suffer psychological and emotional trauma, violence, and low self-esteem in their husbands' houses.

According to WHO (2002), "sexual rights are universal human rights, based on inherent freedom, dignity and equality of all human beings". This however presumes level of sexual equity between both partners in the marital union. It involves control of one's body from any form of feature or mutilation and violence of any sort (Olabisi, Aransiola and Osezua, 2009). This denial of sexual right of the female child in the study communities was rooted in their cultural practices which support women subordination in marriage. The female children in the family suffer the consequence of this harmful cultural practice, as most them finds it difficult to cope with the unprepared marriage, and face various forms of violence in the husbands' houses which include rape, abuse, batter and denial of right.

This denial of right was aggravated by patriarchal system in the communities as some traditional roles were attributed to the father by the society, and women were silent by the communities on some important issues relating to their children or themselves. Also, the marital practice lowers the economic status of the woman by forcing them to be accountable to their husband. This corroborated Deanna (2012) arguments that teenage pregnancy is

inherently patriarchal in the sense that it keeps a woman in her place, and usually does so for life. Also, Sigot (2000), cited by Aina, Aransiola, and Osezua (2006), maintained that "in a patriarchal setting, the woman achieves her personality and status simply by bearing and caring for children. Motherhood, therefore, gives the married woman cultural dignity and respect, while simultaneously providing the validation of her subordination. Finally, it is of significance that these studied communities are migrant communities. What appears intriguing is the strength of cultural resilience and refusal to allow some forms of positive cultural traits from several indigenous neighbours who relatively value educational attainment. One would have expected that their proximity to a tertiary education in the State should have exerted a more receptive posture to girl child education. This development indeed underscores the strength of cultural elements, such as belief system, in a society.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the findings, most of the practices in the communities were based on their traditional beliefs which were in line with their religious beliefs. Due to these beliefs and strong cultural retention in the study communities, they were very resilient to the culture of the host community and other enlightenment programmes available to the community dwellers. This strict adherence of the communities to their traditional practices and norms and their inflexibility in imbibing the culture of their host community could be explained by Ogburn's cultural lag theory. According to Ogburn, cultural lag is a common societal phenomenon due to the tendency of material culture to evolve and change rapidly, while non-material culture tends to resist change and remains fixed for a far longer period of time. Despite the changes in family structure and different laws governing sexual relationship, the study communities can be said to still be policed by traditional social rules, folktales, customs, mores and values.

Finally, education is a very strong instrument to increase a child's confidence, to fight against poverty and reduce early marriage. Education eliminates welfare dependency and provides employment opportunities. Therefore, teenage education can be an effective intervention for improving parental attitudes and beliefs. This can have a huge impact in terms of preventing adverse childhood experiences and early marriage, as it will help in promoting modernity, acculturation and also develop skills that can sustain life.

The policy on education must be reviewed to include adult education and pregnant girls should be allowed to go to school in these communities.

Human Rights activists should also ensure the continued protection of human/women's rights and severe punishment should be prescribed for non-compliance by any community or any individual.

Child right should be enforced in the nooks and crannies of the State.

Religious committees and traditional leaders should be targeted and educated to become advocates of the girl-child's rights to education and healthy life choices that will help them maximize their potentials.

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-statistic	Prob.
Intercept (C)	49.934	21.553	-2.317	0.025
Board Size (log X_1)	3.565	2.292	1.556	0.127
AUDCOM (X_2)	-0.426	0.252	-1.692	0.097
Firm Size (log X_3)	0.186	0.008	22.851	0.000
Ownership Concentration (X_4)	-1.713	7.359	-0.233	0.817
R-squared	0.942			
Adjusted R-squared	0.932			
Std. Error	1824			
F Statistic	91.935			
Prob (F- stat)	0.000			
Durbin Watson stat	2.112			

Author's Computations 2015

Table 5 above shows the linear relationship between corporate governance and profit after tax (PAT) of quoted oil firms in Nigeria with the use of multiple panel regression analysis. The results obtained from the static model indicates that the overall coefficient of determination R-squared (R^2) shows that the equation has a good fit with 94.2 percent of profit after tax is explained by the variables in the equation. This result means that R^2 is highly significant in terms of the goodness of fit.

In terms of the signs and magnitude of the coefficients which signify the corporate governance and profit after tax (PAT), it can be seen that the variables Board size (X_1) and Firm size (X_3) concur with *a priori* theoretical expectation with positive sign 3.565 and 0.186 respectively. However, variables AUDCOM (X_2) and Ownership concentration (X_4) do not concur with negative sign -0.426 and -1.713 respectively. The significant coefficients of firm size (X_3) exogenous variable clearly have positive significant effect on return on equity which is indicated by prob (0.000) at 5% level of significant. This means that N1million increase in the turnover (firm size), will result in N0.186million increase in PAT. Other variables like board size (X_1), AUDCOM (X_2) and ownership concentration (X_4) are not significant at 5% significant level. This means that they do not have significant effect on PAT indicate by prob (0.127, 0.097 and 0.817) respectively. Overall, the result of the F-statistic (91.935) revealed that corporate governance has significant effect on the PAT of quoted oil firms in Nigeria **which indicated by prob (F-stat) 0.000.**

Summary of Findings

From the analysis, the study found that:

i. board size and ownership concentration have a negative effect on ROE, while Firm size and AUDCOM have a positive effect on ROE;

ii. firm size and AUDCOM have a positive effect on ROA, while board size and ownership concentration have a negative effect on ROA; and

iii. he board size and firm size have a positive effect on PAT, while ownership concentration and AUDCOM have a negative effect on PAT.

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-statistic	Prob.
T	7.167	2.047	3.501	0.001
Board Size (log X_1)	-1.325	0.365	-3.633	0.000
AUDCOM (X_2)	0.777	0.317	2.450	0.018
Firm Size (log X_3)	0.540	0.178	3.030	0.004
Ownership Concentration (X_4)	-1.675	2.124	-0.788	0.435
R-squared	0.588			
Adjusted R-squared	0.479			
Std. Error	0.512			
F Statistic	3.559			
Prob (F- stat)	0.003			
Durbin Watson stat	1.483			

Author'sComputations 2015

Table 4 shows the linear relationship between corporate governance and return on asset (ROA) of quoted oil firms in Nigeria with the use of multiple panel regression analysis. The results obtained from the static model indicates that the overall coefficient of determination R-squared (R^2) shows that the equation has a good fit with 58.8 percent of return on asset explained by the variables in the equation. This result means that R^2 is highly significant in terms of the goodness of fit.

In terms of the signs and magnitude of the coefficients which signify the corporate governance and return on asset (ROA), it can be seen that the variables AUDCOM (X_2) and (Firm size) X_3 concur with *a priori* theoretical expectation; with positive sign 0.777 and 0.540 respectively. However, variables Board size (X_1) and Ownership concentration (X_4) do not concur with negative sign -1.325 and -1.675 respectively. The significant coefficients of firm size (X_3) and AUDCOM (X_2) exogenous variable clearly have positive significant effect on return on asset which is indicated by prob (0.004 and 0.018) respectively, while board size (X_1) plays negative significant role indicated by prob (0.001) at 5% significant level. This means that 1% increase in the turnover (firm size), will result in 0.540% increase in ROA. If the AUDCOM chairman is a non-executive member, the ROA will increase by 0.777% and 1% increase in the board size will result in 1.325% decrease in the ROE. Variable ownership concentration (X_4) does not have any effect on ROA indicated by prob (0.435). Overall, the result of the F-statistic (3.559) revealed that corporate governance has significant effect on the ROA of quoted oil firms in Nigeria **which indicated by prob (F-stat) 0.003.**

Table 5: Corporate Governance and Profit after Tax
Dependent Variable: Profit after Tax (PAT)

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Effect of Corporate Governance on the Performance of Oil and Gas Firms in Nigeria

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Abstract

Inadequate financial disclosures by firms make it difficult for interested stakeholder(s) to monitor the performance of the firms. Corporate governance provides a mechanism for ensuring optimal financial information disclosure by firms. Consequently, this paper evaluates the effect of corporate governance on the performance of oil and gas firms in Nigeria. The study used a sample of six (6) oil and gas firms quoted on the Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE) for a period of nine (9) years spanning from 2005 to 2013 using random sampling method. Panel regression technique was adopted in analyzing data collected. It was found that board size has positive effect on Profit After Tax (PAT), but negative effect on Return on Equity (ROE) and Return on Asset (ROA), firm size has positive effect on ROE, ROA and PAT, Audit committee (AUDCOM) has positive effect on ROE and ROA, but a negative effect on PAT. Ownership concentration has no significance effect on performance. It is concluded that corporate governance has significant effect on the performance of oil and gas firms in Nigeria. Thus, it is recommended that moderate board composition should be maintained, Audit committee chairman should be a non-executive member, and ownership should not be concentrated in the hand of directors.

Keywords: *Audit committee, Corporate governance, Firms' performance, Ownership concentration, Board composition, Financial disclosure*

Introduction

After the discovery of oil in Nigeria, the performance of the oil and gas sector improved the sector and the economy of Nigeria to a large extent. However, the lack of transparency in the oil and gas industry in Nigeria has affected the country's image significantly. Nyemah (2011) asserted that in spite of the discovery in the oil sector, many of the people of Nigeria are still wallowing in poverty due to poor performance of the oil and gas sector as a result of non transparency and fraudulent practices. Also, inadequate financial disclosures of firms make it easy for them to camouflage fraudulent deals and difficult for any concerned stakeholder to monitor their performance.

According to the Code of Corporate Governance given by the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), directors hold a duty of loyalty to the stakeholders and the organization.

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-statistic	Prob.
Intercept (C)	3.192	1.626	1.963	0.056
Board Size (log X_1)	-0.537	0.210	-2.454	0.020
AUDCOM (X_2)	0.918	0.405	2.597	0.011
Firm Size (log X_3)	0.284	0.131	2.203	0.041
Ownership Concentration (X_4)	-1.140	1.687	-0.676	0.503
R-squared	0.621			
Adjusted R-squared	0.536			
Std. Error	0.406			
F Statistic	6.121			
Prob (F- stat)	0.000			
Durbin Watson stat	1.441			

Author's computations 2017

Table 3 shows the linear relationship between corporate governance and return on equity (ROE) of quoted oil and gas firms in Nigeria with the use of multiple panel regression analysis. The results obtained from the static model indicates that the overall coefficient of determination R-squared (R^2) shows that the equation has a good fit with 62.1 percent of return on equity is explained by the variables in the equation. This result means that R^2 is highly significant in terms of the goodness of fit. In terms of the signs and magnitude of the coefficients which signify the corporate governance and return on equity (ROE), it can be seen that the variables AUDCOM (X_2) and Firm size (X_3) concur with apriori theoretical expectation with positive sign 0.918 and 0.284 respectively, while variables Board size (X_1) and Ownership concentration (X_4) do not concur with negative sign -537 and -1.140 respectively. The significant coefficients of firm size (X_3) and AUDCOM (X_2) exogenous variable clearly have positive significant effect on return on equity (ROE) which is indicated by prob (0.041 and 0.011) respectively as against the findings in Dar *et al* (2011) where AUDCOM has a negative effect on ROE, while board size (X_1) plays negative significant role indicated by prob (0.020) at 5% level of significant. This agrees with Yasser *et al* (2011) where board size was positively correlated with ROE. The positive sign in Firms size (X_3) means that 1% increase in the turnover (firm size), will result in 0.284% increase in ROE. If the AUDCOM chairman is a non-executive member, the ROE will increase by 0.918% and 1% increase in the board size will result in 0.537% decrease in the ROE. This implies that the board size should be moderate, a minimum of five (5) members and maximum of ten (10) members. Ownership concentration (X_4) does not have any effect on ROE, indicated by prob (0.503). Overall, the result of the F-statistic (6.121) revealed that corporate governance has significant effect on the ROE of quoted oil firms in Nigeria which indicated by prob (F-stat) 0.000.

Table 4: Corporate governance and Return on Asset
Dependent Variable: Return on Asset (ROA)

α = intercept
$\beta_1 - \beta_4$ = Parameter of Estimate
$\mu_{it} = \varepsilon_{it} + \lambda_i$
ε_{it} = stochastic error term
λ_i = cross-sectionals individual difference (Composite Error)
apriori expectation is that $\beta_1 - \beta_4$ should be > 0

The study utilized data from the secondary source. The sources of data for the study were the Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE) and the website of the firms through which the annual reports of six (6) selected oil and gas firms for 2005 to 2013 study period were obtained.

DATA PRESENTATIONS, RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS
Preliminary Analysis

Table 1: Multicolliniarity Test – Correlation of the Independent Variables

	Board size	CEO Status	OC	Firm Size
Board Size	1			
AUDCOM	0.353	1		
OC	0.268	0.466	1	
Firm Size	-0.044	0.026	-0.086	1

Source: Author's Computations 2017

Table 1 shows the relationship between the independent variables. There is absence of multicollinearity between each pair of independent variables.

Table 2: Correlated Random Effects – Hausman Test

Variable	Chi-Sq statistic	Chi-Sq d.f.	Prob.
Model 1	6.032	4	0.110
Model 2	2.744	4	0.433
Model 3	0.849	4	0.838

Source: Author's Computations 2017

Table 2 presents the summary result of Hausman test which shows the fixed and random effect of the cross-sectional data used to test the individual difference among the cross-sectional data (firms). For all the three models of this study, random effect is preferred which indicated by prob (0.110, 0.433 and 0.838) respectively at 5% significant level

Hypothesis Testing
Table 3: Corporate governance and Return on Equity
Dependent Variable: Return on Equity (ROE)

Ramsay (1997) opined that director's objectives are to ensure appropriate care, diligence and act in honesty in the best interest of the company. Instead of fulfilling this purpose, directors seek to satisfy their own interest against the interest of the organization at large. This is a huge challenge because business can perform effectively only if its directors can be trusted to hold the entity's interest paramount.
In order to gain back the confidence that has been lost as a result of these of poor corporate governance, transparency and disclosure level, the Security and Exchange Commission (SEC) inaugurated a national committee in September 2008 for the review of 2003 Code for companies in Nigeria to address the weaknesses and improve the mechanism for its enforceability. According to Iyanga (2009), the variables of corporate governance: transparency, financial disclosure, independence, board size, board composition, board committee and board diversity are set out in the main agenda of most meetings and conferences of the World bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Good corporate governance practices are therefore considered as an important factor in running the affairs of the company in the best interest of the shareholders. It assists in controlling the performance of the board in business operations. The benefits of having good corporate governance at different levels include a better and cheaper access to capital; and firms with good corporate governance practices tends to out-perform their poorly governed counterparts and it reduces financial crisis (International Finance Corporation (IFC), 2004).The board of directors has a part to play in corporate governance as their main duty is to supervise the management of the organisation to ensure proper accountability to shareholders and other stakeholders.
Appreciable efforts have been made by previous researchers in this area, by Dar, Nazeem and Naizi (2011), Yasser, Entebang and Mansor (2011), and in Nigeria by Akpan and Amram (2014) as well as Peter and Bagshaw (2014). This study provides empirical evidence from Nigeria. Findings from this work would serve as important information to the oil and gas sector on how the performance can improve the industry.
To achieve the objectives of this study,, the following hypotheses were formulated:

I. There is no significant relationship between corporate governance and return on asset(ROA) of oil and gas firms;
ii. Corporate governance does not have significant effect on return on equity (ROE) of oil and gas firms.
iii. Corporate governance does not have significant effect on profit after tax (PAT) of oil and gas firms.

Literature Review

Corporate governance is a set of processes, norms, and policies affecting the way a company is directed, administered and controlled. The organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2002) takes a broad view of corporate governance and defines it as the full set of relationships among a company's management, its board, its shareholders and other stakeholders. According to Barret (2002) corporate governance is concerned with "how an organization is managed". The internal group is comprised of the board of directors, executives and other employees.

Whittington (1993) suggests that financial reporting is an important element in

corporate governance, and that some corporate failures may be attributable to inadequate financial reports. Although in comparison to the 500,000 companies registered in Nigeria, only a little over 200 companies have their shares listed on the Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE). Nevertheless, the Exchange plays an important role in the governance of these companies, through steps taken to improve the quality of their financial reporting. On behalf of the SEC, the NSE monitors compliance with the financial reporting requirements of listed companies. It acts as the guardian of the ordinary shareholder, through its influence on financial disclosure. For example, all listed companies have to obtain prior approval of the contents of the annual report to be circulated to members before an Annual General Meeting. The reasoning is that the market is made more transparent as companies seek to satisfy the conditions for selection as winners of the award. It is presumed that companies will readily subject themselves to the rigours of qualifying for the award, seeing that their satisfaction of the elaborate selection criteria will rub off positively on the relationship between management and shareholders, prospective investors and the public at large (Okike, 2007).

The stakeholder theory was developed by Ed Freeman in the 1980s. Wheeler, Colbert and Freeman (2003) argued that the stakeholder theory is derived from a combination of the sociological and organizational disciplines. In an article extending the stakeholder theory, Jensen (2001) recognized the multiplicity of stakeholders and opined that certain actions of management might have conflicting effects on various classes of stakeholders. This implies that the managers have a range of objective functions to optimize, something that Jensen sees as an important weakness of the stakeholder theory "because it violates the proposition that a single-valued objective is a requirement for purposeful or rational behavior by any organisation" (Jensen, 2001).

Dar, Naseem and Niazi (2011) studied the relationship between four corporate governance mechanisms and two performance measures of Karachi Stock Exchange listed Oil and gas firms for the period of 2004-2010. T-test and multiple regression analysis were used. The result showed a positive relationship between Return on Equity and board size as well as annual general meeting. The researchers recommended that board size should be limited to sizeable number and the post of the chief executive and chairman should be occupied by different persons.

Yasser, Entebang and Mansor (2011) studied corporate governance and firm performance in Pakistan. They examined the relationship between four important corporate governance mechanisms (board size, board composition, CEO/chairman duality and audit committee) and two firm performance measures (return on equity and profit margin) using a sample of 30 Pakistani listed firms between 2008 and 2009. The results provided evidence of a positive significant relationship between return on equity and profit margin and three corporate governance mechanisms (board size, board composition and audit committee) and a negative relationship with CEO duality.

Akpan and Amram (2014) studied the relationship between board characteristics and company performance (measured by turnover) in Nigeria. A simple random sampling technique was used to select the 90 companies. The study used multiple regression technique on 90 sampled firms from the main board of Nigerian Stock Exchange from 2010 to 2012. The empirical evidence of the study showed that board size and board education are positively and

significantly related to company performance. While there is no relationship between boards equity, board independence, and board age.

Peters and Bagshaw (2014) examined empirically the impact of corporate governance mechanisms on firm financial performance using listed firms in Nigeria. Content analytical approach was used to obtain data through the corporate website of the respective firms and website of the Securities and Exchange Commission. A total of 33 firms were used for the study cutting across three sectors - manufacturing, financial and oil and gas. The results of the study showed that most of the corporate governance items were disclosed by the case study firms. The result also showed that the banking sector has the highest level of corporate governance disclosure compared to the other two sectors. The result thus indicates that the nature of control over the sector have an impact on companies' decision to disclose online information about their corporate governance in Nigeria.

METHODOLOGY

Model Specification

The study adopted the model from the work of Dar, Naseem and Niazi (2011) stated below

$PERF = \alpha + \beta(BSIZE) + \beta(AGM) + \beta(CEO) + \beta(AUDCOM) + \varepsilon$

$ROE = \alpha + \beta(BSIZE) + \beta(AGM) + \beta(CEO) + \beta(AUDCOM) + \varepsilon$

From the above model the study formulated a new model shown below. As this study attempts to check the effect of corporate governance on the performance of oil and gas firms in Nigeria, Board size, Firm size, Ownership concentration and AUDCOM as Independent variables are measures of Corporate Governance; while Return on Equity (ROE), Return on Asset (ROA) and Profit After Tax (PAT) as dependent variables measured performance. Implicitly, the models are stated as thus:

Model 1

ROE = *f*(Corporate Governance)

ROE = *f*(Board size, AUDCOM, Firm size, OC)

$ROE_{it} = \alpha + \beta_1 Boardsize_{it} + \beta_2 AUDCOM_{it} + \beta 3 Firmsize_{it} + \beta 4 OC_{it} + \mu_{it}$

Model 2

ROA = *f*(Corporate Governance)

ROA = *f*(Board size, AUDCOM, Firm size, OC)

$ROA_{it} = \alpha + \beta_1 Boardsize_{it} + \beta_2 AUDCOM_{it} + \beta 3 Firmsize_{it} + \beta 4 OC_{it} + \mu_{it}$

Model 3

PAT = *f*(Corporate Governance)

PAT = *f*(Board size, AUDCOM, Firm size, OC)

$PAT_{it} = \alpha + \beta_1 Boardsize_{it} + \beta_2 AUDCOM_{it} + \beta 3 Firmsize_{it} + \beta 4 OC_{it} + \mu_{it}$

Where:

X_1 = Board size (total number of Directors on the Board)

X_2 = AUDCOM (A dummy variable, taking a value of 1 for the chairman of audit committee if he is a non- executive member and 0 if otherwise.

X_3 = Firm size (firm size in terms of total assets)

X_4 = Ownership Concentration (The proportion of shares owned by the largest shareholders divided by the number of largest shareholders).

role in a generalized order is being questioned. Thus, there are calls for and attempts to specify what the actual role of NGOs might be in development process. Hence, we can identify the main functions commonly assigned to NGOs as empowerment, building and strengthening institutional capacity, *bridging, promotion and rejuvenation of social movements, and promotion of democratic practices and processes.*

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on the perspective of the participatory development theory because of its currency, relevance and suitability to our study as we shall soon demonstrate. Participatory development theory asserted that persistent poverty and isolation as well as inappropriate and unsustainable development programmes were the outcomes of top-down planning and non-involvement of local communities in the process of identification and programme design (Mosse, 1995). Participatory development is conventionally represented as an outcome of the recognition of the shortcomings of top-down development approaches. Participatory development is a political and social process as much as an economic one. Development providers are assumed to consider people's perceptions, local knowledge as well as material needs; otherwise development cannot produce 'real fruit' (Cook and Kothari, 2001; Schneider and Libercier, 1995; Schuunnan and Naerssen, 1989).

The central focus of 'alternative' development in the 1970s was on people's basic needs (Brohman 1996). In addition, alternative development approaches argued for people's involvement in decisions and actions that would lead to their empowerment. The major donors and development agencies began to adopt the concept of 'participation' or participatory development' in order to improve the projects and the programmes effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability and promotion of stakeholder capacity, self-reliance and empowerment (OECD, 2001; Narayan, 1995; Karl, 2000).

Current debates and development efforts focus on 'bottom up' planning, 'People-Centered Development' and the view that ordinary people have the capacity to manage their own development. This theory encourages the involvement of all stakeholders in the process of development (Burkey, 1993; Rahman, 1993; Oakley, 1991; Bryant and White, 1982) and will be used to stimulate the development initiatives that exist in the third world countries. Thus, as the United Nations Development Programme rightly observes:

> *People today have an urge – an impatient urge to participate in the events and processes that shape their lives. And that impatience brings many dangers and opportunities (UNDP, 1993).*

The importance of participation to development was stressed by a number of theorists and development professionals. For example, Kumar (1994) explains that the debate about participation in the 1980s had focus on various areas of concern; the new movement stressed the need for self-reliance as well as self-determination and democratization. Schneider and Libercier (1995) affirmed that participation should be at the centre of development efforts, by establishing new relationships among the stakeholders and viewing people as partners and actors of their own development.

thus accelerate economic and social transformation, increase employment and ultimately reduce poverty. The relevance of this theories is to demonstrate if indeed Africa and Nigeria in particular as a developing country has achieved this expectations as put forward by the proponents of this theory.

As a matter fact, research has shown that this theory has not held sway for Africa and the other poor regions of the world. This is so because Africa and the other developing nations of the world have been trapped in debt crisis particularly since the early 1980s and thus have been strenuously striving, most times at very high costs, to get integrated into the global economy with the intent to end any epileptic growth and development through export expansion and inflows of private foreign capital (ECA 2000).

This is why most developing countries including Nigeria have found themselves having to abandon their past and familiar policy instruments and strategies to pursue closer and faster economic integration into the world economy through rapid liberalization of trade, finance and investment. Unfortunately, these policy instruments have not been found to be very effective, as these have often led to slow and erratic growth, increased economic and political instability, deteriorating balance of payment, mounting foreign debt and rising income gaps between the developed and developing countries.

Nigeria and its Quest for Development: The issue of ensuring better quality of life for its citizens when compared with other nations of the world has become a major preoccupation of Nigeria as a country. This is demonstrated by the numerous, if not uncountable development strategies or models she has embarked on since 1960 when she politically became independent from Britain.

A development model has certain identifiable features. Firstly, it is rooted in a given ideology or a set of shared definition of a people, group or collectivity. Secondly, such ideology derives from and reflects the historical context of the nation or society in question. Thirdly, there are usually clear parallels between development models. Often and most expectedly, new models emerge from the ruins of older ones. In other words, newer models are perceived as more efficient and effective strategies that can launch the nation or society to her desired destination. The last is that development models take cognizance of the overall stock of human material resources needed to actualize goals and objectives.

What probably approximated as models of development in Nigeria were programmes or packages many of which were bogous in scope, ill-conceived individuals, majority of which were chosen on the basis of ethnic and primordial sentiments. That is not to say that Nigeria lacked quality human resources, rather the point being made is that those who were given the responsibility of implementing government policies were chosen by those who had political power and therefore extended such privileges to individuals they favoured.

It is necessary to point out at this juncture that packages or reforms designed for implementation did not reflect the will of the people/neither did they lead to destinations that are in anyway close to or near collective aspiration of a people struggling to be united as one indivisible entity. A people who on several occasions have been battered by the forces of imposed destiny.

In concrete terms, one can concede the fact that Nigeria's efforts at accomplishing the desired level of socio-economic and welfare changes have been salutary. What probably have been lacking is accomplishing the desired changes. This can better be explained by the evaluation

of development policies of different regimes in Nigeria from he 1st Republic till date. The essence is to understand how effective these policies are and whether they have actually met their set targets (See table below).

Regime (s)	Period covered	Development policy
First Republic	1962-1968 (Scheduled to have ended in 1966 but extended due to Nigeria civil war)	First National Development Plan - Explore promotion - Import substitution
General Yakubu Gowon	1968-1970 1970-1974 (plan later extended to 1975)	Civil war years. Second National Development plan. The 3 Rs - Reconstruction - Reconciliation - Rehabilitiation
General Muritala Mohammed/General OlusegunObasanjo	1975-1980	Third National Development plan Green Revolution
Alhaji. ShehuShagari/General MohammaduBuhari	1981-1985	Fourth National Development plan
General Ibrahim GbadamosiBabangida/Chief Ernest Shonekan	1986-1989	Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)
	1990-1992 1993-1995	Reintroduction of the three. Year National Rolling Plan(s) following suspension of SAP. Others followed subsequently.
General SaniAbacha	1996-1998	Vision 2010
Chief OlusegunObasanjo	1999-2007	Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP). National Poverty Reduction Programme (NAPEP) Nigeria Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) with SEEDS and LEEDS As Complement Implement Organs.
Alhaji. Umaru Musa YarAdua/Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan	2007-2010	Seven-Point Agenda Vision 20-20-20
Dr. Goodluck Jonathan	2011-2015	Transformation agenda: Expanding industrial sector of our economy, railway and Aviation, roads etc. Promotion of investment among indigenous as well as foreign investment, Provision of funds for participation directly in industries (MDGs) Investments in agro-allied industry
MuhammaduBuhari	2015-Till Date	Five point change agenda: Mass Employment, adequate security, fight corruption, improve infrastructure and good health care.

Right from independence, through the civil war years to the 1990s, Nigeria has been actively engaged in prosecuting one form of development model or the other. Historically, the period under reference was dominated by military rule. That notwithstanding, the regimes vigorously pursued development plans wither inherited or evolved by them.

Like development strategies in most part of the developing world, these reforms were aimed at achieving certain targets such as reduction in the level of poverty, employment generation, ensuring higher economic growth or Gross Domestic Product (GDP), platform for critical intervention and reduction in public expenditure among others.

Abegunde's (2009) observation when they affirmed that the emergence of community based organizations and the role they play in all contemporary development activities in their communities were as a result of inadequate planning and commitment of the government at both Federal, State and Local levels as well as low resource allocation to the sector. In order to address these problems, a number of community based organizations were identified to be operating effectively in their communities. These organizations are associated with self-help projects and, as Ogundipe (2003) noted, they constitute the media for resources mobilization to confront rural development challenges which include the finance and execution of projects,

Conceptual Clarification

Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are private, voluntary, non-profit organizations independent of any government, and funded through individual and corporate donations, levy imposition on members, grants from international agencies and governments (Agbola, 1988 Fowler, 1987). Community based organizations are also voluntary organizations. They are voluntary because membership is dependent on individual choice; though sometimes membership may be compulsory as in the case of certain trades or professions such as the market women unions. The three terms most commonly used in the literature, often interchangeably are Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs), Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) (Adeyemo, 2002 Adejumobi, 1991).

Community Development

Community development is the essence of CBO. Through community development, efforts of the people are united with those of government authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, so as to integrate them into the life of the nations and to enable their people to contribute fully to national progress (United Nations, 1963). Along this line, Fakoya (1984) argued that community development provides avenue for people to organize themselves for planning action, define their common and individual needs and problems, make group and individual plans to meet their needs and solve their problems, execute these plans with a maximum reliance upon community resources and supplement these resources when necessary with services and materials from government and non-governmental agencies outside their communities. In the same vein, Bamidele (1994) saw it as a process whereby both urban and rural communities are assisted to provide for themselves, with deliberate and conscious speed, those services and amenities they need but which neither the state government nor local government can provide. What is significant to us in this study is that community development is first and foremost the joint efforts of the people who would be the direct beneficiaries before government and non-governmental organizations that could be termed initiators and supporters are involved and absorbed.

The Advocated Role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Community Development

There is a solid consensus in the literature on the generalized role of NGOs in development. Based on the underlying helping-phi1osophy of NGOs, they are perceived as an active agent of development (Kinguanjui. 1987). The focus of action of NGOs is generally held to be the poor - helping the urban poor with local development but mostly advancing rural development (Lee-Smith and Stren, 1991). Increasingly, the utility of the approach of presenting NGOs'

COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATIONS (CBOs) AS AGENTS OF GRASSROOTS PARTICIPATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN KWARA STATE

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ABSTRACT
The failure of governments' top-down approach and lack of involvement of the people at the grassroots in the bottom-up strategy have weakened the confidence of the public in local authorities. Consequently, communities therefore seek solace in indigenous institutions, which pressurize governments for attention to development problems in their communities. As agents or partners in grassroots development, this paper therefore assesses the self-help efforts of the Community Based Organizations in Kwara State using the theory of participatory development. The paper found that between 1999 and 2008, a total of seven hundred and ninety-five (795) development projects were provided by the community based organizations at an aggregate total cost of two hundred and twenty-six million, six hundred and ninety thousand, five hundred and seventy-seven Naira, eighty-three Kobo (N226,690,577.83). The paper also found that the successful planning and implementation of community development projects by the Community Based Organizations in Kwara State has been hampered by a number of problems such as financial constraints, lack of adequate manpower, unfavourable government policy among others. The paper therefore recommends that government at the local level in particular should assist the community based organizations in monitoring their projects, come up with community-friendly policies and set aside at least 2.5% of their annual budgets as grants to community based organizations.

Keywords: Community, Grassroots, Development Community Based Organizations.

Introduction

The individual is helpless socially if left to himself. If he comes into contact with his neigbours, therewill be an accumulation of social capital whichmay immediately satisfy his social needs and whichmay bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the wholecommunity (Hanifan, 1916).

Governments in African nations have evolved both top-down and bottom-up approaches to achieve sustainable development of their people. These include establishment of lead industries at key centers to create job opportunities, provide basic infrastructure and utilize regional natural and man-made resources to stimulate growth and economic development. However, the failure of governments' top-down approach and lack of involvement of the people at the grassroots in the bottom-up strategy have weakened the confidence of the public in central authorities. Consequently, communities therefore seek solace in indigenous institutions, which pressurize governments for attention to development problems in their communities in addition to undertaking development programmes and projects that they observe that are very needful in their immediate communities (Abegunde, 2009). Thus, Bzugu, Gwary and Tarfa (2008) lent credence to

Unarguably, Nigeria in the strictest sense, cannot be identified with one specific model of development as it were with what obtains in countries like China or Japan. Their models or strategies are planned and implemented meticulously with occasional revision when input-output loop (feedback) indicates need to do so. In the case of Nigeria, the practice has been a mixed grill.

At the inception of civil rule led by President OlusegunObasanjo especially after a careful study of the socio-economic and political situation in the country, in 2013, established an economic reform group that because known as the "Dream Team" Composed of a crop of technocrats. The team was led by NgoziOkonjo-Iweala, The Minister for finance, recruited from the world bank, Professor CharlseSoludo, Governor of the Central Bank and Professor Ode Ojowu, Chief Economic Adviser to the President. Other members were Nasir El Rufai, Ministries of the Federal Capital Territory and ObyEzekesile, Head of the Due Process Office in the Presidency. This core team was complemented by other academics and technocrats such as Professor Julius Ihonvbere in charge of the Policy Monitoring Team in the Presidency, C. Chikwelu, the Minister of Information, Bode Augusto, the Director-General of the Budget Office, Dr. GokeAdegorowe, Burea for Public Service Reform. Debt Management Office. It was therefore clear who was doing what for the realization of the collective agenda.

The team draw up an economic reform agenda- the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) and engaged the civil society and the wider public on it. It was expected that the reform agenda was to lay a strong foundations for economic growth and employment. Of course, part of the task of the "Dream team" was to address the situation created by President Obasanjo himself wherein by May 1, 2000 in response to Labour demand for increase in Minimum wage to #7,500 which was between 250%-35% pay rise to public servant, 70% of Federal Government spending was used in running the Federal Bureaucracy (Jubril, 2016).

In 2007, a major review of NEEDS that accommodated criticism made was carried out and President OlusegunObasanjo handed it over to President Yar'Adua with instructions to implement. However, the new Administration decided to formulate a new plan based on their Seven Point Agenda which was short lived as a result of the death of President Musa Yar'Adua. President Goodluck Jonathan initiated the Transformation Agenda which became a household name during his administration. It was designed to permeate a wide spectrum of the nation's everyday life, ranging from housing industry, energy, entertainment to the whole gamut of everyday facet of our social life. Thus, various Development Finance Institutions (DFIs) where to be empowered to effectively contribute to the national transformation agenda. The injection of billions of naira into the Bank of Industry, Nigerian Export-Import Bank, Bankof Agriculture and the Federal Mortgage Bank and others are pointer to this (Mahmud, 2015).

Again, as landable as the Transformation Agenda may seem, it lacked requisite funding needed to translate it to reality. The program requires huge financial outlay, it also required long-term sustainable funding which the commercial banks are not enabled to provide, given the short term nature of their credit portfolio.

Globalization and the Nigerian experience in Policy of Economic Reform

Arising from the explanations of the different models for development in Nigeria, it therefore becomes important to new look at globalization and policies for reforms in order for Nigeria to

globalize.

Globalization as explained earlier and by a general consensus is intended to generate and yield substantial benefits to all nations of the world as long as all those involved show some high level of commitment and strong will. This commitment and strong economic will are measured generally by the degree of openness and liberalization of a nation's economy which was mentioned earlier. Once a nation's economy is opened, investments and intermediate goods that ordinarily would not be provided domestically at the cost of comparative advantage can then be imported. Rodrik (1999) adds that ideas and technology from more developed nations and even access to foreign savings that can help poor nations and even some of the traditional impediments to rapid growth can also be transferred. All these will lead to economically interconnected world and a deeper and broader scope of economic integration of particularly developing countries like Nigeria with international markets.

In line with this view for instance, Nigeria signed a treaty to become a global player and an entrepreneur of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) since 1983 with the intent to become a competitor in the global market. Three years later, specifically in 1986, it embarked on the restructuring of the economy through the structural adjustment programme (SAP), intended to firmly and safely secure an enviable place in its new search for global economic integration look or either recent policies. How has this attempt and undertaken affected the Nigerian economy Studies showed that rather than salvagethe Nigerian economic downturn, some items of the omnibus programme like trade liberalization, deregulation of the economy particularly in the area of foreign exchange and interest rate regime have helped to worsen the Nigerian economic situation. To effectively prosecute the trade liberalization policy through SAP and others, government had to abolish price controls and reformed the import prohibition laws, which enabled her to reduce the items initially prohibited from importation from 74 to 16 (Aigbokhan 1989).

Again, in Agriculture, the policy of free trade has worked to threaten or destroy the livelihood of millions of the Nigerian farmers and kept the Nigerian people poor. Statistics show that the contribution of agriculture, forestry and fishing as a percentage of the total foreign private investment fell from 4.1 points in 1978 to 1.2 points in 1989. This further fell to 1.0 point in 1995 and a further fall to 0.9 points in 1997. The same argument is true for the transport and communication sector. The decrease has been manifested more during the post-SAP period than the pre-SAP period. Hence, the argument that the opening up of Nigerian economy to the world in the form of liberalization has not really produced any meaningful result to the productive and growth-driven sectors. Here in Nigeria, today, the government is no more granting subsidies for the products of the petroleum industry and agricultural sector. We, therefore find it comfortable, cheaper to import smuggle rice from the USA, Taiwan, Brazil, Thailand, and so on to feed the teaming population of Nigerians because of the high subsidies enjoyed by this sectors from their various governments. The Nigerian farmer is left to wallow in frustration, poverty and abandonment. While American farmers enjoy between 15-25 per cent subsidy from the American government, the Nigerian farmers can only boast of government sponsored sales or in some cases claimed to subsidize fertilizers that do not always reach them because of the insincerity in the distribution network and even now they no more sponsor it as government now sells fertilizers to farmers on cooperative basis. The same is true for the oil industry. In, 1986 when SAP was introduced with the deregulation of the

should be noted that local government remains an important tier of government, and there are several uses to which it can be put. It exists in order to promote development and facilitate the provisions of services to the community. It will therefore be necessary to allow states deploy these institutions to maximize their use as dictated by local circumstances. This can only be achieved by granting this level of government both administrative and financial autonomy.

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quality of service delivery and as a device for mitigating inter governmental conflicts. It from the central authority. On the same table, 75.8% of the respondents agreed that local dwellers do not benefit from the services rendered by the local authorities while 24.2% disagreed. Findings from the field identified poor public private partnership support as a bane for effective service delivery in the local government. This is supported by 68.2% corresponding opinion. From the table, revenue allocation is fuels crisis among the levels of government in Nigeria. 54.5% corresponding opinion justifies this. The paper identified state local government joint account arrangement as an impediment towards achieving service delivery in the local government. This is supported by 62.1% conforming opinion.

VIII. Recommendations

Revenue allocation is an age-long problem in Nigeria. Attempts at arriving at a viable revenue allocation formula have been following the trend in the Nigerian political development and her economy. The crucial issues involved are the share at each levels of government and an acceptable principle for sharing revenue among the constituents. Not less than eight committees and commissions had been set up between 1946 and 1980 to look into the issues of revenue in the country. At no time, however, were the recommendations agreeable to all. In recent times, the high proportion of revenue retained by the federal government is being questioned, for its share remains relatively high leaving the local government with 20.60%. This apparently shows that this level of government receives the least proportion from the Federation Account. Nonetheless, the local government is expected to finance its developmental projects and programmes from the relatively small proportion it receives. Meanwhile, a number of factors have made this objective to be unsuccessful. These include: fiscal centralism on the part of the federal and state governments, unnecessary bureaucratic bottlenecks, ambiguity created by the constitution, and the state and local government joint account. Arising from these facts, therefore, the researchers recommend as follows:

i. That the idea of state and local government joint account be abolished to enable local government enjoy substantial autonomy to determine both staff and financial matters.
ii. Stakeholders, governmental and non-governmental organisations and community leaders should be integrated in the community drive for development.
iii. Public private partnership should be the key to effective service delivery at the local government level in Nigeria.
iv. The auditing process at the local government level should be strengthened in order to checkmate the incidence of corruption and to facilitate the drive for service delivery.
v. The constitution should be reviewed to enhance the autonomy of the local government.

IX Conclusion

In the contemporary world, all federal systems have found it imperative to engage in a network of formal and informal interactions (inter-governmental relations) between or among levels of government in the polity. This is against the backdrop of the realisation that since the ultimate essence of all levels of government in a political system is the maximization of the welfare of its citizen and promotion of their happiness, it becomes necessary for the various levels of government to cooperate, in order to overcome any impediments or deadlocks created by constitutional rigidity or other factors, with a view to enhancing the speed and

exchange rate regime, the value of the naira plummeted exchanging at #4.60 to US$1.00 as against the earlier first-tier exchange rate of #1.60 to the US1.00. The depreciation continued at an unavoidable speed. Thus, by December 1990, the naira officially exchanged at #8.71 to the US$1.00. In 2003, about #130 exchanges for US$1.00 by Jamal 2017, about #450 exchanges for US$1.00. what all these led to, was an apparent "high cost of domestic production, particularly for import-dependent sectors and imported consumer goods". Expectedly, the price of industrial raw materials, agricultural inputs, transports and construction equipment which generally are not produced here had to rise thereby leading to increases in the costs of industrial and agricultural production, transportation and construction.

The deregulation of the economy also led to high interest rate regime in the economy. Therefore, agriculture and manufacturing sectors that have the potency to bring about technological revolution in industrial products and telecommunications that have made the world a global village have become negatively affected which by implication has also affected development in the country.

Globalization and its Challenges for Development in Nigeria: Globalization therefore has become a major challenge operationally for the developing world like Nigeria. indeed, it couldits be seen as the worst set-back that could happen to its their industrialization aspiration. This is so because the world economy is structured on specialization, competition and comparative advantage. As a matter of fact, it ensures the producers of raw materials would remain as such for all time, deprived of the liberty to determine prices of their products and the direction of their trades. This is why globalization in this instance is tantamount to neo-colonialism if not reinvented slavery.One fundamental dreadful aspect of globalization is the continuous increased level of underdevelopment among third world countries and indeed Nigeria that are supposedly co-actors in the global theatre. From all indication, we now have only one world made up of many destinies. The richer and the poorer. In most quarters, globalization is viewed primarily from the perspective of its assumed benefits and capacity for creating more of such benefits in future. For instance, the United Nation Human Development Report of 1999 applauded globalization as a phenomenon that "offers enormous potential to eradicate poverty in 21st century" (UN, 1999).

The reality of today does not lend support to this claim. What obtains is rather a situation of deepening squalor in the midst of global wealth. The enormous wealth generated by globalization is not fairly distributed. The gains are lopsided and skewed in favour of the developed industrial societies to the detriment of the less developed third world countries. In fact, in the context of globalization, the rich countries, individuals or groups get richer, while the poor countries, groups or individuals within the society get poorer (Nwagbara, 2003).

In the area of trade liberalisation, for instance, Nigeria has become a huge dumping ground for all types of products. Most of these goods are often sub-standard. The ugly result of the massive importation is that local manufacturing industries, which often operate in hostile environment, are forced to close down. By depending excessively on foreign goods, the economy is unwittingly run to sustain jobs in those countries from which importations into the country are made, while the economy at home remains plagued with the scourge of unemployment.

Jobs have been lost massively in recent time as a result of trade liberalization. Various sectors

of economy are affected, especially textile, manufacturing and agriculture. What obtains currently is low industrialization for Nigeria.

Jobs losses and mounting unemployment have various disastrous implications. These include non-utilization and under-utilisation of human capital, hunger, poverty, crime, conflict, diseases, environmental degradation, prostitution, human trafficking, mounting family crises, various forms of child abuses, and all the ills that add up to underdevelopment.

Globalization has enormous implications for the environment. The Nigeria situation calls for special attention. In addition to trans-border pollution that has been on the global agenda for decades, Nigeria faces other serious challenges. For instance, the extent to which the foreign investors carry out environmental impact assessment prior to establishment of the factories remains to be established. What they do with their industrial waste and the quantities that find their way into the country's fresh waters, call for attention. Again, the massive flooding of foreign goods and their eventual voracious consumption, (as Nigerians have developed new appetite and tastes), have given rise to new challenges of solid waste management and environmental degradation in the country. There are today, mountains of new strains of bio-non-degradable solid waste (empty cans, bottles, polythene, etc).

Globalization has also heightened the brain-drain phenomenon. With unequal levels of development, highly skilled manpower earns more income in the industrially advanced countries than in the less developed countries like Nigeria. The result is that Nigeria has suffered serious brain drain and the areas most hit are the education and health care sectors. Numerous reports indicate that Nigeria experts abound in dispora. While many still inside the country are pushing and striving to join them, due to lack of enabling environment (Aniebonam, 2002). This brain drain does not forster development.

Cultural impoverishment is yet another form of development challenge inflicted on societies through the influence of globalization. In Nigeria, western culture and values have so much infiltrated our society such that some of our rich cultural heritage has given way to alien ones. Precipitating this cultural impoverishment is the giant technological height attained by the modern world in the area of communication. Examples are proliferation of televisions and western movies as well as the internet, all of which influence the lifestyles and the way people (especially those from developing countries) think. Oftentimes, immoral behaviours and attitudes were imbibed while the normative values become meaningless. Preference for foreign fabrics and designers wears by Nigerians is on the increase as these goods continue to flood the Nigerian markets without hindrance. Many manufacturers of local fabrics have run out of business as a result of this. From whatever angle one views it, African countries and indeed Nigeria are victims of cultural underdevelopment.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In conclusion, globalizations is good if only its benefits are evenly distributed across the globe. But this is not so. Third world countries and indeed Nigeria are still undermined by the developed countries in the globalization process.

Consequently, to enable Nigeria extricate itself from the west in the global arena and achieve substantial strand in development, the following recommendations are made.

There should be a process of extensive consultations between government ministries, departments and agencies to elaborate a new policy direction in relation to analysis of the inadequacies of existing policy and the resource available. This process should lead to the publication of an acceptable instrument (paper) which will then be widely distributed to

Services cannot be delivered without prompt and adequate subventions and allocations from the central authority	Agree	40	60.6
	Disagree	26	39.4
	Total	66	100
Local dwellers do not benefit from the services rendered by the local authorities	Agree	50	75.8
	Disagree	16	24.2
	Total	66	100
Poor public private partnership support affects service delivery in the local government	Agree	45	68.2
	Disagree	21	31.8
	Total	66	100
Revenue allocation is fuels crisis among the levels of government in Nigeria	Agree	36	54.5
	Disagree	30	45.5
	Total	66	100
The state local government joint account arrangement is a bane towards achieving service delivery in the local government	Agree	41	62.1
	Disagree	25	37.9
	Total	66	100

Discussion of Findings

Questionnaires were distributed to 80 respondents, equivalent of 100%, out of which 66 copies (82.5%) were retrieved. As shown in table 3 of this paper, it was discovered that 63.6% of the respondents strongly agreed that local governments provide framework for mobilizing and sustaining popular zeal and initiative in development while others have contrary opinion. In addition, 75.8% of the respondents supported that financial autonomy of local government will facilitate effective service delivery. Findings from the field revealed that 72.7% of the respondents strongly believed that the mutual and interdependent relationship among the three levels of government in Nigeria will promote sustainable development at the grassroots level. As shown on the table, it has been discovered that the local government is a medium through which national development could be created and enhanced. This is justified by 56.1% corresponding opinion. Majority of the respondents (60.6%) were of the opinion that services cannot be delivered without prompt and adequate subventions and allocations from

using descriptive and inferential statistics.

Data Presentation and Discussion of Findings

Table 5 Showing Analysis of Questionnaire Distributed

Questionnaire Distributed	*Frequency*	*Percentage (%)*
Total Number Distributed	80	100
Returned	66	82.5
Not Returned	14	17.5
Total	80	100

Source: Fieldwork, September, 2016.

Source: Fieldwork, September, 2016.

Table 6 Showing Analysis of Respondent Views on Revenue Allocation and Service Delivery in the Nigerian Local Government

	Response	Frequency	Percentage%
Local governments provide framework for mobilizing and sustaining popular zeal and initiative in development	Agree	42	63.6
	Disagree	24	36.4
	Total	66	100
Financial autonomy of local governments will facilitate effective service delivery	Agree	50	75.8
	Disagree	16	24.2
	Total	66	100
The mutual and interdependent relationship among the three levels of government in Nigeria will promote sustainable development at the grassroots level	Agree	48	72.7
	Disagree	18	27.3
	Total	66	100
Local governments are a medium through which national development could be created and enhanced	Agree	37	56.1
	Disagree	29	43.9
	Total	66	100

stakeholders including the media, universities and research centres as well as all interested parties for comments, criticisms and inputs on the suggested policy direction. Upon an evaluation of inputs, there will now be revised policy direction which can now be issued as an instrument potrailing the acceptable direction as agreed by all towards achieving development. It is the recommendation of this paper that there should be a legal backing to this instrument or document through an executive bill, which is sent to the National Assembly to be made an Act of Parliament and Consequently could attract sanctions if not followed.

The policy framework of President Buhari, was a reinvigorated effort in cumbating corruption and promoting transparency and accountability, promoting macro-economic stability through the acceleration of Privatization and Liberalization of the economy, public service reform, including reform of public expenditure, budgeting and the civil service and strengthening basic service delivery through improved governance and institution was designed to align with his vision. This was captured by his campaign team as his 5 points agenda which was later summarized to his 3 points agenda.

Nigerian should initiate her own development strategies based on her socio-economic orientations. It is well known that the crisis of development in Nigeria stems in part from the fact that the development agenda and strategies pursued have usually been determined from outside the country. But in this new era of globalization, she must learn for itself what is proper for her and what is within her for the benefit of her people.

Our policy makers should make policies that would protect the local industry as well as promote further investments, encourage competition, and enhance efficiency. Such policies should encourage small and medium scale enterprises since they constitute the main engine of development. such policies should also discourage various forms of reckless and unpatriotic importation of non-essential goods and services into country, through high tariffs.

There is need to make viable policies that will turn around critical sectors like education, health, etc. in order to reduce the underdevelopment that is caused by the high influx of Nigerian professionals abroad hence converting brain-drain in Nigeria into “brain gain”.

The indigenous information media such as newspapers, television, radio, etc. should as much as possible promote our indigenous culture and lay less emphasis on foreign ways of doing things. With this, our cherished values which have been lost to western culture would be re-invented and globalization will have a positive effect on development in Nigeria.

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match supply of a given service to citizens' demands; transforming citizens from service recipient client, and ensuring citizens greater accountability for service quality.

Table 4 Showing Basic Services that Local Governments Provide for Local Dwellers
Key: (X) – Not Available (✓) – Available

Services	Service delivery Authorities and Availability of Services in the Selected Local Governments		
	Ibadan North	Ibadan South West	Ibadan North East
Water supply	X	X	X
Parks and open spaces	✓	✓	✓
Slaughter houses	X	X	X
Cemeteries and crematoria	✓	✓	✓
Refuse collection and disposal	X	X	X
Housing and Town Planning	✓	✓	✓
Primary Health Care	✓	✓	✓
Pre-nursery	X	X	X
Transport	✓	X	X
Sanitation	✓	✓	✓
Museums	X	X	X
Libraries	X	X	X

Source: Fieldwork, October, 2016.

VII. Methodology

The study addressed politics of revenue allocation and service delivery in the local government. The study utilized both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Qualitative and Quantitative data are gathered by using primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected through the administration of questionnaires and in-depth interviews. The total population of staff in the three selected local governments was 756 excluding the ad-hoc staff out of which 80 respondents representing a sample fraction of 10.58% were selected. The selection is premised on the membership of the selected respondents on the State Executive Council as well as membership of Joint Tax Board, both of which are equipped with adequate information on the management of statutory allocation in the local government. Copies of questionnaires were administered on the revenue allocation and service delivery in the Nigerian local government system. Out of the 80 copies of questionnaire distributed to respondents in Ibadan North local government, Ibadan South West local government and Ibadan North East local government, a total of (66) equivalent of (82.5%) copies were completed and returned. Those that were interviewed include some selected directors of the Federal Inland Revenue Service, Heads of parastatals, Ministries, Departments and extra Ministerial department, the chairman Local government service commission, and the commissioner for the ministry of local government and chieftaincy matters, Oyo State. Secondary data were obtained from relevant textbooks, journals, standing order, annual report, Fiscal Commission Act, and the internet. Data collected were analysed

Table 3 Showing Annual Summary of Federally Collected Revenue in Billion from 2011-2015

Year	Target (₦ Billion)	Actual (₦ Billion)
2011	3,639.1	4,628.5
2012	3,635.5	5,007.7
2013	4,468.9	4,805.6
2014	4,086.1	4,714.6
2015	4,572.2	3,741.8

Source: *Federal Inland Revenue Service, 2015**

VI. Theoretical Framework

This paper is hinged on Decentralisation Theory. The term decentralisation refers to the handing over of some amount of administrative authority or responsibility to the lower levels with certain central government ministries and agencies. It involves the shifting of the workload from the centrally located officials to staff or offices outside the nation's capital. It gives some discretion to field agents to plan and implement programmes and projects, or to adjust central directives to local conditions, within the guidelines set by the central ministry or agency headquarters. There are different forms of decentralisation. These include: decentralisation by delegation, decentralisation by deconcentration, decentralisation by privatisation and decentralisation by devolution. Among all these forms of decentralisation, it is only decentralisation by devolution that best explains how powers, functions and finance are devolved to local governments in order to ensure better service delivery.

Thus, devolution implies "the divestment of functions by the central government and the creation of new units of governance outside the control of central authority" According to Rondinelli (1984), devolution has certain characteristics which are as follows:

i. It requires that local governments be given autonomy and independence and be clearly perceived of as a separate level over which central authorities exercise little or no direct control.
ii. The local units must have clear and legally recognized geographical boundaries over which they perform public functions.
iii. Local governments must be given corporate status and the power to raise sufficient resources to perform specified functions.
iv. Devolution implies the needs to "develop local governments as institutions" in the sense that they are perceived by local citizens as organizations providing services that satisfy their needs and as government units over which they have some influence.
v. Devolution is an arrangement in which there are reciprocal, mutually benefiting and coordinate relationships between central and local governments; that is, the local government has the ability to interact reciprocally with other units in the system of government of which it is a part.

Decentralization of service delivery functions to local government bodies is the most popular service delivery model in the world. Decentralization is based on subsidiary principals of governance; a rule where provision, production and delivery of services are to be devolved to the lowest layer of the government, local bodies, subject to economics of scale and capacity. By virtue of being the closest to the public, local bodies are better positioned to

POLITICS OF REVENUE ALLOCATION AND SERVICE DELIVERY IN THE NIGERIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

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Abstract
Revenue allocation involves primarily the sharing of proceeds from a variety of sources of revenue among the component units in a federation, on the one hand, and between the component and federal authority, on the other hand. It is an endemic issue and indeed a recurring problem in Nigeria's political system. It is a very sensitive issue and transcends the realm of economics; in fact, it is more of politics. This study therefore x-rays the interplay between politics of revenue allocation and service delivery in the Nigerian local government. The paper utilised both primary and secondary sources of data collection. The primary data is collected through the administration of questionnaire and oral interview while the secondary data is obtained from textbooks, journals, dailies, internet materials, as well as official publication of Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission, Federal Inland Revenue Service and Central Bank of Nigeria. The paradigm of fiscal federalism with emphasis on Financial Devolution serves as the theoretical consideration for this study. Findings from the study reveal that there have been significant gaps, inconsistencies between the officially recommended revenue sharing formulae and the actual parentage disbursed to the federating units in the federation, thereby fuelling bitter intergovernmental complaints of diversion of funds. The aforementioned irregularities and pathologies have undermined service delivery at the local government level.
Keywords: Politics, Revenue Allocation, Local Government, Service Delivery

Introduction

Revenue allocation in Nigeria has always been politics driven. It has been an enduring feature of the country's political system. Nigeria has a revenue distribution system in which nationally collected revenue is shared between the Federal Government and the sub-national governments. The fiscal relationship between the three tiers of government in Nigeria has been contentious over the years due to lack of an acceptable formula. It has generated tension and crisis among the three tiers of government. Hence, it is imperative to point out that the

problem of revenue allocation is one of the most important issues in the relationship between or among the various levels of governments in all federations, including the United States. As Dudley rightly noted:

> *one of the stresses in a federal state arises from allocation of resources, and specifically, the allocation of revenue between the component units and components and federal authority.*

To him,

> *it is part of what is meant, in saying of a system that it is a federal system that there is a constitutional division of jurisdiction between the component units and the federal authority, a division which entails that each component part, and the overall authority', should have some independent' source of revenue to it.*

Nigeria's model of fiscal federalism represents a fundamental legal and institutional framework for policy making in the country. As in other federations, it defines the core rules for resource allocation, distributions of responsibilities for service delivery, and mechanisms for interaction between different tiers of government (Paul, 2013). He argues further that Nigeria's fiscal federalism arrangement is currently attracting increasing attention from both policy makers and analysts. This is a reflection of the fact that longer term perspectives of economic policy reform in the country are critically dependent upon improvements in the organisation of intergovernmental arrangements. Such arrangements shave direct implications for achieving national growth and poverty reduction target.

The 1999 constitution has outlined the revenue profile of each tier of government; the major areas of revenue generation in the country which are made up of import duties, expert duties, excise duties, mineral rents and royalties, value added tax and so on are all within the jurisdiction of the federal government. While sources such as the personal income taxes (PAYE), sales tax, etc. that generate considerable revenue are assigned to the state governments. The layout of local government revenue sources consists of community tax, rents, and licenses such as bicycle, wheel barrow, radio and television licenses, commercial service revenue and statutory allocations from the federation account. The revenue sources of the local government only generate a paltry amount of revenue that is inconsequential.

The structure of the revenue profile of the local governments in Nigeria clearly indicates that they heavily depend on statutory allocation for their survival since the internal revenue sources are insignificant (Akpa, 2008). Furthermore, these statutory allocations are not paid directly to the local governments but rather to states local government joint accounts, leaving the local government at the mercy of the state government. Some state governments are reluctant in releasing the statutory allocations to the local governments. There is a clear mismatch between responsibilities and revenue powers at the lower tier of government and this has greatly impaired the ability of local governments to deliver service at the grassroots. This definitely is not a healthy situation given the fact that about eighty percent of the Nigerian population live in rural areas and the only impact of government on their lives will be effective delivery of services such as good and motorable roads, health care facilities recreational facilities, good market and stores, street light, among others.

The crux of this paper therefore is on the politics of revenue allocation and service

Table 2 Showing Summary of Revenue Allocation from the Federal Government to Local Government (1976-2015)

S/No.	Year	Total Federal Government Revenue (₦ Million)	Amount Allocated to Local Government (₦ Million)
1.	1976	6,765.9	100.0
2.	1977	8,043.4	250.0
3.	1978	7,469.3	150.0
4.	1979	11,809.1	344.3
5.	1980	11,859.8	278.0
6.	1981	14,745.7	1,085.0
7.	1982	10,617.7	1,018.7
8.	1983	10,947.4	996.8
9.	1984	11,738.5	1,061.5
10.	1985	15,041.8	1,327.5
11.	1986	14,189.9	1,166.9
12.	1987	25,099.8	2,117.8
13.	1988	27,310.8	2,727.1
14.	1989	47,793.3	3,336.8
15.	1990	85,249.3	6,300.0
16.	1991	100,999.6	10,199.8
17.	1992	190,453.3	15,720.0
18.	1993	192,769.4	18,316.40
19.	1994	201,910.8	17,321.30
20.	1995	45,987.3	17,875.50
21.	1996	520,190.0	17,586.50
22.	1997	582,811.1	22,300.50
23.	1998	463,608.8	30,199.30
24.	1990	949,187.90	43,870.30
25.	2000	1,906,159.90	102,521.30
26.	2001	2,231,600.00	128,500.48
27.	2002	1,731,800.00	128,896.70
28.	2003	2,575,100.00	291,406.90
29.	2004	3,920,500.00	375,656.30
30.	2005	5,547,500.00	492,000.26
31	2006	5,965,101.90	674,255.7
32	2007	5,715,600.00	832,300.0
33	2008	7,866590.10	1,387,871.3
34	2009	4,844,592.34	1,069,365.2
35	2010	7,303,671.55	1,359,161.3

Sources: Central Bank of Nigeria; Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the various years listed.

Aboyade, 1977	i) Equality of access 25%. ii) National minimum standard 22% iii) Absorption Capacity 20% iv) Independent revenue 18% v) Fiscal efficiency 15%	Replaced DPA with federation account. Fixed proportional share of this account between the federal 57%, states 30%, Local Government joint account created.
1981 Act	Same as above	Federation account to be shared: federal Government 55%, State Government 30.5%, Local Government 10%, special fund 4.5%
Decree No. 49 of 1989	Same as above	Federation account to be shared: federal Government 55%, State Government 32.5%, Local Government 10%, special fund 2.5%
Danjuma Commission 1989	Same as above	Equality of states 40%. Population 30%. Social development effort 10%. Tax effort 10%. Land mass%.
Decree No. 49 of 1989	i) Equality of states 40%. ii) Population 30% iii) Internal revenue effort iv) Land mass v) Social Development factor 10%	Federation account to be shared: federal Government 47%, State Government 10%, Local Government 15%, special fund 8%
Decree No. 3 of January 1992	Same as above	Federation account to be shared: federal Government 50%, State Government 25%, Local Government 20%, special fund 7%
Decree No. 3 of January 1994	Same as above	Federation account to be shared: federal Government 48.5%, State Government 24%, Local Government 20%, special fund 7%
Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo 1999-2007	Same as above	Federation account to be shared: federal Government 52.68%, State Government 26.72%, Local Government 20.60%.

delivery at the local government level in Nigeria.

II. Statement of the Problem

Nigeria's fiscal Federalism is anchored on economic, political, constitutional, local and cultural developments. The country's Federal structure presently consists of thirty-six states, a Federal Capital Territory and seven hundred and seventy-four Local Governments. Consequently, the structure is a three tier or level of Government; the centre (Federal), States and Locals Governments, within a presidential system of government (Elaigwu, 2007). The Fiscal Inter-relationship between the three-tiers of government has been contentions over the years. In Nigeria, the issue of sharing resources among the three levels of government has remained controversial due to lack of acceptable formula. It generates tension and bad blood among the three tiers of government. This has resulted in setting up of different committees or commissions to prescribe the formula to be used. Also , there exists a conflict between the Federal, State and Local government over the acceptable formula for revenue sharing. For instance, the conflict is usually whether the principle of derivation, need, national interest or landmass should be used as the basis in this regard. Even when these principles may be generally accepted as the main basis for working out revenue allocation formula, conflict might arise following as to which of the principles takes precedence over others as the main criteria for sharing the revenue.

This is the problem of tax jurisdiction, which refers to the problem of which aspect of government should collect what revenue over a particular area. These have constituted serious problems among the Federal, State and Local Governments. Their share of tax revenue seriously affects local governments, in particular, owing to the fact that they are the lowest of all the levels of government; likewise ,they collect the least amount of tax revenue, which makes them still stagnant.

Another problem is the existence of control of one level of government by another in any aspect (Abonyi, 2005). Several studies on intergovernmental relations reveal that both the federal and state governments do encroach on the functions of local government in Nigeria. They both exercise a high degree of interference on the affairs of local government throughout the federation. This has affected the quality of services to be rendered to the populace at local government level. It is on the basis of this identified gap that the paper probes into the causes of the problems emanating from intergovernmental interactions as well as the administrative and constitutional mechanisms employed to address these problems and how the structure and working of intergovernmental relations affect the performance of local government in effective service delivery at the local level.

III. Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this paper is to look at the interplay between politics of revenue allocation and service delivery at the local level. While specific objectives are to:

a. examine the impact of revenue allocation on service delivery at the local government level in Nigeria;
b. analyse the various sources of conflict emanating from intergovernmental relations in Nigeria; and
c. evaluate the administrative and constitutional mechanisms employed for addressing intergovernmental relations conflict in Nigeria.

IV. Research Questions

The following research questions, among others, serve as a guide to this paper.

a. To what extent has the relationship among the three levels of government in Nigeria influence the operations of local government in terms of service delivery□

b. Do you consider the mutual and interdependent relationship among the three levels of government in Nigeria necessary□

c. What are the causes of conflicts in intergovernmental relations in Nigeria□

d. What are the various mechanisms employed for addressing conflict emanating from intergovernmental relations in Nigeria.

V. Conceptual Framework

Revenue Allocation

Unarguably, fiscal federalism is the whole idea of how money is raised through taxation and spent through appropriation which is usually one of the most contentious issues in federal systems. Fiscal federalism concerns the division of public sector functions and finances among different tiers of government (Ozo-Eson, 2005). Nowhere is the emergence of federal supremacy better reflected than in fiscal relations. A federal fiscal system comprises of two parts: IGR Tax Jurisdiction and IGR Revenue Allocation. While the first pertains to the legal basis of levying taxes, the latter pertains to the distribution of the revenue amongst the tiers of government. (Fajana, 1980)

In a federal system of government, the issue of financial relations is always very explosive. As a result, it always attracts to itself an unprecedented attention. Issues concerning the appointment of centrally collected financial revenue and taxing powers vested in each tier of government, in short, fiscal federalism, are a salient aspect of Nigeria's public administration. Revenue Allocation is a crucial issue because the federal government levies and collects a variety of taxes on behalf of the whole country. These revenues go into the pool called the Federation Account. The sharing of the revenue from the federation account is based on what is called the Federal Revenue Allocation Formula. The adoption of a new revenue allocation formula has most often, though not always, been preceded by the establishment of a revenue allocation commission. A permanent body called the National Revenue Mobilization, Allocation and Fiscal Commission was established in 1989 and entrusted with the responsibility for advising the government on measures for revenue allocation and mobilization. The revenue allocation formula in force since June 1992 gives 48.5 per cent of the federation account to the federal government, 24 percent to the state government, 20 percent to the local governments and percent as special fund that is distributed for such purposes as ecology, development of oil mineral producing areas, and the Federal Capital Territory.

Table 1 Showing Summary of the History of Revenue Allocation in Nigeria, 1946-2015

Commission	Recommended Criteria	Other basic features of recommendations
Phillipson, 1946	i) Derivation. ii) Even progress	Balance after meeting central Government's budgetary need allocated to region.

Raisman, 1958	i) derivation ii) fiscal autonomy. iii) Balance development iv) Need	Proportion of specified revenues distributed on the basis of derivation. Creation of distributable pool account (DPA) with fixed regional proportional shares: North 40%, west 31%, east 24%, and Southern Cameroun 5%.
Binns, 1964	Same as above plus financial comparability	Composition of DPA relative share slightly altered, North 42%, East 30%, West 20% and Mid-West 8%
Diana 1968	i. Even development ii. Derivation iii. Need iv. minimum responsibility of the government.	Special grant account introduced, recommended the establish0ment planning and fiscal commission. Recommendation rejected.
Decree No. 13 of 1970	i) population 50% ii) Equality of states 50%	Export duties states reduced from 100% to 60%.
Decree No. 9 of 1971	Same as above	Transferred rents and royalties of offshore petroleum mines from the states to the federal government.
Decree No. 6 of 1975	Same as above	Onshore mining rents and royalties to states reduced from 45% to 20%. Remaining 80% to the DPA. Import duties on motor spirit and tobacco to be paid 100% into the DPA. 50 0f excise duties to be retained by the federal Government, 100% to DPA.
Decree No. 15 of 1976	Same as above	Regional proportion share of DPA split among the 12 new states, 6 Northern states receive 7% each, East and Western states share in accordance with relative population

candidate or party over the other by way of informing them.

Personal Selling: Personal selling is sometimes integrated with the direct marketing element. However, many companies and individuals make such extensive use of a sales force that it is important to consider this component distinctly. This is personal presentation by the firm sales force for the purpose of marketing sales and building customer relationships (Amstrong & Kotler, 2014). Distribution channel suppliers use salespeople to promote products for resale to trade buyers. Retail salespeople promote the value of goods and services to consumers in retail businesses. Selling is more emphasized by companies that sell higher-end products and services that require more assertive efforts to persuade customers to buy. Personal selling is relevant to political aspirant during campaigns, the candidate carry out rally whereby they gather quite a number of eligible voters to create awareness and inform them of what they can offer to the people.

Sales promotion: Sales promotion is a short term incentives to encourage the purchase or sales of a product or service (Amstrong & Kotler 2005). Sales promotions or discounts are similar to advertising in that they are often promoted through paid communication. However, sales promotions actually involve offering a discounted price to a buyer. This may include coupons, percent-off deals and rebates. Along with advertisements to promote deals and coupon mailers, companies use exterior signs and in-store signage to call customer attention to the discounts. Goals of this communication tool include increasing revenue and cash flow, attracting new customers and clearing out extra inventory. Political aspirants also engage in sales promotion indirectly, they make promises to electorates that they will put certain things in place when they are elected and this could influence voters' behavior positively.

Public Relations: Public relations are sometimes somewhat similar to advertising in that much of it involves messages communicated through mass media. The major difference is that you don't pay for the time or space for the message. Public relation is the management of relationships and communication to establish good will and mutual understanding between an organization and its publics (Arun & Meenakshi, 2012). A television or newspaper feature story mentioning a business, for instance, is not paid for and can provide brand exposure. The downside of public relations is that you do not always control the messages. You can try to influence them through press releases and invites for media coverage, but the media could put a negative spin on the story. Political aspirants can create awareness and disseminate information through public relations.

Direct Marketing: Direct marketing includes some aspects of both sales promotions and personal selling. It is interactive communication with customers where the company's message seeks or implores a response from targeted customers. E-mail and direct mail are common formats. These messages are sent to customers with special offers or calls to action, often promoting limited-time deals or new product launches. Mail-order clubs, online or print surveys and infomercials are other examples of direct marketing communication. The internet is also part of direct marketing, political aspirant are judiciously making use of the available sites on the internet to create awareness and disseminate information on what they have to offer.

Developing Effective Marketing Communication Mix

Kevin (2016) identified the following ways of developing effective marketing communication mix:

Community Leadership as a Catalyst for Mobilizing Citizens' Participation in Self-Help Projects in Kwara State

The new theory of community development insists that a corps of committed leaders who owe primary allegiance and obligations to the people, the beneficiaries, is a must for any successful programme. Such leaders cannot be "outsiders" (Mulwa, 1987). Local leadership guarantees the possession of detailed knowledge of local resources, potentials, needs and priorities of local citizens. Indeed, the argument is that only the leadership with a good knowledge of the groups' needs and priorities can successfully guide a group to achieve its goals (The Editors, 1991). Enhanced leadership, above all, gives local people the bargaining power with which to confront and deal with existing powerful institutions, groups and individuals. The leadership called for must have the capacity to identify opportunities and the capability to mobilize the people to fulfill their felt needs within the limits of available resources.

As Ebong, (1990) rightly observed, participation is made possible through community organization in which among other things, leaders emerge or are chosen from within the community. The success of any organization depends on the operations of such leader. Citizens' participation in community development, an approach to development strategy has been in practice since the 1970s. The international health agencies then began to promote and finance it on an international scale. Several groups working with the poor people and disadvantaged groups have been able to establish projects in areas where these neglected groups had little or no access to government welfare programmes, by sharing an awareness that citizens' supports and participation is important and crucial for success.

Community Development Projects Executed by CBOs in Kwara State (1999 – 2008)

As a manifestation of their desire to make live more meaningful in their communities, Community Based Organizations (CBOs) embarked on self-help projects which culminated in the completion of the projects itemized in table 1 below.

TABLE 1: SELF-HELP PROJECTS EXECUTED BY CBOs IN NINE LGAs OF KWARA STATE (1999-2008)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS (1)	PERIOD (2)	NUMBER OF COMPLETED PROJECTS (3)	COST OF COMPLETED PROJECTS (4)	Remarks (5)
ASA	1999 - 2008	89	21,223,000.70	The 89 projects completed by the CBOs in ASA LGA represent 11.2% of the total.
EDU	1999 - 2008	79	19,113,434.55	In EDU LGA, 79 infrastructural projects were completed by the CBOs which represent 9.9% of the total.
IFELODUN	1999 - 2008	119	32,432,135.00	In Ifelodun, the projects completed were among the highest as it recorded 15.0% of the total.
ILORIN SOUTH	1999 - 2008	101	29,108,209.77	The CBOs in Ilorin South completed 101 projects and this

				represented 12.70% of the total.
ILORIN WEST	1999 - 2008	121	35,112,230.00	In Ilorin West, the CBOs recorded the highest number of projects completed 121 which is 15.2% of the total.
KAIAMA	1999 - 2008	66	15,000,000.53	66 projects were completed by the CBOs in Kaiama Local Government which represented 8.3% of the total.
MORO	1999 - 2008	55	13,505,000.85	In Moro Local Government, the CBOs recorded the lowest number of projects completed, 55 which amounted to 7.0% of the total.
OKE-ERO	1999 - 2008	87	23,000,000.00	CBOs in Oke-Ero Local Government completed a total of 87 projects which represented 10.9% of the total.
OYUN	1999 - 2008	78	17,123,000.98	The 78 projects completed by CBOs in Oyun Local Government amounted to 9.8% of the total.
TOTAL	-	795	205,617,012.38	100%

Sources: 1. Community Development Units of the nine selected LGAs in Kwara State
2. Community Development Department, Kwara State Ministry of Local Government
3. Planning, Research and Statistics Department, Kwara State Ministry of Local Government.
4. Kwara State Social and Community Development Agency (KWASCDA),

The above table shows the efforts made by Community Based Organizations (CBOs) in the provision of infrastructure to their local communities in nine (9), out of the sixteen (16) Local Government Areas of Kwara State. The community based organizations focused mainly on the construction/expansion, rehabilitation or renovation of Educational facilities, Water supply and Health care facilities. Between 1999 and 2008, a total of seven hundred and ninety-five (795) development projects were provided by the community based organizations at an aggregate total cost of two hundred and twenty-six million, six hundred and ninety thousand, five hundred and seventy-seven Naira, eighty-three Kobo (N226,690,577.83). Although these projects were conceived and financed by the Community Based Organizations (CBOs), the study discovered that the Local Government Councils nevertheless played the role of facilitators in the process of carrying out the projects by the community based organizations. Column 3 of Table 1 shows the aggregate number of projects completed by community based organizations in each of the nine Local Government Areas while column 4 indicates the aggregate amount spent by the organizations in each local government. At a glance, it is clear that there are variations in the number of projects executed by the community based organizations (CBOs) across the nine local government areas of the State. For instance, while three local government areas namely, Ifelodun, Ilorin South and

This study therefore seeks to find answers to this question: What is the effect of marketing communication mix on eligible voters during political campaigns in Ilorin metropolis In the light of the foregoing, therefore, the study is designed to examine the effect of marketing communication mix on eligible voters during political campaigns.

Literature Review

The Concept of Marketing Communication

In this era of digital technology and competition, businesses cannot survive without marketing their products, brand or services. Marketing is the performance of those activities which seek to accomplish individual or organization's objective by anticipating customer or client needs and directing flow of need-satisfying goods and services from producer to customer or client (Al and Trout, 2006). Marketing communication mix is a combination of different promotional tools (Amstrong and Kotler, 2014). It helps to develop brand awareness, which means that consumers translate product information into perceptions about the product's attributes and its position within the larger market (Felicia, 2016). The primary goal of marketing communication is to reach a defined audience to affect its behavior by informing, persuading and reminding. Marketing communication attracts new customer for brands by building awareness and encouraging trial. The secondary role of marketing communication is building and reinforcing relationships with customers' prospects, retailers and other important stakeholders. Successful marketing relies on the combination of options called the marketing communication mix. These options include advertising, sales promotion, public relations, direct marketing and personal selling.

Neil (2004) identified five marketing communication tools that can be used by business organizations and individuals to create awareness and build customer relationship. This include advertising, personal selling, sales promotion, public relations and direct marketing. Each category involves specific promotional tools that are used to communicate with customers. For example, advertising includes broadcast, print, internet, mobile, outdoor and other forms. Sales promotion includes discounts, coupons, displays and demonstration. Personal selling includes sales presentations, trade shows and incentive programmes. Public relations includes press releases, sponsorships, events and web pages. (Amstrong & Kotler, 2014)

Advertising: Advertising is often the most prominent element of the communication mix. In fact, marketing and advertising are often misconstrued as having the same meaning. Advertising includes all messages a business pays to deliver through a medium to reach a targeted audience.

Since it involves the majority of paid messages, companies often allocate significant amounts of the marketing budget to the advertising function. While it can be costly, the advertiser has ultimate control over the message delivered, since it pays the television or radio station, print publication or website for placement. Adverting is mostly used by political parties and aspirants to create awareness, with the use of television, radio, newspaper and posters. The 2015 election campaign in Ilorin metropolis was not left out. The author asserted further that, recently, political parties and their candidates are becoming increasingly aware of the effectiveness of advertising and its role in getting the electorates to choose a particular

level of persuasion with which significant numbers of eligible voters are held to elect him/her. In politics, campaigns have become an essential tool used amongst candidates contesting for various positions to get the electorates to vote for them (Grace, 2015). Seeking elective positions require that aspirants should develop effective strategies, possess adequate knowledge of eligible voters' behavior and communicating messages that will assist in election success. For eligible voters to elect a political aspirant, it is vital that political parties and candidates provide the electorates with adequate information on party policies, clear cut vision as well as their political agenda and manifesto to enable electorates actively choose their candidates, having adequately informed (Grace, 2015). To achieve this, political aspirants need to adopt marketing communication mix during campaigns.

Marketing communication mix is a strategy used to reach as many people as possible to convey to them what the candidate or organization has to offer (Brain, 2013). This strategy includes advertising, personal selling, sales promotion, public relations and direct marketing. Political parties and candidates must be able to integrate these strategies in order to achieve their aims and objectives. According to the American Association of Advertising Agencies (2016), by integrating marketing communication strategies, individuals or organizations provide clarity, consistency and maximum communications impact. Eligible voters are always eager to hear political aspirants make promises that will better their lives; this gives the aspirant a competitive edge over another aspirant who dwell so much on personal achievement. Fayipitan (2015) stated that voters are more likely to believe a politician who crafts his campaign messages as being the fight to improve voters' lives, or something similar, and come with some good measure of integrity. Such messages can be well communicated using the various marketing communication mixes.

Politics in Ilorin, the capital of Kwara state, has witnessed series of game plans adopted by various aspirants from several political parties for decades and many political aspirants had contested for various positions over the years with elections won and lost by contestants from various parties. Losing a political contest is not unconnected with factors like inadequate awareness of programmes, using the wrong communication strategies, and financial constraints among many other factors. This has spurred the study to look into the effect of marketing communication mix on eligible voters' decision during political campaigns in Ilorin metropolis.

Political campaign cannot be ignored by any party that wants to be successful in the present political dispensation. Politicians must be able to create awareness and give necessary information through the use of effective marketing communication mix to reach out to eligible voters. It is not just enough for political aspirants to contest for positions based on qualifications, but they also need to market themselves to eligible voters to achieve success.

It is unfortunate that many politicians in Nigeria have not seen marketing communication mix as a tool to reach and influence eligible voters. Political aspirants should be able to explore marketing communication strategies like advertising, personal selling, sales promotion, public relations and direct marketing in reaching out to eligible voters. Creating awareness and passing information through these strategies could go a long way to influence voter's behavior positively.

Ilorin West accounted for the highest percentage of projects which amounted to 14.97%, 12.70% and 15.22% (42.89%) respectively, CBOs in Kaiama and Moro recorded the lowest projects which is 8.30% and 6.92% respectively.

Our investigation revealed that the number of projects executed by the CBOs in each of the nine local government areas depends on a number of factors. One of such factors is the amount of funds available at the disposal of the CBOs at the commencement of the projects. The amount of funds available to CBOs come from two major sources namely, weekly or monthly contributions by members of the CBOs which can be regarded as internally generated revenue and funds raised from external sources such as money raised from lunching, donations or grants from the local government councils. It is important to point out here that grants from the local governments to the CBOs are no longer reliable as a source of external revenue because our investigation revealed that out of the nine Local Government Councils covered by the study, only two- Kaiama and Ilorin West Local Governments partially redeemed their promises of grant-aiding the community based organizations (CBOs) in their areas. This confirms the findings of Adedayo (1985) who found that most of the local governments in the old Kwara State failed to release their percentage grants for self-help projects. Similarly, funds from lunching and donations are not as reliable as contributions from members especially if such funds are not collected on the spot because as the members of the CBOs confirmed during our investigation, most people do not fulfill promises made during lunching. Thus, the only source of revenue that is reliable for the community based organizations (CBOs) is contribution from members. However, the amounts of money generated from members' contribution by each of the community based organizations also depend on two factors; the population or size of the CBO concern and the amount collectable from each member. The population of CBOs in the study areas ranges from fifty(50) to two hundred and fifty(250) members, and the amount being contributed by members ranges from One hundred Naira (N100.00), Two hundred Naira (N200.00) weekly to Four hundred Naira (N400.00) or Five hundred Naira (N500.00) monthly. Given these factors therefore, the larger the population of a CBO, the bigger the amount of contribution by its members. Consequently, the size of the funds available to a particular CBO determines the extent to which such a CBO can go in financing its developmental projects. Therefore, the variation observable in the number of projects completed by the CBOs is a function of the funds available to the CBOs in each of the nine Local Government Areas covered by the study. Be that as it may, availability of funds as a factor responsible for the variations in the number of projects completed by CBOs in each of the nine local governments does not fully explain the situation if we take cognizance of the performances of the CBOs in ASA and OYUN Local Government Areas. For instance, while CBOs in ASA spent twenty-one million, two hundred and twenty-three thousand Naira, seventy Kobo (N21,223,000.70) to complete 89 development projects, their counterparts in OKE-ERO Local Government Area provided 87 projects, which is less than that of ASA at a cost of twenty-three million Naira (N23,000,000.00). Thus, other factors like variation in cost and even size of projects are also important variables that could explain variations in number of projects completed by the community based organizations (CBOs) in each of the nine local governments covered by our study.

Problems Militating Against Community Development in Kwara State

The successful planning and implementation of community development projects by the Community Based Organizations in Kwara State has been hampered by a number of factors as highlighted below (Oladipo, 2008).

(i) **Financial Constraint:** The costs of executing projects by NGOs/CBOs are borne by members in form of contributions, membership dues, levies, fines and donations. None of the CBOs interviewed receive subventions and/or donations from any Local Government Council in Kwara State. With the exception of members of International Organizations such as the Rotary and Lions Clubs, some religious organizations that are relatively rich, other Community Based Organizations (CBOs) have weak financial base.

(ii) **Manpower as a Constraint:** Community Based Organizations (CBOs) are faced with problem of manpower particularly during the actual implementation of projects. Most club members are reluctant to be members of project committees. Some members of CBOs such as Ifesowapo Community Development Association in Ilorin south, Wurumakoto Development Association in Kaiama and Erinmope Community Development Association in Oke-ero Local Government areas and many other Social Clubs, do not reside within their localities because most of them are either civil servants or self-employed residing in Ilorin, the state capital. This makes the task of project committee members more difficult as project committee members found it difficult to meet and discuss, procure the materials needed at the project site and supervise the project. The work of a five-man or seven-man committee is, therefore, left for one or two persons to shoulder.

(iii) **Unfavourable Government Policies:** Non-Governmental Organizations often proliferate where governmental policies favour them because most of them cherish their independence. This study found that Community Based Organizations (CBOs) in Kwara State are at the mercy of officials of the Local Government to approve their project proposal. This is because bureaucratic process within the Local Government councils hampers speedy execution of projects. In most cases, approval for project proposals take up to weeks and even months before the authorities of the Local Government consent to the proposal and write the CBOs officially. Many controls are being imposed by officials of Local Government Areas in Kwara State. These controls, coupled with non-encouragement and supports from the local governments in kwara State are some of the reasons why CBOs in Kwara State usually find it difficult to embark and execute development projects on time.

Conclusion and Recommendations

From the above presentation, it is crystal clear that CBOs have played and continued to play important role in providing basic amenities to their communities thereby complementing the role of Local Governments in community development. However, to enable the CBOs perform optimally, the paper recommends that government at the local level in particular should assist the community based organizations in monitoring their projects, come up with community-friendly policies and set aside at least 2.5% of their annual budgets as grants to community based organizations.

Effect of Marketing Communication Mix on Eligible Voters during Political Campaigns in Ilorin Metropolis

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Abstract

Individuals aspiring for political positions must create a considerable level of awareness for eligible voters to vote for them. Marketing communication mix is a tool for creating awareness; this study therefore examined the effect of this marketing communication mix on voters during political campaigns in Ilorin Metropolis. The descriptive survey design was adopted for the study and the population for the study comprised of eligible voters from the three local government areas in Ilorin – Ilorin West, Ilorin East and Ilorin South. A sample of 369 respondents was taken out of which 282 respondents filled and returned the questionnaire. One research hypothesis was formulated for this study. Self- structured questionnaire designed in line with five point Likert format was used as instrument for data collection. The null hypothesis formulated was tested using multiple regression statistics at 0.05 alpha level. The findings revealed that marketing communication mix had significant effect on eligible voters during political campaigns; therefore, the alternative hypothesis was accepted. It was concluded that marketing communication mix is a tool that could be used by political aspirants. The study recommended that political aspirants should invest more on marketing mix during campaigns to achieve their set goals.

Keywords: Marketing Communication Mix, Political Aspirant, Political Campaign, Eligible Voters, Election.

Introduction

A political aspirant may have the best quality required to hold a position and can put together a supremely talented management team, but, ultimately, success will depend on the level of

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avoid the postponement of elections and enlightening programmes to encourage more internal democracy within political parties.

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Election management and administration over the years has faced a lot of obvious faulty issues emanating from EMBs' and political gladiators while sturdy efforts are being made to ideally resuscitate ethical democratic ideologies. The footing from the fourth republic general elections, precisely the 2015 general elections, through committed leadership, has boosted the credibility, sanctity and principle of ballot power to prevail, giving INEC a renewed hope from electorates and much trust in the mandate of the commission. Nevertheless, the leadership, training, development, logistics and operational capacity of INEC still need to be readdressed adequately. The EMS project has given a more leverage to better election outcome; such should be sustained through more research for better, credible, free and fair elections in Nigeria.

The Challenges of the Smart Card Reader

Despite the tremendous impact of the SMC, it does have some obvious loopholes which occurred during the test run and even on Election Day. Precisely on the 7th of March, 2015, the commission conducted a test run of the trustworthiness vis-à-vis dependability of the SMC in some states of the six geopolitical zones. INEC selected 358 out of the 155, 000 unit states to include:

(South-South)	Rivers and Delta
(South-East)	Anambra and Ebonyi
(South-West)	Ekiti and Lagos
(North-East)	Bauchi and Taraba
(North-Central)	Niger and Nasarawa
(North-West)	Kano and Kebbi

Cases recorded include elderly fingerprint and PVC rejection, card reader malfunction, picture disappearance on card readers, slow functionality of card readers, non-sensitivity to thumbprints, low battery strength vis-à-vis network failure and complete drainage of battery without electricity provision to re-power it. Others are card reader mismatch in the process of distribution, incorrect setting and wrong password. (EMB 2015).

Recommendations

With clear evidences from the discussion so far, the commission should therefore focus on the operational lacuna to ensure that electoral acts, procedures and laws are followed by parties internally and externally for smooth administration. Also, the management, logistics and practical training for ad hoc staff should be on one year basis to elections and repeated six months for adequate mastering of gadgets including the training manual. In addition, too, the commission through staggered elections can tentatively introduce e-voting, e-collation after laws for its usage has been passed by the national assembly. Furthermore, the ERC proposal of mid-term elections, which states that elections of governors be held six months before the expiration of the current tenure, should be revisited by the commission chairman and push for the implementations that would aid and enhance the operation of the mandate. Equally significant, the commission should sustain and strictly adhere to its Election Project Plan (EPP) and Election Management System (EMS) as it had relatively positive impact on the 2015 election, and lastly, the commission should fashion out modalities to

MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: THE 2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Since the inception of the fourth republic in 1999, Nigeria has consistently held five general elections with the outcome of each in questionable relics of electoral derelictions. Election management and administration in Nigeria, in antiquity, is a major bane as majority desired decision on ballot does not translate into apparent reality due to the fact that processes, procedures and protocols operated mostly with technical bias. However, the 2015 general elections open an embryonic path through the use of smart card reader for improved election management in Nigeria. The paper thus appraises the 2015 General Elections from management viewpoint, considering modalities introduced to drastically reduced all the electoral commission's (INEC) shortcomings that can smear its sanctity. This research relies on secondary source of data collection gathered through a broad review of relevant literature on the subject of investigation. More specifically, relevant documents concerning the Independence National Electoral Commission (INEC), constitutional amendments, research papers and reports on previous elections from various electoral related bodies, including international organizations, were gathered. Materials were also sourced from books, journals, internet, newspaper articles, and administrative archives and so on. It adopted participatory democratic theory precisely Dahl Polyarchy model as the theoretical basis. The study observed that the incumbent government's non-interference disposition and leadership of INEC projected the mandate with fairness and just ground for all political parties vis-à-vis supporters, which eventually earn Nigeria democratic firmament hope of impartial electoral

regime and rekindle credibility of the umpire to conduct its constitutional duties through better technological innovations. The paper recommends, among others, the need for more continuity of the technological initiative, Electoral Management System (EMS) research which was one of the germane strides for the credible election management in 2015, continuous updating of voter's registration, early new registration and adjustment in operational and management logistics to make INEC more trustworthy referee for the future elections. Further, impeccable personalities who are committed and dedicated and resolute individuals with reputable track of record should be appointed at the helms of the electoral body. If continued, sustained and supported by all Nigerians, it can progressively change the face of election in the country.

Keywords: Management Administration Election, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

Since the inception of the fourth republic in 1999, Nigeria has consistently held four general elections with the outcome of each in questionable relics of electoral derelictions; killings, maiming, intimidation, harassment, ballot snatching, thuggery, arson, rigging, results manipulation and wanton destruction of properties. While these are inimical to the ethos of democracy and good governance, it divulges deficiency of the right democratic culture in the nation's democratic rule over the years. The 2015 general elections, however, seems praiseworthy for setting an embryonic precedence for a viable electoral management body in the history of elections in Nigeria, considering the leadership with thorough research effort after the 2011 elections which led to the introduction of an electoral management system (EMS) technology by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), technological injection (Smart Card Reader) and international cum local observers reports. Nevertheless, it had not gone without its own management and administrative lacuna. These relics are being perpetuated by political class, incumbent government, collaborated electoral officials sabotage, without any of individual held culpable and punished by competent court of justice for electoral malpractices during elections. The highest the electoral umpire has done considering their officer involved in anomalies was to suspend two electoral officers over administrative lapses during the Osun state election, (Badejo and Obah-Akpowoghaha, 2015). Election is a manifestation of the citizens' decision in respect of choice for legitimate political power achievable through an electoral management body vis-à-vis its administrative responsibilities as regulated by laws which guide and guard its operation. In other words, election is a periodical process by which candidates seek political power using the platform of political parties (Joseph, 2009).

Election management and administration is a process of arriving at free and fair election of candidates to fill a public office (Umar, 2015). This process entails pre-election, during election and post-election period. In order to arrive at a result of an election, it requires the following: determining who is eligible to vote, voters' registration, conducting education andorientation, boundary delimitation, media maneuvering and electoral dispute resolution, receiving and validating, nomination of electoral participants, conducting and polling, counting of votes, tabulating and announcing the votes (NCSSR 2015). Elections in Nigeria are entangled in question of controversy and dispute; the electoral bodies have been in a

Data Source: http://www.idea.int/index.cfm

The comparative table of 2011 and 2015 showed the Nigerian population over the years with population within election years; voting age population; total and registered voters for parliamentary elections; and presidential elections. As the voting age increased, voter's registration equally increased; however, in the recent 2015 elections, it decreased compared to the previous elections in 2011. The marginal difference is 6, 106, 035. This implies that the management and administration of election has stepped up to ensure that multiple registrations were eliminated alongside other sharp practices in the system. Nigeria conducted the 2015 presidential election which all domestic and international electoral stakeholders accepted as credible, including the losing incumbent (Abdulahi and Sani, 2015). Further; the combination of these (PVC & validation of voter list) initiatives helped accreditation of voters, reduced electoral frauds, safeguarded voter's preferences and placed each contestant on a level playing field.

STATE	Total Number of Registered Voters	Total no of PVC printed	Total no of PVC Collected by Voters	Total Number of PVC Received at State	% of PVC Received
ABIA	1396166	1396162	1182102	1361072	87%
ADAMAWA	1565780	1565780	1385299	1557659	89%
AWKA-IBOM	1680794	1680794	1477489	1692662	87%
ANAMBRA	1963427	1963427	1355909	1917882	71%
BAUCHI	2057211	2057211	1938192	2008242	97%
BAYELSA	610373	610373	392651	565118	69%
BENUE	2019851	2019851	1548074	1989770	78%
BORNO	1838514	1838514	1407777	1568774	90%
CROSS RIVER	1175623	1175840	985918	1171919	84%
DELTA	2275264	2275264	1939952	2246881	86%
EBONYI	1074273	1074273	890756	1071273	83%
EDO	1791165	1791165	1791165	1791165	100%
EKITI	732021	732021	513720	732458	70%
ENUGU	1429221	1429221	1260496	1412518	89%
GOMBE	1147181	1147181	1070725	1141760	94%
IMO	1855172	1855172	1375322	1710003	80%
JIGAWA	1831316	1831316	1760378	1831316	96%
KADUNA	3414250	3407222	3145037	3404502	92%
KANO	4975701	4506721	4303586	4975701	86%
KASTINA	2840654	2840654	2689681	2790339	96%
KEBBI	1470648	1470648	1369155	1459451	94%
KOGI	1350883	1350883	967411	1317672	73%
KWARA	1179658	1179658	884996	1171636	76%
LAGOS	5822276	5822276	3971037	5602138	71%
NASARAWA	1249129	1242667	1026657	1237303	83%
NIGER	2013669	1957084	1413015	1957084	72%
OGUN	1795794	1795794	1090950	1642607	66%
ONDO	1526316	1526316	1143851	1515816	75%
OSUN	1407107	1407107	1031662	1406147	73%
OYO	2415566	2415566	1677610	2381102	70%
PLATEAU	2003046	1693097	1508585	1693097	89%
RIVERS	2537590	2537590	1899041	2150601	88%
SOKOTO	1664984	1611929	1380843	1496610	92%
TARABA	1340652	1340652	1270889	1342233	95%
YOBE	1101966	1101966	824401	1017879	81%
ZAMFARA	1495717	1495717	1397296	1459964	96%
FCT	932275	932275	547536	888303	62%
TOTAL	68,981,233	68,079,387	55,819,164	66,680,657	83%

This time around, things had to be done right and INEC was bent on ensuring the principle of one-man-one-vote was applied throughout the period of the elections. The process began with the voter's registration process and continuous voter's registration before the 2015 elections where the biometric data of voters was collected, and at the production stage, it eliminated multiple voter's registration. (Enwere & Ladan-Baki, 2015).

Smart Card Reader and Electoral Fraud Elimination

The advent of SCR has, in management and administration in the last general elections, set a standard for much desired chances. Ahmad et al. (2015) contended that the biggest challenge in election is transparent voting system that the SCR came to address. The use of biometric voters register and PVC in 2015 presidential election recorded some impressive merits. It reduced the dangers and risks of double voting, voting by proxy and falsification of voters register and procedural irregularities. It made the voting process transparent and eliminated the use of counterfeit voters' card, which most political actors use to inflate election figures. (Enwere &Ladan-Baki, 2015). Also, based on research conducted in June, 2015 by Enwere & Ladan-Baki, sourced data from INEC reveal the following in five States, comparing 2011 and 2015 elections below:

2011 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WITHOUT SCR

STATE	PDP	CPC
ABIA	1,175,984	3,743
EKITI	135,009	2,689
JIGAWA	419,252	663,994
ADAMAWA	508,314	334,526
CROSS RIVERS	709,382	4,002
BENUE	694,776	109,680

Table A.

2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WITH SCR

STATE	PDP	APC
ABIA	368,303	13,394
EKITI	176,466	120,331
JIGAWA	142,904	885,988
ADAMAWA	251,664	374,701
CROSS RIVERS	414,863	28,368
BENUE	303,737	373,961

Table B

2011 PDP	2015 PDP	MARGINAL DIFF
1,175,984	368,303	807,681
135,009	176,466	- 41,457
419,252	142,904	276,348
508,314	251,664	256,650
709,382	414,863	294,519
694,776	303,737	391,039

Table C

Table 4.

Source: INEC with modification.

Looking at the tables above, the difference is very clear; the 2015 elections conducted with the SCR reduced the level of electoral fraud like as witnessed in the 2011 elections. An instance is the case of the PDP polling 1,175,984 votes in Abia state and 368,303 votes in 2015 in the same state. This discrepancy is reflected in most of the states which were used to rig and win elections for the then ruling party before the SCR innovation.

PARLIMANTARY ELECTIONS 1959 - 2015

YEAR	NATIONS POPULATION	VOTING AGE POPULATION	REGISTERED VOTERS	TOTAL VOTE
2015	181,562,056	91,669,312	67,422,005	29,432,083
2011	155,215,573	81,691,751	73,528,040	21,074,621
2007	131,859,731	71,004,507	61,567,036	
2003	129,934,911	64,319,246	60,823,022	29,995,171
1999	108,258,359	52,792,781	57,938,945	23,573,407
1983	89,022,000	43,620,780	65,300,000	25,400,000
1979	77,841,000	38,142,090	48,499,091	15,686,514
1959	34,443,000	16,532,640	9,036,083	7,185,555

TABLE 5a

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 1979 - 2015

YEAR	NATIONS POPULATION	VOTING AGE POPULATION	REGISTERED VOTERS	TOTAL VOTE
2015	181,562,056	91,669,312	67,422,005	29,432,083
2011	155,215,573	81,691,751	73,528,040	21,074,621
2007	131,859,731	71,004,507	61,567,036	35,397,517
2003	129,934,911	64,319,246	60,823,022	42,081,735
1999	108,258,359	52,792,781	57,938,945	30,280,052
1998	5105,264,00	50,526,720		14,039,486
1979	77,841,000	38,142,090	48,499,091	17,098,267

TABLE 5b

Table 5

history of dissolution, constitution and reconstitution (Okoye, 2007). Also, over the years, the autonomy and capacity of EMB's in Nigeria has been in suspect – as reflected in its endless renaming and restructuring by successive governments (Agbaje and Adejumobi, 2006:31), cited in (Moveh, 2009). Furthermore, Alao et al. (2013) maintained that the management of elections has been a sore point in the Nigerian political development over the years. It is one of those areas that need utmost care. This historical unpredictability has made election management and administration an overwhelming mission, as electoral commissions find it thorny to develop, take root and build a culture of professionalism and expertise necessary for the conduct of credible election in Nigeria. (Ekundayo, 2015)

All over the world, election management and administration is not an isolated matter, as all other constituent of governance must be structurally viable, virile and vibrant for election management bodies to be efficient, effective and fruitful to the nature of her commitment. The judiciary must be independent and incorruptible, existence of purposeful check and balances between the executives and legislature. Above all, the three arms; executive, legislature and judiciary, are to collectively administer the public thrust in a just and equitable way ensure and equality of all before the law, which will propel inviolability of rules that guide the leadership of EMB. Arguably, democratic culture or development is not sustainable on the conduct of good elections alone. Other democratic virtues must be put in place and its efficiency must be ensured. Check and balances between the three arms of government, independent and incorruptible judiciary, viable fourth estate, among others, are democracy sustaining tenets that should not be compromised (Oromareghake, 2013). However, nascent culture of such in the Nigerian democratic arena make it a game of winners take all, leading to all manners of gangsterism in the political landscape, which invariably infiltrate electoral management and administration. The challenges and controversies which engulf election management and administration have a historical fault. It emanates from the first ever federal election conducted, as election held on behalf of federal government by regional government under separate laws in 1954 (Umar, 2015). The chronological boo-boo opened vacuum for a lot of quagmire in the annals of management and administration of elections. Adding to this fact, Uganden (2010:90) elucidated that politics in Nigeria is particularly plagued with historically rooted ills that five decades of sovereign statehood have failed to eradicate, as essentially, most identifiable problems of Nigerian politics predate independence and all have succeeded in reproducing themselves through systematically entrenched and sustained vicious circles. He further posited that corrupt public officials have continued to benefit from the prevailing unaccountable system and there is little confidence in *regime and rekindle credibility of the umpire to conduct its constitutional duties through better technological innovations. The paper recommends, among others, the need for more continuity of the technological initiative, Electoral Management System (EMS) research which was one of the germane strides for the credible election management in 2015, continuous updating of voter's registration, early new registration and adjustment in operational and management logistics to make INEC more trustworthy referee for the future elections. Further, impeccable personalities who are committed and dedicated and resolute individuals with reputable track of record should be appointed at the helms of the electoral body. If continued, sustained and supported by all Nigerians, it can progressively change the*

face of election in the country.

INTRODUCTION

Since the inception of the fourth republic in 1999, Nigeria has consistently held four general elections with the outcome of each in questionable relics of electoral derelictions; killings, maiming, intimidation, harassment, ballot snatching, thuggery, arson, rigging, results manipulation and wanton destruction of properties. While these are inimical to the ethos of democracy and good governance, it divulges deficiency of the right democratic culture in the nation's democratic rule over the years. The 2015 general elections, however, seems praiseworthy for setting an embryonic precedence for a viable electoral management body in the history of elections in Nigeria, considering the leadership with thorough research effort after the 2011 elections which led to the introduction of an electoral management system (EMS) technology by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), technological injection (Smart Card Reader) and international cum local observers reports. Nevertheless, it had not gone without its own management and administrative lacuna. These relics are being perpetuated by political class, incumbent government, collaborated electoral officials sabotage, without any of individual held culpable and punished by competent court of justice for electoral malpractices during elections. The highest the electoral umpire has done considering their officer involved in anomalies was to suspend two electoral officers over administrative lapses during the Osun state election, (Badejo and Obah-Akpowoghaha, 2015). Election is a manifestation of the citizens' decision in respect of choice for legitimate political power achievable through an electoral management body vis-à-vis its administrative responsibilities as regulated by laws which guide and guard its operation. In other words, election is a periodical process by which candidates seek political power using the platform of political parties (Joseph, 2009).

Election management and administration is a process of arriving at free and fair election of candidates to fill a public office (Umar, 2015). This process entails pre-election, during election and post-election period. In order to arrive at a result of an election, it requires the following: determining who is eligible to vote, voters' registration, conducting education and the ability of state created institutions to provide solutions to the plethora of maladies plaguing the Nigerian political landscape. Hence, this discourse tends to examine the EMB (INEC), majorly on the management and administration in 2015 under Prof. Attaihru Jega and the newly appointed chairman, Prof Mahmud Yakubu, considering the elections held in 2015 in Kogi and Bayelsa states. While in the former state APC won, the latter was inclusive with recourse to brief historical antecedents of INEC, SCR, electoral management system and electoral laws which invariably provide better understanding of the administration and management of elections the give INEC the credibility edge.

Election Management and Administration in Nigeria: A Chronology

Election management and administration is a core module of any democratic governance. It is dual in nature; structure and process (Jinadu, 2007). Structure entails institutional gauge while process involves the operational aspect of it. Over the years, the structure has taken various contours, with numerous modifications. Election administration since independence has always been controversial, crisis-ridden and perceived collaboration with electoral officers to perpetuate malpractices (Ajayi, 2007, Moveh, 2013).

electoral officials as respondents in electoral petitions".
(NCSRR, 2015)

The general elections was around the corner when the fourth constitutional Alteration Bill 2014 and the Electoral Act were adopted, as such, the changes proposed would not be applied to the elections, even the president did not assent to it.

INEC and the Smart Card Reader

All societies and institutions that constituted the system evolve with time to ensure that the abnormities associated with proper functions are resolved through contemporaries' advancement of human technology and other legitimate tenable means to drastically reduce the menace faced, if not totally eliminated. This gave birth to the introduction of the Smart Card Reader by the electoral management body in Nigeria. The 2015 general election came with innovations in the electoral process. Past elections in Nigeria had witnessed the desperate bid for political power by some stakeholders with vested interests in the Nigerian electoral process. Some of these stakeholders engaged in all forms of electoral malpractices including multiple voting, impersonation, manipulation and falsification of results which had led to legal actions, electoral conflicts and violence. (Ibrahim & Makama, 2015).

All electoral commissions have been stained with one negative attribute or the other aside logistics, structural or process related issues. Larry (2015) summarized it thus: successive electoral commissions in the country have been either pro-ruling party or engaged in the manipulation of election results in favour of the highest bidding contestants. (Enwere & Ladan-Baki, 2015) argued that fundamental challenges that truncated and aborted elections in Nigeria is election rigging, not just any kind of rigging but the manipulation of results to favor a particular political party. The introduction of the smart card reader hold two purpose in Nigeria elections; reduced rigging to the barest minimum and protected the integrity of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

The card reader has now thrown up an entirely different phenomenon in the electoral system of Nigeria (Ibrahim & Makama, 2015). The smart card reader is a technological device set up to authenticate and verify on election day a Permanent Voter Card (PVC) issued by INEC. The device uses a cryptographic technology that has ultra-low power consumption, with a single core frequency of 1.2GHz and an Android 4.2.2. Operating System (INEC, 2015). In other words, the INEC card reader is designed to read information contained in the embedded chip of the permanent voter's card issued by INEC to verify the authenticity of the Permanent Voter's Card (PVC) and also carry out a verification of the intending voter by matching the biometrics obtained from the voter on the spot with the ones stored on the PVC. (Engineering Network Team, 2015).

The following are reasons are offered for the introduction of the card reader:

I. To prevent electoral fraud;
ii. To allow the electorates' votes to count;
iii. To reduce litigations arising from elections;
iv. To authenticate and verify voters;
v. To protect the integrity and credibility of the election;
i. To audit results from polling units across the federation; and
ii. To ensure transparency and accountability. (Ibrahim & Makama, 2015)

Assembly.
While the above is imperative, certain events have been eroded, some of it which lead to a lot of amendment of the electoral act to meet the contending and contemporary challenges in the political and electoral processes.

Legal Framework in 2015 Election
The basic foundation for electoral laws are two; the Nigeria Constitution (1999 as amended) and the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended). The electoral bodies too issued out guidelines for political parties through Inter Party Advisory Council (IPAC) which was established to ensure uniformity and unbiased relation with all political parties. The current statutory framework that regulates elections into the various elective offices which includes the executive and the legislature is the Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended), and the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended). Section 153 (f) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended) establishes the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and by virtue of the provisions of 2nd Schedule, part 1, item 22, of the Constitution, the National Assembly has the powers to legislate on the Electoral matters for National Assembly and Governorship elections.

The Electoral Act 2010 was further amended on the 29th of December, 2010, and on the 24th of January, 2011, in order to provide INEC with adequate time for the conduct of voters' registration and polling (NCSRR, 2015). Further provision for better enhancement of rule came to fore by INEC as there is room for improved Electoral Act ahead of 2015 with the ray of light commencing in 2012 centered on outcome of 2011 elections review. The last quarter of 2012, precisely in November, through thorough findings, INEC documented 33 fundamental concerns for amendment in the Electoral Act, among these include amendments on:

i. Independent candidacy to contest an election at state and national legislative arms.
ii. That barred Convicted individual from contest at state and national legislative arms.
iii. Extension of the time for INEC to conduct run-off presidential and gubernatorial elections from 7 to 21 days 31
iv. Empowering INEC to de-register political parties for breaching registration requirements and or failing to win a seat in the National or State Assembly.
v. Amendments that expanded the scope of election tribunals to cover pre-election affairs.
vi. Amendments that empowered the National Assembly to make laws for access to the ballot by political parties and independent candidates.

While the above relate to the management and administration of elections processes, the national assembly equally adopted some which relate to the Electoral Act Law;

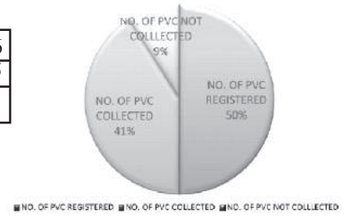
> *"The National Assembly also adopted 20 amendments to the Electoral Act. The amendments involved issues such as the tenure of office for the INEC secretary, the transfer of registered voters, the postponement of elections, the appointment of polling agents, access to election documents, the conduct of political rallies and processions, what to do in case of dereliction of duty by election officials, the timing for the constitution of election tribunals, clarifying the grounds for election petitions, and the naming of*

Nigeria as a country that operates a Federal System has consistently developed, amended, repealed and re-enacted the Electoral Act to accommodate the changes that come with modern day challenges and developments and the system of governance in democracy (Tarfa, 2015). The development, amendment and re-enactment have been a vehicle for piecemeal electoral related changes which drastically reduced the reprehensible activities of political gladiator that negate the ethics of democratic norms. The distinctive peculiarities associated with the present day geo-political zone called Nigeria, which was formally autonomous and independently governed based on culture and traditions before the encounter with colonial imperialism, created a hole for uneasy welcome of single umbrella political parties which cuts across the length and breadth of the country with such effects as to make election administration and management suffer setback in its operation to upheld elections ethics.
The History of EMB in Nigeria is traced to the colonial period. The colonialist after a lot of agitation for political freedom found the then Electoral Commission of Nigeria (ECN) in 1959. Although they have introduced elective principle in 1922 which is restrictive in nature, the ECN was saddled with general elections that brought the parliamentary system of Late Tafawa Balewa into power after the Northern People's Congress (NPC) won 142 seats. The administration set up the Federal Electoral Commission (FEC) that conducted the 1964 federal and 1965 regional elections which were contested majorly by United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) and NNA; each of these parties formed by coalition. The federal elections took place on the 30th December, 1964, and on the 11th October, 1965, regional election was conducted. The western regional elections later marred with wanton destructions of properties and human life including the Prime minister's, among other notable public figures. This truncated the First Republic, with the 15th, January 1966 incursion by the military, and dissolved the electoral management body. The military's 13 years rule came to a halt in 1979 through an election organized with another EMB; Federal Electoral Commission (FEC) chaired by Chief Michael Ani. During the President Shagari's Administration, the Federal Electoral Commission (FEC) was renamed Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) which conducted the 1983 election under the chairmanship of Justice Victor Ovie-Whiskey that elected Shagari for a second term where he was later overthrown. The military president in 1987, established EMB with another nomenclature National Electoral Commission (NEC), chaired by Prof. Eme Awa. Two years after, Prof Humphrey Nwosu took charge of the EMB. Following the crisis that preceded the June 12, 1993 general elections, the then President stepped aside and an interim government was set up headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan and Prof. Okon Uya at the helm of NEC. The interim government was sacked again by General Sani Abacha and the new military government at the helms of affairs of Nigeria renamed to National Electoral Commission (NEC) in 1994 as National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON), with Chief Dagogo-Jack as Chairman. On 8th June, 1998, the death of the military president gave birth to another EMB. INEC was established in 1998 by Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar after dissolving the NECON created by Gen. Sani Abacha. Justice Ephraim Akpata and Sir Abel Guobadia held the position of the chairman in Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in 2000 and 2003 respectively. The 2003 general elections was a test tube for civilian-to-civilian transition. In that era lives and properties were destroyed, ideal elections process and structure were

neglected, and as such, it was condemned locally and internationally. According to (TMG 2003), "Presidential and Gubernatorial elections in some states fell short of the international and regional standards and did not in the main reflect the voting pattern of the Nigeria People" (cited in Adibe, 2015). That tenure was marred by poor administration, lack of transparency, violence, different forms of irregularities and evidence of fraudulence malpractices particularly during the result process (Adejumobi, 2007). In June 2005, the mantle of leadership of chairman of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was shifted on Prof. Maurice Iwu who conducted one of the most controversial elections. While the 2003 fell short of international standard, 2007 was pronounced as the worst in the history of elections in Nigeria as both electoral officers, government agencies charged with ensuring the credibility of the polls were accused of reducing the elections to a violent and fraud-ridden farce (Human Right Watch 2007). The 2007 general election ushered in the Late President Umar Musa YarAdua, who equally admitted it was blemished and that the election that made him a democratic head of Nigeria was far from being free fair and was less than perfect. 'The 85-year history of elections in Nigeria shows a progressive degeneration of outcomes, with the 2007 elections the worst since the first elections were held in 1922' (Jinadu, 2011:153); now 93-years. The administration set up an Electoral Reform Committee (ERC) to extensively examine the entirety of electoral process and recommended ways to reform the electoral system's laxity. Prof. Maurice Iwu tenure ended in 2010 while a member of the ERC, Prof. Attairu Muhammed Jega emerged on 8th June, 2010, subject to senate confirmation as a replacement. The new INEC chairman initiated reformations internally; high-technological registration, staff restructuring training and development to ensure fair and free elections. The 2011 portrayed the INEC in good light but not without some obvious gaps. Ayoola-Browne (2011) argued that 2011 general elections wore cosmetic credibility. The elections with 73 million registered voters, 20 presidential candidates out of 63 registered political parties, the outcome; PDP had 59.6%, CPC 32.3% A.C.N 5.5%. However, the election was challenged by CPC presidential Candidate (Muhammadu Buhari) who is currently the Nigerian president. Buhari averred that INEC machinated with the ruling party PDP to deliberately rig him out. (The Nation, May 9, 2011) Prof. Jega conducted the 2015 general elections with about 68 million registered voters; 14 presidential candidates, four out of the six geo-political zones gave APC 53.96% while two geo-political zones gave PDP 44.96%. The INEC chairman tenured ended in 30th July, 2015 with an acting chairman, Mrs. Amina Zakari, who was later replaced with a substantive chairman, Prof. Mahmud Yakubu, on the 29th October, 2015 with five other national commissioners confirmed too. As at the time this paper is being written APC had won Kogi state, Bayelsa state election was inconclusive, and for Akwa Ibom and Rivers states, court had declared a rerun.

Card (PVC) and over 1 million PVCs were yet to be printed in China, which was equivalent to disenfranchising over 8 states in Africa put together (Uhembe, 2015). The election set record of the PVC collections 22nd March, 2015:

NO. OF PVC REGISTERED	68, 833, 476
NO. OF PVC COLLECTED	56, 431, 255
NO. OF PVC NOT COLLECTED	12, 402, 221



The 2015 elections will be discussed under these headings:

I. Electoral laws
ii. Voters Registration
iii. Card Reader

INEC Constitutional Obligations

The decree No. 17 of 1998 gave birth to the 1999 constitution; all Commission members are directly appointed by the President, after consultation with the Council of State and approval of the Senate. Members are to be persons of unquestionable integrity; in the case of the Chairman, not less than 50 years of age, and for other Commissioners, not less than 40 years of age. INEC has permanent offices in all the 36 States and the FCT. Each State-level and FCT office is managed by a Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC), who is also appointed directly by the President but without need for Senate approval.

I. Organize, undertake and supervise all elections to the offices of the President and Vice-President, the Governor and Deputy Governor of a State, and to the membership of the Senate, the House of Representatives and the House of Assembly of each State of the Federation;
ii. Register political parties in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution and an Act of the National Assembly;
iii. Monitor the organization and operations of the political parties, including their finances;
iv. Arrange for the annual examination and auditing of funds and accounts of political parties, and publish a report on such examination and audit for public information;
v. Arrange and conduct the registration of persons qualified to vote and prepare, maintain and revise the register of voters for the purpose of any election under this Constitution;
vi. Monitor political campaigns and provide rules and regulations which shall govern the political parties;
vii. Ensure that all Electoral Commissioners, Electoral and Returning Officers take and subscribe to the Oath of Office prescribed by law;
viii. Delegate any of its powers to any Resident Electoral Commissioner; and
ix. Carry out such other functions as may be conferred upon it by an Act of the National

voting points arising from the splitting of existing Polling Units in multiples of 500 per Voting Point had to be catered for. (EMS REPORT 2015).

Table 3. Below is the deployment & configuration of Smart card reader for 2015 general elections in each State

STATE	Total Number of Card Readers Received	Storage Provision for Card Readers	Total No. of Card Reader Configured	Total No. of Back up CR for State	Total No. of Faulty/Prob Card Reader	Total No. of Card Readers Allocated by HQ	Are SAM SIM installed on Card Reader				Response Rating (% Configured)
								VP	SAM	SIM	
ABIA	3739	Yes	2735	549	12	3739	Yes	3,739	1895	3646	73%
ADAMAWA	3371	Yes	3371	678	17	4042	Yes	4,042	3152	0	100%
AWKA-IBOM	4101	Yes	3592	451	20	4637	Yes	4,637	3796	3996	88%
ANAMBRA	5559	Yes	4215	426	4	6111	Yes	6,111	2000	5713	76%
BAUCHI	4943	Yes	4873	636	70	5385	Yes	5,385	0	0	99%
BAYELSA	2180	Yes	2180	260	10	2235	Yes	2,235	3414	902	100%
BENUE	4457	Yes	2467	109	16	5178	Yes	5,178	0	0	55%
BORNO	4358	Yes	4358	936	21	5294	Yes	5,294	1310	0	100%
CROSS RIVER	3598	Yes	3057	857	0	3598	Yes	3,300	0	0	85%
DELTA	5688	Yes	4878	810	20	5688	Yes	5,688	4879	5429	86%
EBONYI	2968	Yes	2146	513	12	2806	Yes	2,806	2158	2833	72%
EDO	4345	Yes	3779	566	5	4355	Yes	4,355	4193	4193	87%
EKITI	2846	Yes	2846	533	0	2842	Yes	2,842	2642	3740	100%
ENUGU	4262	Yes	3361	901	12	4141	Yes	4,141	1098	0	79%
GOMBE	2929	Yes	2571	342	15	2929	Yes	2,913	1571	2854	88%
IMO	4100	Yes	4100	915	29	5015	Yes	5,015	4259	0	100%
JIGAWA	4290	Yes	4085	683	35	4526	Yes	4,526	4973	4257	95%
KADUNA	7827	Yes	7049	773	5	7827	Yes	7,804	3641	7751	90%
KANO	11838	Yes	10386	1397	55	11838	Yes	11,838	10383	11383	88%
KASTINA	7077	Yes	5950	44	22	7033	Yes	7,033	3472	5950	84%
KEBBI	2898	Yes	2398	0	15	3855	Yes	3,855	3855	3504	83%
KOGI	3786	Yes	3061	707	18	3786	Yes	3,786	3069	0	81%
KWARA	3091	Yes	2512	550	20	3091	Yes	3,091	936	0	81%
LAGOS	12124	Yes	12124	735	80	12859	Yes	12,859	12859	13278	100%
NASARAWA	2320	Yes	1797	0	8	2994	Yes	2,994	0	0	77%
NIGER	4375	Yes	3838	764	12	5114	Yes	5,114	4701	4774	88%
OGUN	4888	Yes	4888	838	20	4718	Yes	4,718	3637	0	100%
ONDO	4160	Yes	3553	609	0	4162	Yes	4,162	1627	1627	85%
OSUN	4405	Yes	3663	996	5	4375	Yes	4,375	3668	3821	83%
OYO	6673	Yes	5470	842	48	6673	Yes	6,673	6673	6673	82%
PLATEAU	4662	Yes	4041	621	10	4662	Yes	4,662	424	0	87%
RIVER	6871	Yes	5838	260	0	6795	Yes	6,795	3147	6727	85%
SOKOTO	4299	Yes	3567	732	3	4248	Yes	4,248	2150	3788	83%
TARABA	2832	Yes	1620	70	7	3266	Yes	3,266	0	0	57%
YOBE	2071	Yes	2044	0	27	2857	Yes	2,857	0	0	99%
ZAMFARA	5571	Yes	3130	441	18	3571	Yes	3,571	1783	3416	56%
FCT	2069	Yes	1564	186	5	2359	Yes	1,983	0	0	76%
	171571	100%	147107	20730	676	178604	100%	77,891	107365	110255	85%

Source: (EMS REPORT 2015)

While INEC underestimated the time of the printout, delivery and others, the distribution of PVC encountered a lot of logistic issues and other operational challenges. Geographical peculiarities surrounding certain geo-political zone also culminated in factors which affected the general effectiveness of the distribution. There were over 12 million people who were deprived of the privilege to enfranchise their civic right, partly from INEC, and others from the administrative process of delivering the PVC.

2015 General Election: Management and Administration in Perspective

The 2015 general elections management and administration is prismatic in nature, embedded with ideal democratic ethos alongside exhibited ethos which buffed fundamental perk for an ideal democratic order. Lending support to this, (Larry, 2015) contended that integrity of elections is fundamentally germane to the sustenance of a truly representative form of government. Election conduct in Nigeria over the years has been incredible and unsatisfactory as the umpires have consistently performed below expectation. Prior to lection postponement, over 23 million registered voters were yet to collect their Permanent voter's

Table 1. Names of Electoral Management bodies and their Chairmen 1958 – 2015

S/N	NAMES	EMBs' Names	ABBRV	YEAR
1	Ronald E. Wraith	Electoral Commission of Nigeria	(ECN)	1958-1960
2	Eyo E. Esua	Electoral Commission of Nigeria	(ECN)	1964-1966
3	Chief Micheal Ani	Federal Electoral Commission	(FEC)	1976-1979
4	Justice Victor Ovie-Whiskey	Federal Electoral Commission	(FEDECO)	1980-1983
5	Prof. Eme O. Awa	National Electoral Commission	(NEC)	1987-1989
6	Prof. Humphrey N. Nwosu	National Electoral Commission	(NEC)	1989-1993
7	Prof. Okon Edet Uya	National Electoral Commission	(NEC)	1993
8	Chief Summer Dagogo - Jack	National Electoral Commission of Nigeria	(NECON)	1994-1998
9	Hon. Justice Ephraim O. I. Akpata	Independent National Electoral Commission	(INEC)	1998-2000
10	Sir Abel I. Guobodia (KSA)	Independent National Electoral Commission	(INEC)	2000-2005
11	Prof. Maurice Iwu	Independent National Electoral Commission	(INEC)	2005-2010
12	Prof. Attairu Jega	Independent National Electoral Commission	(INEC)	2010-2015
13	Mrs Amina Zakari	Independent National Electoral Commission	(INEC)	2015
14	Prof. Mamood Yakub	Independent National Electoral Commission	(INEC)	2015-Present

Source: Jinadu (2011) Adapted and Updated

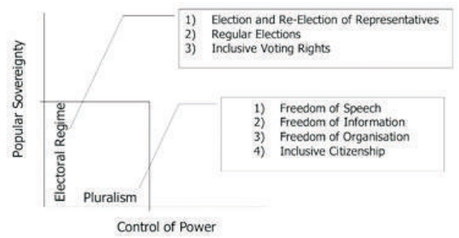
The emergence of Prof. Mamood Yakub to improve more on the bright performance of the Prof. Jega lead INEC administration will only come to vivid a verdict after 2019 through his leadership, technological sustainability, projection of topical issues and Electoral laws amendment and the collective effort of the organs of government. Even as the issue of inclusiveness leading to another supplementary election in Bayelsa and Kogi states points fingers on EMBs and ruling party's antics by the PDP governorship candidate in Bayelsa. The Kogi APC replaced their candidate after death of the flag bearer with the first runner up during the primaries conducted by the party.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This work hinged on participatory democracy theory, specifically Polyarchy model as postulated Dahl (1970). Democracy from this viewpoint involves majority collective action on the part of groups and individuals through formally representative institutions – collective action designed to attain ends that resolve common problems. While INEC remain the formally representative institution for resolving of various electoral relics, its mandate is to ensure the collective aspiration of the society is attained, their desire come to pass through the ballot based on the criteria enunciated by Dahl cited in Zittel (2008):

(1) Equal votes as the means of expressing preferences in final decision-making;
(2) Equal chances to express preferences;
(3) equal opportunities to become informed and arrive at a preference;
(4) Citizens to decide what matters are or are not to be decided; and
(5) All adult members to be included.

Figure 1: **Robert Dahl's model of Polyarchy**



Dahl explained that under democracy, for election to be free and fair, popular sovereignty is germane. According to Dahl model, democratic regime has two scopes. First is that public sovereignty enhances democracy through the general will express during elections and the second one is that democratic power to govern has to be regulated continuosly through thorough evaluation by umpire while they too ensure a level plain ground. Zittel (2008) further noted that the best possible quality of democracy is achieved when both core values of democracy are balanced at a moderate level through specific institutional structures. These institutional structures (public sovereignty via an electoral regime) and certain indices serve as measurements, for the electoral regime (EMB) need to take cognizance of and measure by realistic indices:

I. The election and reelection of public officials;
ii. The existence of regular elections; and
iii. The existence of inclusive voting rights.

The Nigeria experience over the years has made INEC to ensure that the measures are used to curtail a lot of anomalies which have bedeviled the institution over the year through the instillation of initiatives that are changing the face of elections in Nigeria.

Road Map to the 2015 General Elections: INEC and the Electoral Management System (EMS) Mission

In order to build more reputation and deliver the mandate INEC is saddled with, after the 2011 general elections, INEC went back to the drawing board to re-strategize on ways to curb, if not significantly eliminated, all vices associated with the general elections bane in the country. Since 2012 INEC has also launched a 5 years strategic programme of action 2012-2016.

Also, EMS was a 17 months project that commenced in 2013 and completed in 2015, supported by International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) through funding and technical backing. It involved the portions which are germane in redressing the past elections iniquities and the elections processes – election logistics, staff management, training of electoral staff, management of political parties and candidates, procurement of electoral materials and services, voters' register, registration and process and emergency support services on the election day. This is grouped into the following crucial areas that historically challenged the credibility of INEC:

I. Election Day Logistics (EDL)
ii. Election Staff Management (ESM)
iii. Election Day Training (EDT)
iv. Political Party and Candidate Management (PPM)
v. Election Day Procurement (EDP)
vi. Continuous Voters' Registration (CVR)
vii. Election Day Support (EDS).

(EMS REPORT 2015)

These were tagged "7 Principal Business Areas (7PBAs)" for 2015 general elections. Jega (2015) elucidated that the EMS aims to address electoral challenges by developing a broad framework for the planning, monitoring and evaluation of the electoral processes vis-à-vis substantially improved coordination, efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of electoral services. Each of the identified areas is handled by each department directors under their domain.

Table 2. Below show each PBAs' duties, directors and anticipated operations.

Principal Business Area	Task Owner	Anticipated Benefits
1. **Election Day Logistics (EDL)**	Director, Election Operations	▪ Timely deployment and retrieval of personnel and materials ▪ Effective quality and quantity control of personnel and materials ▪ Adequate safety of personnel and materials
2. **Election Staff Management (ESM)**	Director, Human Resources	▪ Enhanced recruitment, deployment, and retrieval of competent staff ▪ Timely and adequate staffing for elections ▪ Enhanced performance monitoring and evaluation
3. **Election Day Training (EDT)**	Director, Training (TEI)	▪ Improved election day personnel understanding of their roles and responsibilities ▪ Improved quality of election day activities ▪ Improved INEC's election day image
4. **Political Party Management (PPM)**	Director, Election & Party Monitoring	▪ Improved compliance with the legal framework ▪ Improved internal candidate and party agent management ▪ Improved monitoring of campaign period and party financing
5. **Election Day Support (EDS)**	Chairman	▪ Improved delivery of election day activities as planned ▪ Increased stakeholder confidence in INEC's ability to deliver its plans ▪ Reduced high cost, firefighting activities
6. **Election Day Procurement (EDP)**	Director, Procurement	▪ Full adherence to all required checks and balances in the spirit of procurement rules ▪ Approved routine and fast tracked procurement processes which remove the need for INEC to "bend" the procurement rules to carry out its constitutional mandate ▪ Timely delivery of goods and services which meet the requirement regardless of the political climate and unanticipated events
7. **Continuous Voter Registration (CVR)**	Director, Voter Registry	▪ Increased stakeholder confidence in the voter register ▪ Increased accuracy of the voter register ▪ Increased public awareness of the voter registration process

Source: (EMS REPORT 2015)

The staff strength of INEC in Nigeria is about 15,000. Ahead of the 2015 general elections, the EMBs recruited, trained and deployed about 750,000 ad hoc staff to ensure collective organization and deliver credible general election to the nation, precisely with the close to 70 million confirmed registered electorates. General elections take place through 119, 973 Polling Units (PUs) countrywide. For the 2015 General elections, an additional 40, 000

level of development of a state. The wider the gap between rich and poor the lower will be the level of development and vice versa. Inequality as measured by Gini coefficient has been rising since 1985, except for slight decline in 1992. It declined from 0.43 in 1985 to 0.41 in 1992 and rose to 0.49 in 1996 and remained unchanged at 0.488 in 2004 (Aigbokban, 2008). High rate of inequality has skewed wealth and resources in Nigeria away from the masses to the pockets of the top 20 percent (Financial Derivative Company Report, in Thisday, 2016). That, as measured by Gini coefficient, Nigeria ranks second out of 16 West African countries, nineth out of 54 African countries and 26th out of over 190 countries in the world. However, research shows that the minimum yearly income needed to sustain a living that provides the basic needs in Nigeria stands at $1016 per year in urban areas (N203,000 per year or N16900 per month) and $758 per year in rural areas (N151,600 per year or N12600 per month). 74 percent of Nigerians live below this income level. Out of this, some 40 percent live under the poverty line, that is living on less than $1.25 per day, N7500 per month and N91500 per annum, 49 percent and 48 percent lower than that required as monthly and annual income respectively (Thisday, 2016). This shows that despite transition to democratic rule Nigerians are not better off. This however implies that the future of democracy Nigeria is not secured.

Literacy level is another indicator of development or otherwise. The 1991census data shows that 57 percent (of about 88.5 million) of Nigerians can be said to be literate (National Population Commission, 1991, in Yusuf, 2013). Of Nigerians 180 million people, the number of illiterate Nigerians is estimated at 54 million (Federal Government, in Vanguard, 2016). Though the percentage has reduced (43% and 30% respectively) the number of illiterates has increased (38.06 million and 54 million respectively). The higher literacy level is associated with the awareness and chance of being employed. This narrows the gap between reach and poor. Therefore higher illiteracy level is associated with the opposite of this.

Health system is another indicator that determines the level off development in a society. According to 2004 Human Development Report for Nigeria, life expectancy at birth fell from 53 years in 1990 to 50 years in 2003 and 47 years by 2008 (Folakemi, 2012). World Health Organisation (WHO) ranked Nigeria 187th out of 191 countries in its ranking of the world health system. This means that the country's health system is only better than that of three countries – Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, and Myanmar. However, countries such as Ghana, Togo, Niger, Mali, and Chad ranked better than Nigeria with 135, 152, 170, 163, and 178 respectively (Dailytrust, 2015). Major challenges facing Nigeria's primary health care include dilapidated structures, shortage of staff, unskilled personnel, lack of drugs and equipments, and poor referral system (Dailytrust, 2015). This is as a result of the failure of the various administrations to allocate reasonable amount to the health sector in a fiscal year. For instance, annual budget allocations to heath have been persistently below 5 percent except for years 1998 -1999, and 2002-2003 when they were at or just above this level Asuzu (WHO, 2008).

The data presented and discussed above implied that despite transition to democratic regime Nigerian citizens are not better off, and are in a serious problem. For instance, despite per capital income of more than $2,700 and annual GDP growth of 7%, Nigeria has world's poorest population and that the economic disparities between the North and rest of the country increases, where in the North, 72% of the people live in poverty compared to 27% in the south (John 2011; cited in Odo, 2015). However, not only the citizens but also the democracy itself is

Target Customer: A target customer is the market segment that you think is most likely to buy your products or services. Find out what your target customer reads, listens to, views and trusts among all the media outlets you have available. This requires you to talk with customers, put out questionnaires and surveys and examine the outlets your competition uses.

Communication Channels: Though your target customer may use many types of media, one must select the ones that will carry the message out the best. For example, if one sells discount clothing, one must place the marketing message on online discount chat rooms, bulletin boards and even on flyers. On the other hand, if one sells upscale shoes, the customers might expect to see the message in glossy magazines, on billboards and even on television.

Cost Estimates: Once you identify the ideal mix of outlets for your marketing message, estimate the total cost of your marketing campaign. As a small business, you have to evaluate the affordability of your market mix. If you find it is too expensive, substitute more affordable media outlets for the most expensive ones.

Measuring: After you initiate your marketing programme, measure the results to make sure you are spending your money wisely. You can ask customers where they heard about you as they make a purchase, you can have customers fill out response cards when you ship products to them, and you can call or email those who bought from you to conduct a brief survey that includes where they heard about you. Use your feedback from customers to determine how effective your initial marketing mix has been.

The Importance of Voting

According to Adewale (2011), in a true democratic society, it is essential to ensure a government that follows the will of the people, and not the one that forces the people to follow it, comes on board; that is, a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Similarly, in a truly democratic society, all eligible voters are given chance to select their leader through their righst to vote and to be voted for. The representative or candidates who have been elected are liable in many ways to the people who voted and elected them. They have to implement those pledges made during elections with much transparency, accountability and good governance. Voting is a patriotic right to choose your representative in government. A citizen's vote is a secret ballot. Voting is the most important exercise a citizen will do as a responsible citizen of a democratic nation. In a functioning democracy, being able to vote allows citizens to express their political opinions by voting a particular policy or candidate that has ones best interest in mind. By this, you can decide your own future by opting for a candidate who is ready to fulfill your aspirations and possibly those people who share the same opinion with you.

Voting is a right of all eligible voters in any country. It is seen as the normal or typical form of political activity and it remains the primary means of political participation. The goal of any voting system is to establish the intent of each individual voter and translate those intents into a final tally or reality.

How to Run a Political Campaign

Benjamin (2014) identified the following ways to run a political campaign:

I. **Get the Right Tools for your Political Campaign**: In the modern political age, technology is the backbone of any campaign. Well designed tools will allow your campaign team to share information easily and efficiently, make well-informed

decisions, and easily expand as youyou approach Election Day. Putting the right tools in place can make one's campaign effort much easier.

ii. **Hiring your Campaign Staff**: Every campaign, from school board on up, needs three positions filled: treasurer, fundraiser and campaign manager. Depending on the size and budget of your campaign, these can be done either by full-time paid staff, consultants that work on multiple campaigns, or volunteers. The treasurer is responsible for maintaining the campaign's financial accounting both for internal purposes and for filing legally required campaign statements.

iii. **The Campaign Budget**: Running a successful campaign needs a carefully formulated budget. The very first step is determining a vote target — the number of votes needed to win. Many campaign professionals recommend communicating with each potential voter six times. If each contact cost $.50, then your campaign would spend $3 per voter for this voter contact. The campaign would also, of course, need to spend money on fundraising, staff and other overheads.

iv. **Determining the Right Strategy and Message for your Campaign**: Strategy and messaging vary tremendously between campaigns. Unlike other portions of the campaign, these tie directly into the candidate's personal beliefs. Early in the campaign, the candidate and his key staff must have very frank discussions about these issues.

v. **The Heart of Running the Campaign**: After your tools, team, budget, strategy and messages are put together. Running the actual campaign is mostly just a matter of implementing. Campaign needs to be prepared for changing circumstances and one may need to revise any of these previously prepared items; but with solid planning, your daily operations will run much more smoothly.

Empirical Framework

Grace (2015) carried out a study on political advertisement campaign and voting behaviour: a study of Akinwumi Ambode's election in Lagos state. He employed both purposive sampling technique and simple random technique to select 200 respondents across Lagos state. A 12-itemed questionnaire was used to elicit the necessary information from the respondents. The result from the survey revealed that there is no doubt that political advertising plays some role in influencing the electorates. He concluded that using theme songs in political adverts campaign are very effective in selling and seizing the electorates' attention which could in turn mean change of choice of candidate.

Shanto and Markus (1999) examined the effect of political advertising on commercial advertiser in West Los Angeles. He employed experimental survey method and the experiment was conducted in three separate sites in the Greater Los Angeles area. The result revealed that exposure to political advertisements did not affect the standing of product adverts vis-à-vis political adverts. He concluded based on his findings that political advertising hardly constitutes a threat to the advertising industry.

Methodology

The study adopted a quantitative method and descriptive survey to enhance proper understanding of the research variables and made use of questionnaires to elicit information from eligible voters in Ilorin metropolis. This study examined two variables – eligible voters

(Dahl, cit. Chapman and Shapiro, 1993:259-82). Democratic consolidation, therefore, requires the institutionalization of a politically regulated market. This requires an economic society, which in turn requires an effective state. Even a goal such as narrowing the scope of public ownership (i.e., privatization) in an orderly and legal way is almost certainly carried out more effectively by a stronger state than by a weaker one. Economic deterioration is due to the state's inability to carry out needed regulatory functions which greatly compounds the problems of economic reform and democratization. (Linz and Stepen, 1996:19).

Mono-economy, Socio-Economic Development and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

It is obvious that democratic consolidation exists where there is a level playing ground – intitutionalised political and bureaucratic procedure and economic society. However, some indicators will be presented and analysed in order to draw conclusion on whether Nigerian democracy is being consolidated or not. In doing so, comparative approach has been used where data from 1990s when Nigeria was under military rule and the current fourth republic are compared. The data include poverty, unemployment and inequality, literacy level, and health status. These indicators present true pictures of individual's freedom and level of development. They also present picture of a particular democratic regime (that is, a healthy and functioning democracy or not).

Poverty level is one of the variables that indicate development or otherwise. The higher the level of poverty the lower the living standard of a given population and the less developed a society. National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in British Broadcasting Corporation (2012) reported that despite the fact that the Nigerian economy is growing, the population of Nigerians living in poverty is increasing every year, although it declined between 1985 and 1992, and between 1996 and 2004. Reuters (2012) reported that people living in absolute poverty rose to 60.9 percent in 2010 compared with 54.7 percent in 2004. 1n 2016 however, 110 (about 61.1 percent) million Nigerians are living in poverty (Osinbajo in DailyPost, 2016). This shows that despite transition to democratic rule, the level of poverty has not reduced; it is rather on the increase. This poses threat to democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

Unemployment rate is another variable that depicts the picture of developing democracy and healthy political society. A healthy and developed democracy is characterized by low rate of unemployment, and where jobs could not be provided, unemployment benefits are given to the affected population (in case of United States and some countries in Europe). According to NBS and Central Bank of Nigeria surveys (in Njok and Ihugba, 2011), unemployment rate declined from 7.0 percent in 1987 to as low as 1.9 percent in 1995, after which it rose to 2.8 percent in 1996. Nigerian unemployment was recorded at 13.3 percent in the second quarter of 2016, up from 12.1 percent in March, highest since 2009. Youth unemployment increase to 24 percent from 21.5 percent in 2016 (Trading Economics, 2016). This figure shows that, though Nigerians were anticipating better system, Nigerian democracy seems to be failing them. Higher unemployment rate is accompanied by low purchasing power and low living standard. This in turn affects development negatively. Former US president Roosevelt in his four freedom speech in 1941 argued that "people who are hungry and out of job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made". Therefore, with high level of poverty and unemployment, development of democracy has been retarded.

Another variable is inequality. Level of inequality is another means of measuring the

democracy. He describes the phase in which people become accustomed to living in a democracy as a habituation phase, rather than consolidation phase. This stage is distinctive by the extension of a democracy consensus to encompass other strata of society and by the selection of more democratically oriented leaders.

Linz and Stepen (1996:15) argued that, for democracy to be consolidated, six fundamental but interconnected and mutually reinforcing conditions have to be fulfilled. First, a strong and functioning state must exist and has the capacity to govern without undue influence. Second, the conditions must exist for the development of a free and lively *civil society.* Third, there must be a relatively autonomous *political society.* Fourth, throughout the territory of the state all major political actors, especially the government and the state apparatus, must be effectively subjected to a *rule of law* that protects individual freedoms and associational life. Fifth, there must be a *state bureaucracy* that is usable by the new democratic government. Sixth, there must be an institutionalized *economic society.*

Theoretical Framework

Schedler (in Khorram-manesh, 2013) believes that there are three approaches to operationalising democratic consolidation. The first assumption focuses on behavioural foundations of stability as the key political actors that sustain political institutions. That democracy is neither a divine gift nor a side effect of social factors; it is the work of political actors (Schedler, 2001: 68). The second assumption focuses on the attitudinal foundation of democratic governance where it is argued that democracy is always under risk unless all major political actors develop "normative motive, strategic rationality and cognitive perceptions" in order to sustain a game of liberal democracy (Schedler, 2001: 85). Thirdly, others draw attention to the socioeconomic foundation of a democratic regime. That feeling "safe" in the socioeconomic environment and its institutional settings look promising for the continuity of democracy. (Schedler, 2001:85).

This paper found the third assumption to be very relevant because an institutionalized political process and procedure, and economic society are the basis of a healthy democratic regime. All the freedoms enjoyed in a democratic society by the citizens depend on how strong and effective these institutions are. However, weak institutions have made Nigeria a 'weak state' thereby affecting the socio-economic development which in turn threatened its democratization process. Therefore, to protect the rights of its citizens and to deliver other needed basic services, a democratic government needs to be able to secure the freedoms of the citizens including the freedom of want. For this, it needs a functioning state with strong economic and political institutions. Theoretically, one can argue that, first, there has never been, and there cannot be, a consolidated democracy that has a command economy (except perhaps in wartime). Second, there has never been, and almost certainly will never be, a modern consolidated democracy with a pure market economy. Modern consolidated democracies require a set of socio-politically crafted and accepted norms, institutions, and regulations – what is often called "economic society" – that mediates between the state and the market (Linz and Alfred 1996). Most importantly, democracy entails free public contestation concerning governmental priorities and policies. If a democracy never produced policies that generated government-mandated public goods in the areas of education, health, and transportation, and never provided some economic incentives and safety net for its citizens, and some alleviation of gross economic inequality, democracy would not be sustainable

in Ilorin metropolis. This study examined two variables – eligible voters (dependent) variable and marketing communication mix (independent) variable. The population of the study comprised of eligible voters from the three local government areas in Ilorin – Ilorin West, Ilorin East and Ilorin South. There is no sampling frame available for the study to adopt, therefore, the study employed Godden's (2004) sample size formula for infinite study population to arrive at a representative sample of 369 respondents.

$$SS = \frac{Z^2 \times p(1-p)}{M^2}$$ Where:

SS = Sample size for infinite population (more than 50,000)

Z = Z value (e.g. 1.96 for 95% confidence level)

P = Population proportion (expressed as decimal) (assumed to .5 (50%) since this would provide the maximum sample size)

M = Margin of error at 5% (.05)

For instance, if the proportion is 60%

$$SS = \frac{1.96^2 \times 0.6(1-0.6)}{0.0025} = \frac{3.8416 \times 0.6(0.4)}{0.05^2} = \frac{0.921984}{0.0025}$$

$$= 368.7936 = 369$$

Convenience sampling method was used to select 369 eligible voters from the three local government areas in Ilorin (Ilorin West, Ilorin East and Ilorin South).

The study employed primary source of collecting data to gather required information for the study. Primary data were obtained using structured questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered by the researcher and three assistants to the respondents. Out of the 369 questionnaires administered 282 were filled and found useable.

The questions used to elicit information are capable of finding out the level of marketing communication mix effect on eligible voters in Ilorin metropolis. The study made use of questionnaire as the data collection instrument. The questionnaire was divided into parts – I and II. Part I elicited information about the personal data of the respondents such as gender, age and occupation, while part II consisted of questions measuring effect of marketing communication mix on eligible voters. Five-point Likert scale answers ranging from (1= strongly agree and 5= strongly disagree was used.

Data Analysis

Results

Multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine the effect of marketing communication mix on eligible voters in Ilorin metropolis. The result is shown in the table below:

Hypothesis: Marketing communication mix has no significant effect on eligible voters during political campaign.

Table 1: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.255	0.65	0.48	0.33618

a. Predictor: (constant), Direct Marketing,
Sales Promotion, Advertising, Personal Selling
(Author's Computation, 2016)

Table 2: ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Squares	F	Sig
1	Regression	2.176	5	.435	3.851	.002
	Residual	31.193	276	.113		
	Total	33.369	281			

a. Predictor: (constant), Direct Marketing,
Sales Promotion, Advertising, Personal Selling
b. Depended Variable: Eligible Voter
(Author's Computation, 2016)

Table 3: Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	4.213	.122		34.667	.000
	Advertising	.022	.032	.551	.681	.496
	Personal Selling	.021	.035	.533	.605	.546
	Sales Promotion	.047	.033	.109	1.428	.155
	Public Relations	.132	.048	.265	2.758	.006
	Direct Marketing	.022	.034	.512	.642	.522

a. Dependent Variable: Eligible Voters
(Author's Computation, 2016)

Discussion of findings

Table 1: The result of this study revealed that the value of r^2 is 0.65 (which accounted for 65% of variance) of eligible voters is explained by marketing communication mix. This implies that marketing communication mix has significant effect on eligible voters' decision during political campaigns by 65%, while the remaining 35% are explained by other variables which are outside the model. Hence, marketing communication mix influences eligible voter's decision during political campaigns.

(1943: p. 269) defined democracy as "that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote." This definition is the most commonly and widely used by American social scientists. One can detect some fundamental traits of democracy from this definition. As an institutional arrangement, the ability to exercise power by individuals in authority rest squarely on people`s vote. Only those transparently elected are mandated to actualise people`s aspirations as their representatives in political decision making bodies. Competition between political parties and aspirants allow the people to rationally make choice on whose they deemed suitable to represent them. Former President of United States of America, Franklin D. Roosevelt, strongly beliefs that ideal democracy rests upon four essential human freedoms:

> First is freedom of speech and expression – everywhere in the world.
> Second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way - everywhere in the world. Third is freedom of want - which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants - everywhere in the world. Fourth is freedom from fear - which, translated into world terms, means a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor – anywhere in the world.

Democracy is about freedom – self-esteem and opportunity to have better living standard. This is only possible if all the above four freedoms are attained. Josiah (2006) argued that democracy is not majority rule but “capacity to do things”. This involves relationship which is guided by law, peoples' participation in the process of production, and the distribution of public goods with just. As for the former United States President, Abraham Lincoln, democracy is defined as the “government of the people, by the people for the people”. However, a good democracy has to do with stable institutional structure that realizes the liberty and equality of citizens through the legitimate and correct functioning of its institutions and mechanisms (Morlino, 2004). This means that for democracy to succeed, it must have strong and well functioning institutions that would ensure liberty and equality of the citizens.

Once a transition from authoritarian rule in a given country has reached a point where (more or less) free, fair, and competitive elections are held, democratic actors usually cannot afford to relax and enjoy the "bounded uncertainty" of democratic rule. More often than not, regime-threatening "unbounded uncertainties" persist, and the democrats' fundamental concern shifts from establishing democracy's core institutions to securing what they have achieved. For these actors, consolidating democracy means reducing the probability of its breakdown to the point where they can feel reasonably confident that democracy will persist in the near (and not-so-near) future (Schedler, 1998). It is further asserted that, originally, the term "democratic consolidation" was meant to describe the challenge of making new democracies secure, of extending their life expectancy beyond the short term, of making them immune against the threat of authoritarian regression, of building dams against eventual "reverse waves" (ibid., 1998). Therefore, transition to democracy is fundamentally important as consolidating it. Rustow (1970) dealt briefly with the phase following the instillation of

Socio-Economic Development

Concept of development became popular after Second World War as a result of destructions suffered by Western World. Institution such as International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was set up to provide the necessary resources for reconstruction of these areas. However, gaining independence of former colonies in Asia and Africa necessitated the need for development for two reasons; first, to improve the living standard of the citizenry, second, to compete with developed countries. Todaro and Smith (2015) viewed development as the process of improving the quality of all human lives and capabilities by rising people's levels of living, self-esteem and freedom. Szirmai (2005) argued that economic development cannot be explained by economic factors only, and the concept of development includes more than mere changes in economic indicators. Supporting this position, Fritz (2010) conceived development as a planned and comprehensive economic, social, cultural, and political process, in a defined geographical area that is right-based and ecologically oriented and aims to continually improve the well-being of the entire population and all of its individuals. He continued that the individuals would be actively involved in open, meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits. Szirmai (2005) summerised the meaning of economic development as growth accompanied by qualitative change in the structure of production and employment. In an attempt to differentiate economic development from social development, Fritz (2010) further conceived economic development as the process of rising factors of prosperity through increased production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. Social development on the other hand refers to the complexity of social dynamics, and focus on the social concerns of the people as objectives of development, and people centered participatory approach to development. It is about inclusiveness, social justice and the common good. He identified indicators of social development as those that provide information about areas such as income, poverty, employment security, education, health, crime and civil participation.

However, socio-economic development is a structural change that positively affects the lives of people living in a particular society. These changes cover institutions that function together for the survival of the entire system. They include economic, social, political and cultural institutions.

Democratic Consolidation

The world in 1990 entered the grip of a democratic revolution. Throughout the developing world, people are resisting and rebelling against communist and authoritarian rules. From the post communist world of Eastern Europe to the post-bureaucratic-authoritarian nations of Latin America, to the poverty-stricken heart of tropical Africa, and to newly rich and industrializing East Asia, nations are on the march toward democracy. Accordingly, democracy has become the most widely admired type of political system but also perhaps the most difficult to maintain. Alone among all forms of government, democracy rests on a minimum of coercion and a maximum of consent. Democratic polities inevitably find themselves saddled with certain "built-in" paradoxes or contradictions. The tensions these cause are not easy to reconcile, and every country that would be democratic must find its own way of doing so. (Diamond, 1990: 48).

However, the concept of democracy as of many other concepts in social science is characterised by absence of common and unanimously accepted definition. Schumpeter

Table 2: The Anova results as presented in table 2 shows that the value of F cal. is 3.851 with significant value of 0.002. Since the significant value is less than 0.05, it means that marketing communication mix has effect on eligible voters during political campaigns. The findings is in line with that of Grace (2015) which revealed that political advertising plays some roles in influencing the electorates.

Table 3: The coefficient table was used to test whether the five independent variables (marketing communication mix) contributed to the dependent variable (eligible voters). The t value in this study was significant at 0.05 alpha level. The result of the coefficient table implies that for one additional use of “advert', the gross performance, which is proxy for eligible voters, increased by 55.1%. This implies that advertising strategy during political campaign helps to achieve greater result. The result on “personal selling” also shows a positive correlation between marketing communication mix and eligible voters' decision. The magnitude of beta coefficient for personal selling is statistically significant at 0.05 alpha level. The result shows that personal selling influenced eligible voters during political campaigns by 53.3%. The magnitude of beta coefficient for sales promotion is statistically significant at 5% level. This implies that sales promotion has effect on eligible voters by 10.9%. Public relation is significant at 0.05 alpha level. The result reveals that public relation strategy affect eligible voters by 26.5%. Direct Marketing is also significant at 0.05 alpha level and the result reveals that an increase in the use of direct marketing accounted 51.2% influence on eligible voters.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Every individual or organization that has something to offer must communicate its message in one way or the other to the target audience for awareness creation. There are various ways in which political aspirants can promote themselves during political campaign. Political aspirants make use of advertising, personal selling, sales promotion, public relations and direct marketing. However the type of marketing communication mix to be adopted by a political aspirant at a particular point in time depends primarily on his financial strength and that of the party to which he belongs. Based on the findings the study concludes that marketing communication mix are essential factors to be considered by political aspiranst during political campaigns to achieve the desired result. Hence, the following recommendations are made based on the findings of this study:

i. Political aspirants should make use of advertisement strategy during political campaign to better influence eligible voters.
ii. Political aspirants should adopt personal selling during political campaigns to achieve greater result.
iii. Political parties should present candidates that the media practitioners will be willing to announce to the public to better influence voters' behaviour.
iv. Political parties should make use of direct marketing during political campaigns to create awareness and influence eligible voters.

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and programs, among others. This is a result of weak political institutions and lack of political will by the political leaders. These problems have made Nigeria 'unproductive' and dependent state, focusing largely on oil sector for most of the revenue it generates. This has led to increased unemployment rate, economic inequality, and poverty. This paper thus analyses the implication of mono-economy on socio-economic development and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. It utilizes comparative approach where the data in the 1990s were compared with the data since 1999 (fourth republic) in order to find out if there is progress or otherwise.

Conceptual Clarifications and Theoretical Framework

Nigeria's Mono-economy

A mono-economy is an economy that depends on single sector for revenue generation. Although there may be some other sectors from which revenues are generated, the economy depends largely on a single sector for its revenue. Many countries in the world (especially developing countries) depend on single sector for revenue generation, in most cases primary sectors which produces agricultural raw materials and mineral resources. Nigeria is a peculiar mono-economy due to its heavy reliance on a single commodity (oil) for revenue generation.

Agriculture had been the key sector in Nigerian economy during the pre-colonial, colonial, and early post-colonial period. It had been the source of food, income, and foreign exchange earnings. Colonial administration made great impact on agricultural development with emphasis placed on research and extension (E. W. Nwa, 2003; in Ogunbayo et al., 2014). However colonial economy in most of Africa was structured to improve the economies of metropolitan powers (Shokpeka and Nwaokocha, 2009). Although there was semi-processing of agricultural products to complement trading activities of foreign companies, it made no attempt to change or invest in traditional manufactures. (Synge, in Ajayi, 2007).

In early independent period, Nigeria was encouraged by Western experience of industrialization being a promoter of economic growth. The government gave highest priority to industrialization shortly after independence (Roberts and Azubuike, in Ekpo, 2014). The discovery of oil in the 1950s made Nigeria an oil producing state. As the proportion of oil to Nigeria's total export kept on increasing, Nigeria became more dependent on oil while the share of agriculture was declining and the industrial sector stagnated. Crude oil continued to account for increasing proportion of export through the 1970s, increasing from 13% in 1955 to 35% in 1965, 93% in 1975, 96% in 1985 (library of congress country's studies, LCCS, 2004), and to 71% in 2015 (NBS 2016). However, the share of agriculture to Growth Domestic Product (GDP) had been declining. For instance, in early 1960s, the share of agricultural sector to GDP was 62.5 percent, and between 1999 and 2002, the share fell to about 40 percent of the GDP, and it fell to 20.9% in 2016 (Central Bank of Nigeria 2003, in Bello-Iman and Obadan, 2004: and NBS 2016). Although policies were introduced to diversify the economy (example, Agricultural Development Projects in the 1960s, Operation Feed the Nation in the 1970s, Structural Adjustment Program and National Directorate for Employment in the 1980s, National Economic Empowerment and Development strategy in the 1990s, vision 20:2020 in 2007, Transformation Agenda in 2010, and Diversification Agenda in 2015), oil still remains the major source of Nigeria's revenue, accounting for about 80 percent of total export and foreign exchange earnings. Therefore, Nigerian economy is a mono-economy, depending largely on oil for revenue generation and foreign exchange earnings.

MONO-ECONOMY, SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA

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Abstract
Democracy is a system of government in which popular decision prevails. It does imply not only participation of people in selecting representatives but also participation of people in developing political processes and institutions. It is also concerned with accountability of those in the position of authority – ensuring a healthy socio-economic environment. This paper aims at examining the implications of mono-economy on socio-economic development and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The paper has used documentary research method and has made analysis using analytical framework by Schedler that feeling "safe" in the consolidation occurs when socio-economic environment and its institutional settings look promising for continuity of democracy. The paper argues that mono-economic nature (depending largely on oil) has made Nigeria unproductive and dependent; this in turn leads to increased economic inequality, unemployment, poverty and poor education and health system. This poses threat to democratic consolidation. The paper concludes that Nigerian mono-economy is a threat to her democratic consolidation. The paper recommends that government should pay attention to development of infrastructure and human capital (through education and training). It should also focus on diversifying the economy by developing other sectors like industrial, agricultural and solid mineral. This would reduce the inequality, unemployment rate and poverty, and ultimately develops democracy in Nigeria.
Keywords: Socio-Economic Development, Democracy, Democratic Consolidation, Weak Institutions, Poverty

Introduction

Democracy is believed to be the most productive system due to its nature of being managed by majority decisions. The development of political process however is linked to literacy level, urbanization, industrialization, and increase in per capita income (Karl Duetsch in Huntington, 1965), political prerequisite of development (L. W. Pye in Posquino, 2016), increase in regulative, extractive, responsive, and symbolic capabilities (G. A. Almond in Posquino, 2016), and institutionalization of political process and procedure. (Huntinton, 1965).

Democratic consolidation in Nigeria has been suffering from many challenges which include corruption, mismanagement, and improper implementation of government policies

CORRUPTION AND PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY IN NIGERIA

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Abstract
This paper examined the concepts of corruption, public service (bureaucracy) and governance. It identified services that were expected to be performed by the public service, evaluated the level of public service delivery vis-a-vis the effect of corruption on public service, appraised the structural changes of public service undertook by Obasanjo administration and the influence the changes had on the administrations of subsequent governments and, finally, proffered suggestions for effective public service delivery. Data were obtained from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained from in-depth interviews conducted on purposively selected officials of ICPC, EFCC and Bureau of Code of Conduct while secondary data were sourced from published books, academic journals, news papers and magazine publications. The study population included all the personnel of the Federal Government that were indicated or investigated between 1999 and 2015. Data collected were qualitatively analysed. The results of the study reveal that bureaucratic corruption was deep rooted, endemic and consequential; it manifested among several institutions, most especially the three organs of the Nigerian government – the executive, legislative and judiciary. Finally, the paper identified some factors that could be introduced to the system in order to drastically reduce corruption in the public service so as to promote efficiency and effectiveness in the operation of public service in Nigeria.
Keywords: Corruption, Public Service Delivery, Governance, Endemic, Crippled Bureaucracy.

Introduction

All over the world, the ability of a government to legitimately govern its people appear to be demonstrated by the government capacity to deliver various ranges of services required by its population. The administrative machinery of the state, technically called bureaucracy, is therefore the main instrument for service delivery. However, the comment made by Chief Olusegun Obansnjo in the year 2000 about the bureaucracy inherited by his administration in 1999 seems to put the system in the Nigerian context into question:

> Our national institutions had existed only by name and to cap it all, there was Corruption! Corruption! Corruption! Everywhere and all the time. Corruption was not only rife, it had eaten so deeply into the marrow of our existence that looters and fraudsters had become our heroes and it seemed we could no longer place any faith in honesty, decency and hardwork. (Obasanjo, 2000).

Consequent upon this declaration made by the first civilian president of the fourth republic, we are therefore interested in finding out the impact of Obasanjo's government on public service with respect to the influence it had on the administration of his successors, most

especially those that governed Nigeria on the same political platform (Peoples Democratic Party) with Chief Olusegun Obasanjo.

Omoleke (2002) defined public service as those services provided by all tiers of governments, i.e. local, state or federal, to the public. In a third world country like Nigeria, such services include: education, security, health, transportation, etc. In this wise, public service delivery is the implementation of those services to reach the targeted people and places. And as a result of the fact that governance rely essentially on efficient and effective implementation of public service, there must therefore be an organic inter-connection between governance and public service delivery. This relationship can only be achieved if governance is contingent on the high quality of public service delivery. Meanwhile, literatures such as Akindele, (2016), Okon, (2008), among others, have acknowledged corruption as the major challenge affecting the effective public service delivery.

The main objectives of this paper are to:

I) examine the concepts of corruption, public service (bureaucracy) and governance;
ii) identify services that are expected to be performed by the public bureaucrats;
iii) evaluate the level of public service delivery viz-a-viz the effects of corruption on the service most especially between 2011-2015; and
iv) proffer suggestions for effective service delivery.

Corruption and Bureaucracy

Literally, the word corruption can be regarded as the mis-use of public power, either by bureaucrats or politicians, for a personal advantage. Corruption as a lexical expression is culture bound and it is tied to the prevailing ethnical value of a society. In another instance, corruption is defined as an improbity or decay in the decision-making process in which a decision-maker consents to deviate, or demands deviation, from the criterion which should rule his or her decision-making in exchange for a reward, promise or expectation of a reward, while these motives influencing his or her decision-making cannot be part of the justification of the decision. (*www.corruptie.org/en/corruption*).

While supporting the above position, Corruption perspective index (2015) observed that public sector corruption is so much more than missing money. It is about people's lives and it is a global problem. It refers to impairment of integrity, virtue or moral principle; it is a dishonest or illegal behaviour especially by powerful people (such as government officials or public officers). The above definitions aptly explain the state of the public service in Nigeria as painted by Chief Olusegun Obasanjo above.

Corruption, according to Ojaide (2000), is any systemic vice in an individual, society or a nation which reflects favoritism, nepotism, tribalism-sectionalism, undue enrichment, amassing of wealth, abuse of office, power, position and derivation of undue gains and benefits It also includes bribery, smuggling, fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking, falsification of documents and records, window dressing, false declaration, evasion, underdevelopment, deceit, forgery, concealment, aiding and abetting of any kind to the detriment of another person, community, society or nation. Equally, Khan (1996) described corruption as an act which deviates from the formal rules of conduct governing the actions of someone in a position of public authority because of private-regarding motive, such as wealth, power or status.

In their contributions, Kalu & Yemi (1999) observed that corruption refers to the

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the study discovered that corruption was deep rooted, endemic and consequential; it manifested among several institutions, both private and public, including the three organs of the Nigerian government – the executive, legislative and judiciary. Finally, the paper identified some factors that could drastically reduce corruption in the public service in order to promote robust and effective operation of public service.

Conclusion

The study concluded that corruption was the major challenge to effective delivery of public services in Nigeria. Various literatures revealed that the challenge has led to poor governance since the inception of the current political dispensation in Nigeria. In addition, the study discovered that corruption in the public sector was purely based on the calculus of private wealth-seeking behaviour of public officials who are administratively empowered to exercise the state power of allocation of scarce resources among many competing private interests.

The incidence of corruption has therefore manifested among several institutions, such as The National Assembly, The Presidency, Ministries and Departments, Defense, Institutions of Higher learning and even the anti-graft agencies that are supposed to act as checks against the virus.

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conscious and well planned act, by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person. In our understanding, corruption is seen as a conscious attempt or deliberate diversion of public resources to that of personal or selfish interests. It is, thus, any form of inducement offered in order to skip official responsibility or bend certain rules.

In the continent of Africa, Corruption is seen as the end result of conflict between traditional values and the imported system of administration that accompany socio-economic and political development in the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, public or civil service is a complex organization with a body of permanent officials appointed in a civil/military capacity to assist the political executives in the formulation, execution and implementation of government policies in Ministries, Departments and Agencies within which specific government works are carried out. It is this public or civil service that Max Weber (1864-1920), a German sociologist, referred to as "Bureaucracy". In Weber's opinion, bureaucracy refers to the rational imperative coordination in an administrative structure of an organization. The implication of Max Weber's model is that rational or legal authority is characterized by continuous organization of official functions bound by rules, a specified sphere of competence involving obligations related to functions in the division of labour, hierarchy of positions based on technical rules, separation of home from work and presence of formal written rules. In essence, Weber attributes the superiority of this type of bureaucracy to the rules of technology and science.

Max Weber postulated that the decisive reason for the emergence of bureaucratic organization has always been the purely technical superiority over any form of organization while its merits include precision, speed, unambiquity, unity, discipline, strict subordination and knowledge of files. Government bureaucracy implies the organizational structures which undertake the functions of a state. On this note, therefore, how the system operates in Nigeria, in view of the pervasive corruption in its environment, most especially in the Nigerian fourth republic, is the subject of the present essay.

Anise (1986) provided an elastic conception of the Nigerian bureaucracies to include:

i. civil services of all the thirty six state governments, the seven hundred and seventy four local governments and the federal civil service;
ii. parastatal and public enterprise bureaucracies;
iii. armed forces bureaucracy;
iv. internal security or Police bureaucracy;
v. universities and other institutions of higher education bureaucracies;
vi. teaching service bureaucracy;
vii. judicial service bureaucracy;
viii. public media bureaucracy;
viii. political party bureaucracy;
ix. private sector bureaucracy.

Furthermore, since the objective of efficient public service is to ensure good governance, there is therefore the need to briefly explain the concept of governance.

The concept of governance and its application to a Nation's development is a dynamic one. According to UNESCAP (2009), governance is described as the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented. In a related

development, The World Bank (1992) linked governance with socio-economic performance and it sees governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. Therefore, good governance for the World Bank is synonymous with sound development management (The World Bank, 1992). In a nutshell, governance is a concept that has developed considerably since it emerged in discussions of development issues around the late 1980's. While contributing *Finance and Development (F & D)* ,a quarterly magazine of the International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2008) affirmed that weak governance is by far the most expensive tax levied on the populations of poor countries; it is regressive, so the poorest of the already poor pay the highest rates and it is firmly enforced, without exception or appeal.

Thus, the governance is about fostering relationships of accountability among citizens, government institutions and private suppliers. In the long run, it affects the efficiency and effectiveness of how policies are formulated and how resources are allocated. Earlier on, *Finance and Development (F & D),* a quarterly magazine of the International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2000) argued that governance is defined as the traditions and institutions that determined how authority is exercised in a particular country.

These include:

i) the process by which governments are selected, held accountable, monitored and replaced;

ii) the capacity of governments to manage resources efficiently and formulate, implement, and enforce sound policies and regulations; and

iii) the respect of citizens and the state of institution that govern economic and social interactions among them.

However, the major concern of this paper would be the examination of the effects of corruption on the capability of the bureaucratic institution to effectively deliver public services between 2011 and 2015 in Nigeria.

Theoretical framework

This paper is anchored on three major inter-related theoretical frameworks. Firstly, Durkheim (1893) came up with the theoretical postulation that corruption or any act of deviance is a result of anomie. The notion of anomie that was developed by Durkheim (1893) referred to the thesis that in modern societies, traditional norms and standards become undermined, without being replaced by new ones. The theory further advanced that anomie exists when there are no clear standards to guide behavior in a given area of social life. Durkheim (1893) believed that people feel disoriented and anxious; hence anomie is one of the social factors influencing dispositions to bureaucratic corruption. This structural factor was seen as a link to the present study, but because of avalanche of rules and regulations in Nigeria, coupled with the fact that all cultures in Nigeria harbour corrupt practices. This theory is not too appropriate to the present study.

In another development, Joseph (1987) came up with a theory which states that bureaucratic corruption is prevalent in Nigeria because people make use of public offices as prebend to meet the short and long term interests of individuals or group of individuals rather than those of the general populace. There is usually a patron-client network by bureaucrats who are usually all out to see to the continued prebendalization to meet the individual, family and

suggestions are proffered or recommended:

I) that societal strategies that place emphasis on the determination of a common standard of morality against which corrupt behavior can be measured be put in place. This will require vigilance and education by members of society and make it relatively costly for individual to engage in corruption;

ii) that market-related strategies for bureaucratic corruption be instituted. This is based on the belief that there is a relationship between the structure of the market and the incidence of bureaucratic corruption. The prescribed remedy is less government regulation and greater reliance on markets for allocation of resources. As a corollary, there should be considerable reduction of regulations and other bureaucratic bottlenecks to reduce opportunities for the giving or demanding of bribes in the bureaucracies. There should be more openness and less secrecy, more streamlining of approval processes and less of licensing procedures;

iii) that the civil bureaucracy be insulated as humanly as possible from all political influences which tend to compromise standards;

iv) that adequate remuneration and other motivational incentives by government for public servants be ensured. This is because the subject has been for a long time one of the popular arguments for the various corrupt practices in the Nigerian bureaucracies;

v) that there is the need for a radical change in the value system. Value system refers to the generally accepted ways of life of people and it is sometimes conceived as the culture of a given people. It is envisaged that a radical change in the value system will definitely reduce the incidence of bureaucratic corruption.

vi) that, in Nigeria, as suggested by Akindele (2016), the government should let go off so many things. The government, apart from governance, is involved in so many things like water, electricity, road, job, to mention a few. This has led to corrupt practices and inefficiency. Many of these should be allowed to be run by private individual developers.

Discussion of Findings

This paper examined the concepts of corruption, public service (bureaucracy) and governance. It identified services that were expected to be performed by the public service while the level of public service delivery vis.-a-vis. the effects of corruption on the service were equally evaluated. Finally, it proffered suggestions for effective public service delivery. Data were obtained from both primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from in-depth interview conducted on purposively selected officials of ICPC, EFCC and Bureau of code of conduct while secondary data were sourced from published books, academic journals, news paper and magazine publications.

Data collected were qualitatively analysed. The results of the study revealed that the government of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo laid a very solid foundation for the elimination of bureaucratic corruption such as upward review of staff emolument, organization of several retreats, frequent staff audit, revision of the civil service rule and the financial memoranda, establishment of anti-corruption bodies, establishment of servicom, among others. The study equally discovered that Jonathan administration complemented the good efforts of its predecessors by enacting some anti-corruption laws such as introduction of Bank Verification Number (BVN) and introduction of Treasury Single Account. However, in spite of all these,

iv) Nigeria governmental institution is weak, inefficient with poorly designed constitutional rules which provide the government at the center with almost unlimited powers to intervene in private exchange; resource allocation is totally politicized and the civil service has replaced the market as the principal instrument for the allocation of resources;

v) breakdown in social norms or radical changes in the value system.

Manifestations of Ethical Violation by Civil Servants

Bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria recorded high manifestation between 2011 and 2015. As a result of this, late Prof. Dora Akunyili vigorously campaigned for the re-branding of Nigerian Civil Service. It was discovered that as a result of bureaucratic corruption, potential foreign investors were not coming to Nigeria. It was alleged that the cost of doing business in Nigeria was highly exorbitant, because all officials that are remotely or directly connected with the investor's transaction would expect, and in some cases, demand bribe before the performance of their official duty.

Prof. Dora Akunyili further observed that the level of bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria, most especially during the period of Jonathan administration, was pervasive, alarming and deep rooted; it manifested across all sectors: Academics, National Assembly, Security Agency, Bureaucracy and Financial Institutions, among others. Dike (1999), for example, underscores these tendencies when he contends that the menace of corruption led to slow movement of files in offices, police extortion at tollgates and slow traffics on the highways, port congestion, parliamentary delay of legislation, queues at passport offices and gas stations, ghost workers syndrome, election irregularities. When bureaucrats begin to undermine the legal framework under the bureaucratic system based, it is reflected in a deviation from the Weberian principle which ultimately results to bureaucratic corruption. Bureaucratic corruption occurs in the 'public administrative or the implementation end of politics'. Categorically, it can be classified as "Corruption by need".

This is often the kind of corruption that the average Nigerian encounters in his day to day activities, like when he visits the hospital and have to pay bribe before he is allowed to register or have to bribe the medical laboratory assistance so as not to undertake the compulsory HIV/AIDS test which he is supposed to take before his pregnant wife can be attended to in the General Hospital. He encounters this type of corruption when he is trying to get his child admitted into a federal government college, at the local licensing offices, tax offices where he is required to offer bribe to some tax officials with a view to reducing the amount of money he ought to have paid as tax, with custom and immigration officials and of course with the men of the Nigerian police, etc. Additionally, bureaucratic corruption during the study period includes;

i) the Maina Pension Scam;
ii) police Pension Fund Fraud;
iii) the missing #20 billion Naira oil money by the NNPC;
iv) Abba Morro Immigration recruitment scandal where over fifteen applicants died;
v) $15 million arms scandal in Johannesburg, South Africa;
vi) oil subsidy scam; etc.

Achieving Effective Service Delivery: The Way Forward

In order to avert bureaucratic corruption and governance failure in Nigeria, the following

and sectional interests. This is because the Nigerian bureaucracies are not governed by moral ethics recognized by all in the society as binding beyond their legal rational justification.

Ekeh (1975) and Ake (1993), among others, have linked the causes of bureaucratic corruption to the failure of the post colonial state in Africa to meet the short and long term interest of the people. According to these scholars, the state does not exist to advance the interest of the generality but has turned out to be an instrument in the hands of some privileged bureaucrats to exploit and oppress the people. Ekeh (1975) contended that two publics are discernible in African states with different moral imperatives, these are:

1) The primordial realm and 2) Civic public.

The primordial realm is governed by the moral imperative which makes stealing an act of deviance. In this realm, emphasis is on what will benefit the people collectively while the pursuit of parochial interest is given minimal attention. The people get more attention and protection from it because it is the collective interest that predominates in policy formations and decisions.

However, the civic public does not enjoy the same loyalty, patronage, commitment and confidence because it is nothing more than a coercive and oppressive structure which does not protect and cater for the people's welfare and well-being. This is the more reason why stealing from the civic public is not seen as an act of deviance, nor ethically or morally wrong by those who are oriented to the primordial realm. Similarly, Belov (1986) stated that the essence of any state is determined by its economic and social base. If a society is founded upon private property and the exploitation of the poor by the rich, the state inevitably becomes an instrument in the hands of minority for consolidating its dominance. Belov (1986) further stated that if a society is founded on common property and the objective conditions for inequality and exploitation of man by man are absent, the state then becomes an instrument for expressing the will of the masses… As a result of inter-connectedness of this theory with Nigeria history and society, this theory, to a very great extent, is the most suitable to the present study, because the Nigerian state is a creation of British colonial authority whose primary motive was economic imperialism. Through the British colonialism, Nigeria was incorporated into the world capitalist system and this incorporation created a class structure that facilitates its continuous integration. Hence, Nigeria emerged at independence as a neo-colonial capitalist state integrated structurally into the global capitalist system (Ake, 1996). The capitalist class uses state power for surplus appropriation, and "Through this primitive accumulation process, the government becomes the nucleus and breeding ground of indigenous capitalists who use state apparatus to accumulate private capital". (Iyayi, 1986).

Delivery of services: The Primary Responsibility of the Public Service

All over the world, government is basically established to serve the people's needs in relation to their socio-economic well being and security. These needs are goods and services that are usually provided by the government. In essence, government is enthroned in order to allocate resources, and to achieve set goals. However, the means of achieving the goals is through public service administration or government bureaucracy. Public service administration implies the apparatuses or organizational structures which undertake the functions of government in a state.

Therefore, the primary responsibility of any public administration system is to deliver effective and efficient services, because the idea behind bureaucracy, according to Weber,

is to provide efficiency, stability, perfection, sustenance and uniformity.

In every government of Africa, Asia and Latin America, we find formal agencies of bureaucracy which resemble those we can find in governments of Europe and United States. However, as argued by Heady (1979), a close inspection of these institutions in many developing countries operationally exhibits wide discrepancies between Max Weber's ideal type construction credited with high degree of rationality, effectiveness and efficiency and their reality in operation.

In many third world countries like Nigeria and some other countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the identified wide spread discrepancy between appearance and reality has continued to intensify as the years go by. Perhaps it is on this note that the discussion on bureaucracy is very important in relation to the Nigeria situation. Okon (2008) once criticized Nigeria public service bureaucracy as being chaotic, epileptic, unsatisfactory, shoddy, deplorable, insensitive, inflexible, non-cost effective, over-pampered, privileged but lazy, arrogant and uninformed class who specialized in mischief-making, ethnic strife and corruption.

As a result of the above, series of reforms had been carried out in the public service since independence, such as the Udoji 1972 reform, the 1976 purge, Dotun Phillips (1988) reform, to mention just but a few, so as to make the public bureaucracy more efficient and oriented. However, the envisaged benefits of such reforms have not been visible due principally to corruption.

Corruption has so permeated the Nigeria society that in the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index of 2015, Nigeria was ranked 140th out of 178 countries in the World. No wonder then, the report and other reports might have made the immediate Prime Minister of Britain to jokingly refer to Nigeria as the most corrupt country in the World. Perhaps this and other assertions might have influenced the former US secretary of State, Mr. John Kerry during his visit to Nigeria in 2016, to have urged the Nigerian Leadership to tackle bribery, fraud and other forms of corruption which he said were 'dangerous' and undermined efforts to ensure a peaceful world.

Lumumba (2011) argued that corruption is the bane of Africa; earlier on Gould (1980) had argued that bureaucratic corruption provides Civil Servants with the opportunity to raise their compensation above what the law prescribes. In a related development, Mbaku (1992) stated that through the practice of corruption, private entrepreneurs are able to capture and maintain monopoly positions in the economy, politicians who serve as wealth brokers obtain the resources they need to purchase security and continue to monopolize the supply of legislation.

The three authors submitted that the biggest loser from corruption is the society as a whole because corruption allows inefficient producers to remain in business, encourages governments to pursue perverse economic policies and provides opportunities to bureaucrats and politicians to enrich themselves through extorting bribes from those seeking government favors. Thus, corruption distorts economic incentives, discourages entrepreneurship and slows economic growth.

The obvious reason for the inability of the institution of public service or bureaucracy to stem the tide of corruption, and or to curb corruption, can primarily be understood in the context of its role as a conduit pipe for private accumulation of wealth. It is within this theoretical realm

that our discussion of the ineffective delivery of public service as a result of corruption is situated.

Causes and Manifestations of Bureaucratic Corruption in Nigeria

Various researches had been done to determine the causes of bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria in particular and Africa in general. Apter (1963) observed that African civil servants may be obliged to share the proceeds of their public offices with their kinfolk; this may be due to the African extended family which places significant pressure on the civil servant, forcing majority of the civil servants to engage in corrupt practices and nepotism. Generally, bureaucrats are believed to be exploiting their public positions to generate benefits for themselves, their families, and their ethnic or social cleavage. Few Africa researchers have tended to place emphasis on the structural and individual conditions that contribute to corrupt behavior. However, major studies have identified several structural factors that contribute to bureaucratic corruption in Africa. Gould & Mukendi (1989) argued that one of such structural factor is the "soft state" that is said to embody "a weak or diffuse sense of national interest and the absence of a commitment to public service". Many researchers have argued that there appears to be an absence of a commitment to public service among citizens of many developing countries and that excessive levels of bureaucratic corruption in these economies are related to the lack of devotion to serving the public interest. In many African countries, civil service employees view public service as an opportunity for self enrichment. Agbese (1992) has observed that, in post-independence Nigeria, all political coalitions and groups have been engaged in determined efforts to capture the apparatus of state in order to use state's redistributive powers to amass wealth for themselves. Soon after capturing the government, the incumbent regime usually erects significant barriers to entry and monopolizes the supply of legislation, thus ensuring that other groups do not participate in the allocation of resources. For locked-out group, participation in economic systems must be obtained through payment of bribes to incumbent bureaucrats, all of whom are members of the politically dominant group.

In addition to the above, the problem of bureaucratic corruption could be associated with a moral problem While supporting the assertion, Ekekwe (1986) stated that bureaucratic corruption is regarded as a problem which is easily traced to traditional mores and customs. The author argued that, as a result of perceived large income disparities which existed in the third world countries, bureaucratic corruption was therefore more rampant there as well.

Arguably, the causes of bureaucratic corruption can be itemized as follows:

i) pervasive and chronic poverty: many countries of the Arab and Asian continents have made significant advancements in economic and human development during the past 30-40 years, yet Nigeria has remained essentially poor and severely deprived. Human index reports (2016) indicates that Nigeria is one of the relatively poor countries in the World with 61.3 per cent of Nigerians classified as poor;

ii) existence of defective cultural norms and behaviors coupled with a clash between traditional and foreign norms that accompanied modernization and industrial developments;

iii) pressure from family members and members of the same ethnic group: In Nigeria, individual rights are often subordinate to the rights of the group or social cleavage. These particularistic attachments are quite strong and have been cited in several structures as important factor responsible for bureaucratic corruption;

problematic in the Nigerian public administration; for instance, civil servants serve the country for 35 years or less than depending on the regime type or the age or number of years put in. The regime type affects the public service either positively or negatively. Most regimes have abruptly disengaged the civil servants without notice, without the necessary disengagement packages. When workers are treated with such disdain, there is no motivation to work and the first thing they do when they get into office is to amass wealth by hook or by crook.

When they are retired their gratuity and pension benefits are not paid as at when due, but the political office holders pay themselves stupendously without minding the predicaments of the public or civil servants. The principle of discipline which stipulates the time to report to office and close are to be adhered to by the workers coupled with the rules and regulations of an office, no matter how highly placed you are. But in Nigeria today most public servants do not resume work by the stipulated time of 8 a.m.; one sees some of them coming to work by 10 a.m. or even beyond that, and they want to close before the closing hour. A lot of man hours are lost and at the end of the month they are paid full salary. This act is against the principle of discipline. The principle of impersonality, which is the impersonality of interpersonal relation as enshrined by the Weberian doctrine, has been sacrificed on the altar of nepotism, tribalism, patron-clientelism, etc. This does not give room for efficiency and productivity.

Bureaucratic Corruption and the Political Bureaucrats

There is a relationship between bureaucratic corruption and the political bureaucrats. The 1988 Civil Service Reforms that made the ministers and commissioners the heads of the various ministries corrupted the public service in Nigeria (See Egonmwan and Ibodje, 2001). The ministers and commissioners are political appointees and they are answerable to the governors and the president and most of them do not understand the rudiments of public accountability and efficiency; they run the office with a corrupt political mindset on behalf of their principal (the president and governors). Most of these ministers and commissioners and even the president spend moneys that are supposed to be utilized by their various ministries and sphere of jurisdiction with impunity. The table below shows some mismanagement by some governors in Nigeria.

Table 1: Corrupt practices by some governors in Nigeria

S/N	Suspects	Year of Prosecution	Allegation
1	Orji Uzor Kalu former governor of Abia State	2006 to date	Accused of diverting Abia State funds in excess of ₦5billion to his State investment slok airlines, Slok Nigeria Limited, Slolk incorporated and other companies owned by him.
2	Jolly Nyamme, former governor of Taraba State.	2007 to date	41 count charges for embezzling the sum of ₦1.3billion while in office. Collected the sum of 180million from USAB International Nigeria Limited being kick back from ₦250million contract awarded to the company for the supply of stationery to the State government between January and February 2005
3	Lucky Igbinedion, former governor of Edo State.	2008	191 count charges of corruption, money laundering and embezzlement of ₦2.9billion. After plea bargaining, it was reduced to one count charge and pleaded quickly and refunded the sum of ₦500million and three properties.
4	Abubakar Audu former governor of Kogi State. from 1999-2003	2006	80 count charges of fraud and embezzlement of over ₦40billion

in great danger. The above problems are the causes of insecurity (insurgency in the North East and militancy in Niger Delta, cattle rustling, kidnapping, etc.), and political instability (electoral violence, riggings, and do or die politics syndrome, etc.). These problems made it easier for armed groups to recruit new members. This leads to destruction of lives and property (in the case of insurgency). It also cost Nigeria billions (in the case of militancy and insurgency). They also give corrupt politicians a chance of using little money to influence thugs to help them rig elections or cause violence. According to Civil Society Network (Vanguard, 2016), Boko Haram killed 23000 people and displaced 2.15 million. Minister of state for petroleum Dr. Ibe Kachiku also said that Nigeria's crude production had declined from 2.2 million barrel per day to 1.4 million barrel per day due to pipeline vandalism (Vanguard, 2016). This vandalism is linked to the emerging armed groups in the Niger Delta (Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta 2004, Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force 2004, Niger Delta Liberation Front 2005, Niger Delta Avengers 2015, etc.) claiming that they are requesting for improvement of the welfare of the people living in that area and the environment. However, the polity has been characterized by post-electoral violence (in 2003, 2007, and 2011), intimidation of voters, buying of votes, among others. These problems make the Nigerian democracy less secured. The question to be asked is, despite the returning to democratic rule, why has there not been improvement The answer is simple, the Nigerian situation is getting worse as a result of the following; weak political and economic institutions, lack of political will by the leaders, corruption, mismanagement, politicization of appointments and government policies, improper implementation of policies, and over dependence on single commodity (oil). These problems make it difficult for Nigeria to diversify and develop the economy. President Muhammadu Buhari was quoted saying that his Government's mission is to clean up mess that corruption has brought and rebuild institutions that have been ravaged (Dailytimes Newapaper, in Africa News Hub, 13th October, 2015). In his remarks at the Second National Executive Committee meeting of the All Progressive Congress (24th March, 2016) in Abuja, President Muhammadu Buhari also said in reference to the unfavorable economic situation in the country, which his government was battling to stabilize, thus: "On the economy, the fall of oil prices after Nigeria has made itself mono economy is a disaster" (Punch, March 25, 2016). Therefore, Nigeria lacks strong and effective institutions that would stabilize the society and guaranty a secured democracy.

Recommendations

First, infrastructure should be provided in order to make production, distribution, and consumption easier. Moreover, this will also attract foreign and local investors, which would in turn leads to job opportunities, poverty reduction and social inequality. Second, Government should focus on the development of other sectors such as agriculture, industry, and solid mineral in order to have alternative sources of revenue generations and foreign exchange earnings. This would solve the problem of over dependence on oil and also avail the government an avenue of increasing its capital and recurrent expenditure that would further ensure a healthy socioeconomic environment. Third, Priority should be given to sectors such as education and health during fiscal years via the increase of budgetary allocations. This would help in providing a healthy and productive population. It would also make Nigerians responsible and the system more stable. Fourth, the citizenry should be sensitized by Non-Governmental Organizations and other workers union to elect people of integrity at all levels of governance, irrespective of party

affiliation, tribe or religion. This would help in reducing the level of corruption and mismanagement, and strengthen all institutions. Fifth, Nigerian constitution should be amended to provide for a think tank which would be vested with the responsibility of drafting and monitoring a long-term plan for the developmental of the Nigerian state. The team should include representatives of all the stake holders – academics, civil society organizations, business men/women, industrialists, labor unions, consumers, among others. This would tackle the problem of inconsistency in economic policy, politicization of policies and mismanagement, among others.

Conclusion

Democracy is a system which guarantees not only the individual freedom but also a healthy socio-economic environment. Healthy socio-economic environment makes democracy secure and developed. Nigeria has an unhealthy socio-economic environment resulting from her mono-economy condition which is a direct consequence of weak institutions, corruption, mismanagement, lack of political will by leaders, lack of proper implementation of government policies, inconsistency of economic policies, etc. The multiplier effects of these on the nation are increased unemployment rate, poverty, inequality, illiteracy level, and poor health system. On this note, therefore, it becomes very imperative that the nation-state makes committed efforts to strengthen her political, economic and socio-cultural institutions with strong economic diversification; otherwise, the democratic institution of the country will remain insecure.

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determinant of the nature of an economic system. On the other hand, the economic process itself tends to redistribute power and wealth; it transforms the power relationships among groups. This in turn leads to a transformation of the political system, thereby giving rise to a new structure of economic relationships. (Gilpin, 2005:282)

With the discovery of crude oil, the First Republic was characterized by chaos, anarchy, mass killing and brutality by those who assumed the position of authority (Ikelegbe, 2005) because the centre became the stage of attraction for prospective public office holders; the Nigerian state became the vehicle for primitive accumulation; with oil being the main stay of Nigeria's economy, all other source were relegated to the background. In the 1970s and early 80s, Nigeria economy has been on the downward slide because, at that point in time, the prices of oil in the world market fell drastically. The Nigerian state adopted Structural Adjustment Programme only after several years of intense crisis in its economy. The crisis in the Nigeria economy was triggered in 1981 following the collapse of the world market price of oil, hence the immediate drastic revenue fall for the country at a time when the country depended on oil exports for 90 percent of its revenue. The resultant shortfall in foreign exchange flows had adverse consequences for Nigeria's heavily import dependent economy (Kusa, 1994:82). The leaders were short sighted and they were not development oriented (Adamolekun, 2007). They could not plan for generations to come. The military president (Yakubu Gowon) at that time said that the problem of Nigeria was not money but how to spend the money. This was during the first oil boom of 1971. When countries of Asia were busy planning for their future, Nigeria leaders were leaving in falsehood and false paradise. Despite all these revenues accruable from crude oil, the Nigerian leadership could not translate it to a better living standard for Nigerians; the country is among the poorest nation in the world. (Transparency International, 2011)

State bureaucracy was increased to satisfy vested interests. It became a patronage tool to appease those who were accomplice in the looting of public treasury and those that helped in the ascendance of a particular leader into the public office. Ethnic criteria were also used to create and employ persons into such offices; manufacturing was relegated to the background, industries were given a secondary priority or nonexistent (Osazuwa and Ohiorenuan, 2016:25). The politics and economic interest of the dominant elite (political bureaucrats) has affected the efficiency and effectiveness of the public service in Nigeria negatively.

Review of Nigeria's Public Service within the Parameters of Weberian Bureaucratic Doctrine

Bureaucracy is an institutionalized method of organized social conducts in the interest of administrative efficiency. The principle of hierarchy which provides superior subordinate relations that does give room for efficiency has been jeopardized by the political class in some offices; because a particular employee is from a big political office holder, it becomes difficult or impossible to deal with any official default perpetrated by such officer. The superiors' hands are tied when it comes to the issue of punishment.

The principle of specialization that defines the qualification or requirement to occupy an office is defined, but in Nigeria today, it seems to have been sacrificed on the altar of patrimonialism and tribalism. The rules of engagement are more often defined by prebendal sentiments rather than merit and this hinders efficiency and productivity. The principle of career structure which spells out tenure of office, remuneration, incentives etc. has become the

Theoretical Analysis

A theory is the conceptual foundations for reliable knowledge. Theories help us to explain and predict phenomena of interest, in consequence, to make intelligent practical decision (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:36). Application of these theories, such as patrimonialism or patron-clientalism, public choice, structural-functionalism, etc. will help to further understand the problematic in the politics of corruption in Nigeria's public service or administration. The structural-functional approach is an off-shoot or derivative of the systems analysis and is a means of explaining what structures perform what basic functions in the political system. It is a tool of investigation which is based on certain basic assumptions and postulates. First, it takes the society as a single, interconnected system; each element of which performs a specific function. The basic feature of such system is the interactions of its components for the maintenance of its equilibrium. Second, if a society is a system as a whole, it has its parts that are interrelated. Lastly, underlying the whole social structure, there are broad aims and principles that are observed in members of the society. (Fadia and Fadia, 2009:70)

Patrimonialism is a government-based on personal rule, the absence of separation between the public and private realms of state officials. Political offices are perceived as fiefdoms and patronage by officials, the system operates basically through numerous patron-client networks. The theory was propounded by Max Weber. He further noted that the theory involves an arrangement where the ruler dispenses public offices and benefits to subordinates in return for allegiance and sustenance. (See Smith, 2003)

The public choice theory assumes that politicians, bureaucrats, citizens and states act solely from self-interest perspective, using their power and authority of government for their own selfish interest (Todaro and Smith, 2011:128). Meanwhile, the survival and maintenance of a social system require that society must have a well-functioning economic system or structure, a legal system, a system of value and so on. In this scheme, the political system would appear as that sub-system performing the function of making legitimate policy decisions, or to use shorter expression, the function of goal attainment, for the society of which it is part. (Johari, 2011:72)

Since the society or political system is a collection of elements or microcosm that interact with one another, and that individually and collectively exercise influence over the individuals and collectivism that make up the elements or parts of the system (Dahl and Stfinebrickner, 2003:27), there is an implication that a defect in one of the structures has a corresponding effect on the other or the whole institution. The institutions or structures are defective because of the value preferences of the players in the institutions. In addition, the institutions are defective because there are no adequate sanctions for the erring individuals and this is due to the patron-clientel networks in the system, and this gives room for public looting of the treasury which the public choice theorist posits. To the average public office holder in Nigeria today, the first thing to do or think is how to maximize that office to his or her own benefits, not minding the social and economic cost of their actions, in so far as they can line their pockets and bank accounts and this they do with impunity.

Contemporary Political Economy and Public Service in Nigeria

Politics largely determines the framework of economic activity and channels it in directions intended to serve the interest of dominant groups: the exercise of power in all its forms is a major

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Bureaucratic or administrative corruption is deviation from the rules and regulations guiding the operation of a particular office. When a particular office use prebendal sentiments to appoint an individual, without the principles of specialization it is called bureaucratic corruption, when an individual purchase goods or services for an office, without following the public procurement act, it is fraud and corruption, when the proper process of bidding for a contract, or an investment bypassed, it is corruption, when due process is not followed in the operations of an office it is corruption, due process does not necessarily mean that money or pecuniary gains must be involved, when you disburse money for a project that is not in the programme it is corruption. The politicization of the bureaucracy is political corruption, because politicians manipulate the rules of an office in order to satisfy their vested interest, and this does not give room for due process and accountability. Contracts are awarded by a politician, without due consultation with the office that is supposed to be responsible for that action, experts are not consulted, the bidding process for that job is shredded in secrecy and at the end of the day, the contract is awarded to an incompetent company. Hence, the structural dysfunctions in our bureaucratic process (2016:4-5).

Functions of the Public/Civil Service

Policy Formulation: Formulation and determination of policy is the function of the political executive. But the civil servants have also come to play an active role in it. They aid (i.e. supply information) and advise the ministries in policy making. Political executives, being amateurs, cannot understand the technical complexities of policies and hence depend on the expert advice of professional civil servants.

Policy Implementation: Implementation of the policies decided by the political executive is the most important and the fundamental function of the civil service. The civil servants execute laws and policies to attain the goals of welfare state, that is, social equity, economic development, and so on.

Administrative Adjudication: This is a quasi-judicial function performed by the civil service. The civil servants settle disputes between the citizens and the state. For this purpose, the administrative tribunals, with civil servants as judges are established. The Income Tax Appellate Tribunal, Industrial Tribunals, etc. These tribunals function outside the ordinary court system.

Administrative Planning: The civil service is the machinery for planning of government programmes; the short, medium and long terms plans are carried out with the help of the public service.

Administration of Public Enterprises: Public enterprises or parastatals are managed by public servants so as to ensure development of any state or society.

Assisting the ministers in fulfilling their responsibilities towards the parliament and its committees, civil servants of their specialization and as career civil servants; help the ministers who are political appointees to meet their obligations by way of policy advice and implementation of such policies.

point and the reconciliation view point. We can therefore conclude that politics is about reconciling differences in the activities of the political actors in these institutions and the distribution of the resources to meet the needs of the general public. (Otoghile 2009:80) who gets what, when and how is determined by the ideology of the authoritative decision makers. According to Mosca, ideology is the political formula that defines political actions (Dahl and Stinebrickner, 2009:1). An ideology that is based on individualism rather than collectivism will further disintegrate the system rather than integrate it. The ideology of individualism have plunged Nigerians into the present quagmire we have found ourselves.

It is often said that politics drives economics and the activities of these political actors either foster or hinder development. We can infer that political bureaucrats are those persons that are either trained in the act of civil or public service or a formal school of administration, or not, but assume political offices by the instrumentality of the ballot box or political appointment who integrate or disintegrate the political system (economic, social, cultural, etc.) by their actions or inactions. In this case, the president, governors, ministers and commissioners or political appointees fall within this category, while the bureaucratic bureaucrats are persons who are trained in the act of administration, they are career civil servants or public servants not elected or appointed, but are recruited into the service by the principle of merit. Politics has encroached into bureaucratic functions and has thus corrupted the bureaucracy. There is no distinction between politics and bureaucratic functions. In the present day Nigerian public service, you cannot tell who formulates policies and who implements it. You do not know where politics start and bureaucratic functions ends and you do not know where bureaucratic functions starts and politics end.

Fig. I: Model of the Public Service

Public servants are those personnel working under the employment of the federal, state and local government while the civil service is a part of the public service and they are close to the executive arm. The civil service is the office that is the closest to the executive and it is responsible for the implementation of the broad base policies of the government; some scholars see it as the fourth arm of government. (See Meier and Bohte, 2007).

It must be asserted that corruption or lack of integrity comprises not only cases in which money and some other material gains figure as consideration for doing something, but all acts by way of exercise of one's power or use of one's position in an improper manner with an ulterior objective. In fact, power itself is more potent than material wealth and even more than, in the purely administrative field, the attainment of power or position and its retention by improper means which becomes the object of ambition in the political field. If power or position is so acquired, the chances are that it has been acquired for improper use and will be so used (Rao in Kashyap, 2014:160). Bureaucratic or administrative corruption is a deviation from the tenets of administrative behaviour instituted by law. Ohiorenua and Osazuwa put it succinctly thus:

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EFFECTS OF GENDER AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS ON THE PERFORMANCE OF MICRO AND SMALL TECHNICAL ENTERPRISES IN SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA

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Abstract
The speedy appearance of female as business owners necessitates the study on gender and technical enterprise performance. The study employs two feminist theories; socialism and liberalism. The stand point of the two schools of thought about gender equality differs; socialist feminism sees male and female as been different while liberalism sees male and female as being equal. This study identifies factors that were attributed to differences in the performance of male and female technical entrepreneurs and further investigates the effects of business owner/manager's gender on the performance of micro and small technical enterprises in Southwestern Nigeria. Primary data were collected for the study using a set of structured questionnaire. Two hundred and forty-nine firms participated in the study. Multi-stage sampling technique was used. SPSS 20 was used to analyze data in the study. The study revealed that the participation of females (20%) on technical enterprises considered was low as compared to male counterpart (79.3%). The study further revealed that there was no association between business owner/manager's gender and the performance of micro and small technical enterprises in Southwestern Nigeria, rather socio-economic characteristics such as age of the respondents and performance ($r = 0.219$, $p<0.01$), years of business experience of the actors and enterprise performance ($r = 0.176$, $p<0.01$), and how business was conceived and performance ($r = -0.169$, $p<0.01$). The study concluded that gender was not important as a factor influencing the performance of MSTEs in the selected area, rather socio-economic characteristics, and the female participation in technical enterprises was low. The study recommends that nascent technical entrepreneurs should venture into more technical enterprises and be specialized at a vocation that suit their capabilities and interest. Also, they should take cognizance of the socio-economic factors that was attributed to the differences in the performance of the technical enterprises in the study area.
Keywords: Gender, Technical Enterprise and Performance.

INTRODUCTION

Entrepreneurship was seen previously as a male dominated field but, in recent times, women have become owners and managers of businesses in both developed and developing nations (Olaposi et al., 2015). Women are increasingly venturing into ownership of micro and small enterprises, either on their own or in partnership with male entrepreneurs (Chirwa, 2008). These types of firms ventured into by female entrepreneurs might not be labourious in nature, especially some technical entrepreneurship. Technical enterprise deals with production/manufacturing of products or rendering technical services for value creation. In

the public trust

Bureaucracy touches upon all aspects of the Nigerian government. As government was increasingly Africanised, the bureaucracy became a way to reward individuals in the patrimonial system. Bureaucratic growth was no longer determined by function and need; increasingly, individuals were appointed on the basis of patronage, ethnic group, regional origin, rather than merit. It is conservatively estimated that state government personnel increased from a modest 72,000 at independence to well over 1 million by the mid-1980s. (Kesselman et al, 2010:382 in Ohiorenuan and Eke, 2013:210)

History of the Nigerian Public Service

The Nigeria civil service originated from the British colonial administration. The structure of the colonial administration is directed towards the maintenance of law and order in order to stabilize the colonial administration and exploit the revenue of the local people for repatriation to their home government (Ejere and Idise, 1997). The amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates in 1914 brought about the Nigerian state where no single civil service was immediately conceived for the entire country; both the Northern and Southern protectorates were administered separately as the status quo had been. The administration of the Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria were placed under two lieutenant governors, with a secretariat and departmental organization of its own (only these departments were centralized under the direct control of the Governor-General, assisted by a central secretariat). The only unifying force was that all the officers were colonial civil servants (Ejere and Idise, 1997). In the 1920s the Nigeria civil service emerged, and in 1954 when the federal constitution of Oliver Lyttleton was introduced, greater autonomy was given to the regions. However, prior 1954, there was a single civil service in Nigeria because the country was operating a unitary system.

On the 1st of October 1954, in addition, the Federal Civil Service for the Northern, Eastern and Western regions respectively emerged, and when the mid-western region was created out of the western regions in August 9, 1963, a new civil service was created for the region. The creation of twelve states in May, 1967 by the Gowon administration, nineteen states in 1976 by the Murtala/Obasanjo administration, twenty one states in 1987 and thirty states in 1976 by the Babangida's administration and the creation of 36 states by the Sani Abacha administration led to the emergence of 36 federal and states civil services.

The structure of Nigeria civil service was patterned after the British model. Meanwhile, over the years, there have been some changes and modifications. So many commissions were set up to review the Nigerian Civil Service amongst which are the Haragin Commission of 1946, the Udoji Commission of 1972, etc. The structure of the Nigeria civil service is based on the Gorsuch recommendation of 1954. The civil service is divided into three broad classes both at the state and federal levels, which consist of:

1. Administrative and professional class
2. Executive and higher technical class
3. Clerical and technical class

Conceptual Clarification

The doyen of behaviouralism, Easton, defines politics as the authoritative allocation of values (1953) while Lasswell defines politics as who gets what, when and how Otoghile (2009) defines politics from the institutional view point, the activity view point, the distribution view

BUREAUCRATIC CORRUPTION AND PUBLIC SERVICE IN NIGERIA: THE WAY FORWARD

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Abstract
There is a linkage between public service efficiency, raw materials and entrepreneurs or trustees of public wealth. Over the years, the Nigerian public service has not lived up to expectations, especially after the independence, despite the abundant human and material resources endowed her by Mother Nature. In view of this, the researcher adopted secondary data and observational method to unravel the causes of this inefficiency in the body polity of Nigeria. Theories were used to explain and validate the findings from the secondary data and it was discovered that the political class has deliberately weakened the civil service due to the non-diversification of the Nigerian economy. The public service has now been overstretched; there is no accountability which is the cardinal doctrine of public service. The political class has made the public servants to be subservient to their whims and caprices. The get-rich-quick syndrome and patron-cliental networks by the political bureaucrats and some bureaucratic bureaucrats has made the problem of corruption to remain unsolved or unabated. However, if the political bureaucrats can put up the political will to make this country work by imbibing the right attitudes to public office in collaboration with the bureaucratic bureaucrats, the Nigerian public service will be efficient in service delivery. Moreover, further suggestions were offered with a view to charting the way forward.

Keywords: Bureaucratic Corruption, Public Service, Efficiency, Political Bureaucrats, Nigeria.

Introduction

No nation develops beyond the capacity of its public service. Today, there is still a broad consensus amongst Nigerians that our public service is broken and dysfunctional. The quality of public servants and the services some offices provide to our nation are quite below expectations. From the glorious days at independence when the best and brightest graduates competed to join the administrative service up until 1970s, our public service is more recently perceived as the employer of the dull, the lazy and the venal. In 2003, there was the need to retrieve our old public service that was effective, well paid and largely meritocratic, attracting bright people, imbibed with a spirit of promoting public good. We began by looking back in time to see where we went wrong. The Nigeria civil service evolved from the colonial service with its historical British roots of an independent, non-political and merit based administrative machinery for governing the country. Each region then had its civil service in addition to the federal service (El-Rufai, 2013:315). We asked some fundamental question: what is the public service, anyway How did our public service evolve from inception at independence to excellence and now its current abysmal state of ineffectiveness How can the public service be reformed, re-skilled and right-sized to provide the basic social services that will earn

order words, it deals with technical value creation. Technical entrepreneurship is a type of entrepreneurship that deals with the manufacturing of products or provisions of technical services for wealth creation (Ilori, 2010). Technical entrepreneurship can utilize creation of a new company including the expansion of an existing one based on the commercialization of a new product or process from scientific research or technology development (Ilori, 2010). Sustainable technology-based firms are the panacea for economic quagmire and sustainable economic development. Therefore, both male and female entrepreneurs are to be encouraged to contribute their quota to the development of an economy by venturing into, creating or managing technical enterprises in Nigeria. Though studies have shown that female participation in entrepreneurship is low, this might be due to cultural factors. Meanwhile, studies have also shown that the performance of male and female run firms differs. Different schools of thoughts have given reasons to the differences.

Both Liberal and Social feminism schools of thought are employed for this study to broaden our understanding of why female entrepreneurs' characteristics and female owned firms' performance differ from those of their male counterparts. There have been studies on the impact of gender on the performance of enterprises in Southwestern Nigeria (Adeyemo and Olatunji, 2004; Ogunjuyigbe, 2012; Adebowale, 2015 and Olaposi et al., 2015). However, there is need for more information on the effects of gender on entrepreneurial behaviours, characteristics, operations and performance of entrepreneurial firms in Southwestern Nigeria (Olaposi et al., 2015). Also, there is dearth of information on the factors attributed to the differences in gender-business performance and the effects of gender on the performance of micro and small technical enterprises in Southwestern Nigeria. Hence, this study seeks fill the identified gaps.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Low female business ownership rates are still a common phenomenon in both developed and developing nations and women-owned businesses are not only fewer but are also characterized by lower outcomes than their male-owned counterparts (Sandra and Michaela, 2015). The gender gap in entrepreneurial activity varies widely across countries. In some countries, women represent a significant yet hitherto unrecognized source of economic growth (Carter and Marlow, 2003). Notwithstanding, it is established in the literature that women's entrepreneurship provides a formidable contribution to the economic development, innovation and wealth creation of many countries (Brush et al., 2009). This may be the reason why the topic of women's entrepreneurship has garnered much academic interest in recent years. Previous studies have highlighted the value women entrepreneurs offer and the particular needs they may have (Yousafzai et al., 2015). Also, past research has explored women's motivation for starting businesses, the survival and profitability of women-owned businesses, decision about business growth and work-family balance (Yousafzai et al., 2015). In the last few decades, gender has been receiving increased attention in entrepreneurship scholarship generally (Henry et al., 2015).

Studies are adopting gender-as-variable approach (Carter and Shaw, 2006) to draw comparisons between groups of male and female entrepreneurs. In this context, Shane and Kolvereid (1991) explored the influence of both gender and nationality on business formation; Wilson, Marlino and Kickul (2004) examined leadership skills to explore the attitudes and motivation of teens across gender and ethnic identity; and Davis et al. (2010)

examined the effects of a firm leader's (i.e. the CEO) gender on growth and profitability.
The studies on gender are embedded in two feminist schools of thought – Liberal feminism and Social feminism.

The two schools of thought provide differing stand points about gender equality. Socialist feminism recognizes all the important differences among human beings such as class, sex, age, race, ethnicity, nationality, and sexual orientation. The Social feminist's stand point about gender is on the unique needs, experiences, and competencies of women as women (Black, 1989) while Liberal feminist stand point is on the centrality of an ideal state that respects all its citizens, thereby granting and protecting equal rights and equal opportunities for women and men (Sarikaki et al., 2008). In addition, Sandra and Michaela assert that Liberal feminist theory suggests that women lack access to relevant resources like education and business experience or financial capital while social feminist theory suggests that women have different attitudes and values and, consequently, adopt a different approach to business. Based on these two schools of thought, previous studies have reported various findings and assertions. For example, Olaposi et al., (2015) assert that female entrepreneurs differ from their male counterparts in terms of their motivations, business skills and occupational backgrounds. Adebowale (2015) reported that motivation of women entrepreneurs was observed to be different from men's because women have different demands on them than men and that they also have different priorities and motivations when starting firms. In the same context, some studies found the performance of women in business to be lower than their male counterparts' and therefore consider it as lack of aspiration on the part of women, thus implying that women did not take business as seriously as men (Henry et al., 2015). Some studies found that male-owned businesses outperformed female-owned businesses in economic terms and linked women's underperformance to lack of entrepreneurial capital at the start-up stage (Watson and Newby, 2007). Comparison of the characteristics, attributes and performance of male and female entrepreneurs is still ongoing and the need for more information on the value women entrepreneurs offer and their particular needs; as well as the paucity of research on the phenomenon of women's entrepreneurship is well documented. (Brush et al, 2009).

Robb (2002) asserts a direct effect of gender on performance among small businesses and further notes the differences in financing patterns and financial characteristics between female and male owned firms which was attributed to imperfections in the credit market. These differences in the characteristics could be as a result of differences in lending patterns by gender. The successful performance of a business is a function of owners' ability to obtain the necessary financial capital that may be obtained from banks, venture capitalists, or other sources. This ability often depends on the perceived human capital of the firm. Studies show that the performance of women defers to the performance of men in terms of sales, employment and profits in business management (Robert and Alicia, 2008; Chirwa, 2008; Robb, 2002). These differences were attributed to so many important factors; gender, human capital, work experience and financial capital (Robert and Alicia, 2008). Chirwa (2008) submits that education is a critical factor for the success of female-owned enterprises and the entrepreneurs' education, business skills training and business experience capture the human capital elements embodied in entrepreneurship. Robert and Alicia assert that estimates from the Characteristics of Business Owners (CBO) indicate that female firms have lower survival

Table 3 Association between the Nature of the Technical Enterprise and Gender of the Respondents

	Male	Female	Total
Food and beverages (eg meat processing etc)	2(0.8%)	-	2(0.8%)
Textiles, clothing, garment and leather (leather shoe making, tailoring, ulphosory etc)	21(8.6%)	15(6.1%)	36(14.7%)
Wood and wood products (Furniture and carpentary, carving etc)	52(21.2%)	-	52(21.2%)
Publishing and printing	2(0.8%)	-	2(0.8%)
Metal and Aluminium Fabrication	33(13.5%)	1(0.4%)	34(13.9%)
Construction (builders and bricklayers)	9(3.7%)	-	9(3.7%)
Electrical and Electronic equipment- electric control maintenance and installation	8(3.3%)	5(2.0%)	13(5.3%)
Block fabrication	8(3.3%)	3(1.2%)	11(4.5%)
Graphic (Art Design, Painter, Photographer and video Production)	10(4.1%)	1(0.4%)	11(4.5%)
Salon (Hairdresser and Barber)	11(4.5%)	10(4.1%)	21(8.6%)
Farming- poutry, fishery etc	11(4.5%)	-	11(4.5%)
Automobiles(Mechanic, Panel beater, Vulcanizer etc)	24(9.8%)	-	24(9.8%)
Others (Pop corn, Catering, Dry Cleaning etc)	4(1.6%)	15(6.1%)	19(7.8%)
Total	**195(79.6%)**	**50(20.4%)**	**245(100.0%)**
Performance Level of the Respondents			
Low Performance	29(12.1%)	8(3.3%)	37(15.5%)
High Performance	160(66.9%)	42(17.6%)	202(84.5%)
Total	189(79.1%)	50(20.9%)	**239(100.0%)**

Table 4 Correlation between Factors Influencing Gender Differences and Their Business Performance

	AOR	HEQ	BL	YBE	REB	NTWA	HBC	Gender	PER
AOR	1.000								
HEQ	0.099	1.000							
BL	-0.044	0.011	1.000						
YBE	0.393**	-0.249**	-0.271**	1.000					
REB	0.002	-0.335**	-0.395**	0.344**	1.000				
NTWA	0.176	0.009	0.155	0.040	0.002	1.000			
HBC	-0.130*	-0.311**	-0.071	0.141*	0.185**	-0.278**	1.000		
Gender	0.021	0.128*	-0.161*	-0.076	0.049	-0.159	-.102	1.000	
PER	0.219**	0.124	-0.060	0.176**	0.006	0.110	-0.169**	-0.007	1.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

AOR= Age of the respondents
HEQ= Highest Educational Qualification of the respondents
BL = Business Location of the respondents
YBE= Year of business experience of the respondents
REB = Reason or Establishing business
NTWA= Number of Technical Workshop Attended
HBC= How was the Business Conceived
PER = Performance of the Enterprises

Table 2 Factors Influencing Differences in the Performance of Gender in the study area (Cont.d.)

Motive behind business establishment	Male	Female	
Make profit and sell / Speculative motive	16(6.7%)	4(1.7%)	20(8.3%)
To avoid being out of cash / Precautionary motive	21(8.8%)	3(1.2%)	24(10.0%)
Career purpose / Transactions motive	154(64.2%)	42(17.5%)	196(81.7%)
Total	**191(79.6%)**	**49(20.4%)**	**240(100.0%)**
Numbers of Technical workshop/Conference(s) attended (TWC)			
Less than 3 **TWC**	13(16.9%)	14(18.2%)	27(35.1%)
3-5 **TWC**	27(35.1%)	10(13.0%)	37(48.1%)
6-8 **TWC**	6(7.8%)	4(5.2%)	10(13.0%)
9 and above **TWC**	2(2.6%)	1(1.3%)	3(3.9%)
Total	**48(62.3%)**	**29(37.7%)**	**77(100.0%)**
How business idea was conceived			
My parent has a related business	22(9.2%)	5(2.1%)	27(11.3%)
Workshop/conference (s)	-	1(0.4%)	1(0.4%)
Business Counsellor	44(18.4%)	18(7.5%)	62(25.9%)
Interest	124(51.9%)	25(10.5%)	149(62.3%)
Total	**190(100.0%)**	**49(100.0%)**	**239(100.0%)**

rates, profits, employment and sales than male firms. Put differently, Robb (2000) notes that gender differences in hours worked and reasons for entering into business ownership explained part of the lower survival prospects of enterprise owned by women. Likewise, Robb (2008) reported that firms owned by women have lower sales, profits, employment, and survival rates than those owned by men.

Schumpeter (1939) posits five basic forms of technical entrepreneurship. First, the introduction of new product in the market; by new product, it means something that has been invented and has not been commercialized before. Second, the introduction of a new method of production; by new method, it means the optimization of the existing method of production. Third, the opening of a new market; it means creating new opportunities for the benefits of the populace, e.g. education, etc. Fourth is the conquest of a new source which allows the industry to increase its productivity. This new source can be in many forms; the discovery of a natural resource (oil, steel, among others) or attracting a labour force that hasn't been exposed to the industry, and the fifth form is the carrying out of the new organization of industry that will increase the personal welfare of the entrepreneur.

METHODOLOGY

The study was carried out in four selected states in Southwestern Nigeria, namely Lagos, Ekiti, Oyo and Ondo. Primary data were collected using one set of questionnaire. Multi-stage sampling technique was adopted for the study. Three Local Governments were selected from each of the states. Purposive-random technique was used to select twenty-five micro and small technical enterprises, making a total of three hundred respondents but two hundred and forty-nine firms participated in the study. The criteria for purposive sample selection were (i) the firm must be a technical enterprise (ii) it must have been established for at least two years before the study was conducted. Likewise, the criterion for random sampling was that both male and female technical entrepreneurs in the study areas were given equal chances of being selected for the study (gender consideration). Thirty questionnaires were pretested in Osun State. Data collected from technical entrepreneurs were analyzed using both descriptive cross tabulation and inferential statistics correlation. This was computed with the help of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 20) to test the magnitude and direction of association between factor variable (business owner/manager's gender and control variables) and the performance of micro and small technical enterprises in southwestern Nigeria. Their performance was measured with sales volume and profit level. Hence, the actors were told to rank the level of their profit and sales volume using four points scale of 1 for very low,…and 4 for very high respectively.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 and 2 show the factors influencing differences in the performance of male and female owned/manage technical enterprises in the study area. The Tables reveal that majority (40.1%) of male respondents are within the age category of 31-40 years likewise majority (8.3%) of female respondents are within the age range of 31 – 40 years. This implies that most of the respondents were within their productive age range. Furthermore, about 19.8, 19.0, and 0.4% of male respondents are within the age range of 41 years and above, 21 – 30 years and under 21 years, respectively. However, 6.6 and 5.8% of the female respondents are within the age range of 41 years and above and 21-30 years, respectively. This shows that technical entrepreneurs are within their optimal productive age and entrepreneurs that are not within

this optimal productive age, either below or above should perform at abysmal level relatively. This was in line with Dada (2014) that the relatively young age of the respondents should have positive impacts on the ability to take risk and adopt modern innovations and clearly understood technological environment". This shows that most of the technical entrepreneurs (TE) (both male and female) were young and this could position the technical entrepreneurship industry for an improved performance, given a conducive business environment.

Table 1 further shows that majority (37.2% and 9.2%) of the male and female respondents had Senior Secondary School Certificate as their highest educational qualification, respectively. Moreover, about 18.8, 2.9, 7.9, 11.3 and 0.8% of male respondents had Primary School Leaving Certificate, Junior Secondary School Leaving Certificate, ND/NCE certificate, B.Sc./HND and Post Graduate Degree as their highest qualification, respectively. This shows that the proportion of male in education qualification was higher at all levels compared to female, even no female had postgraduate educational qualification in this study. The study affirmed the view of Sandra and Michaela about Liberal feminist theory that suggests that women lack access to relevant resources like education and business experience or financial capital. This inequality in educational qualification attainment might be one of the factors that differentiate the performance of male and female in business management. According to Oluwale *et al.* (2012) that educational deficiencies exist in the informal Nigerian automobile repair sector, this deficiency may affect the performance of these technical entrepreneurs (TE). Therefore, it is expected that years spent in knowledge acquisition, either formal or informal form of knowledge acquisition, should positively influence the performance of the technical entrepreneurs. This study also conforms to UNESCO (2012) "that countries such as India, Pakistan, and Nigeria, women are enrolled at lower rates in tertiary education".

The Table shows that majority (59.2 and18.9%) of male and female respondents rent an/a office workshop, respectively; about 4.3 and 15% of male respondents locate their businesses in their houses and permanent sites, respectively, while 1.5 and 0.9% of female respondents locate their businesses at their houses and permanent sites, respectively.

The Table further reveals the years of business experience of the enterprises. It was indicated in the table that majority (32.4%) of male respondents had 14 and above years of business experience while majority (10.8%) of female respondents had 5- 8 years of business experience. In addition, about 20.7, 15.4 and 10.8% of male respondents reported that they have 1-4years, 5-8 years and 9-12 years of business experience, respectively, while only 2.9, 2.1 and 5.1% of female respondents had 1-4 years, 9-12 years and 14 years and above of business experience. The firm age was categorized to two; established firm and new firm. According to Li and Zhang (2007), the firms that are eight years old or younger are accepted as new venture and beyond eight years are established firms. Likewise, Dada *et al.* (2011) opined that work experience of the operators of food and beverage companies in South-western Nigeria influenced the technological capability and competitiveness of the industry. This means that those business years of productive experience is significant to its performance and survival in a turbulent business period or business cycle.

Table 2 reveals the motives behind business establishment, Number of technical workshop/conference(s) attended and how the business idea was conceived. It was revealed

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Table 1 Factors Influencing Differences in the Performance of Gender in the study area

	Male	Female	Total
Age of the respondents			
Under 21	1(0.4%)	-	1(0.4%)
21-30	46(19.0%)	14(5.8%)	60(24.8%)
31-40	97(40.1%)	20(8.3%)	117(48.3%)
41 and above	48(19.8%)	16(6.6%)	64(26.4%)
Total	**192(79.3%)**	**50(20.7%)**	**242(100.0%)**
Highest Educational Qualification			
Primary School Leaving Certificate	45(18.8%)	5(2.1%)	50(20.9%)
Junior Secondary School Certificate	7(2.9%)	5(2.1%)	12(5.0%)
Senior Secondary School Certificate	89(37.2%)	22(9.2%)	111(46.4%)
ND/NCE Certificate	19(7.9%)	3(1.3%)	22(9.2%)
B.Sc./ HND	27(11.3%)	15(6.3%)	42(17.6%)
Post Graduate Degree	2(0.8%)	-	2(0.8%)
Total	**189(79.1%)**	**50(20.9%)**	**239(100.0%)**
Business location			
My house	10(4.3%)	4(1.7%)	14(6.0%)
I rent an/a office workshop	138(59.2%)	44(18.9%)	182(78.1%)
Permanent site	35(15.0%)	2(0.9%)	37(15.9%)
Total	**183(78.5%)**	**50(21.5%)**	**233(100.0%)**
Years of business experience			
1-4 years	50(20.7%)	7(2.9%)	57(23.7%)
5-8 years	37(15.4%)	26(10.8%)	63(26.1%)
9-12 years	26(10.8%)	5(2.1%)	31(12.9%)
14 and above	78(32.4%)	12(5.0%)	90(37.3%)
Total	**191(79.3%)**	**50(20.7%)**	**241(100.0%)**

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on the table that majority (64.2 and 17.5%) of male and female respondents established the business for career purpose/transactions motive. Furthermore, 6.7 and 8.8% of male respondents established their businesses for speculative and precautionary purposes respectively. While only 1.7 and 1.2% of female respondents established their businesses for speculative and precautionary purposes, also, respectively. By implication, the intention of anyone is significant on the performance of its dealings and will guide the activities of any business to the success and not just on the fruits of success but also serves as instigator for business strategies. In addition, Maria *et al.* (2013) asserts that "motives may be commercial or collective and is of utmost importance since such expectations will guide the actions, priorities and choices of each organization". In addition, Robb (2000) notes that gender differences in reasons for entering into business ownership explained part of the lower survival prospects of enterprise owned by women.

The table further shows that majority of male (35.1%) and female (18.2%) respondents attended 3 – 5, and less than 3, Technical workshop/conference (TWC), respectively. More also, 16.9, 7.8 and 2.6 % of male respondents attended less than 3 TWC, 6-8 TWC and 9 and above of TWC, respectively, while female respondents attended (13%) 3-5 TWC, (5.2%) 6-8 TWC and (1.3%) 9 and above TWC.

Table 2 further shows that majority of male (51.9%) and female (10.5%) respondents conceived their business idea via their interest. About 9.2 and 18.4% of male respondents conceived their business idea through parents having related businesses and business counselor, respectively, while 2.1, 0.4 and 7.5% of female respondents conceived their business idea through parents having related businesses, TWC and business counselor, respectively. This shows that female conceive their businesses from four modes of business conception considered in this study, though with low proportion compared to male while male did not conceive business idea via conferences/workshop. By implication, this study affirms Sandra and Michaela's view that social feminist theory points that women have different attitudes, values and, consequently, adopt a different approach to business.

Table 3 shows the nature of their businesses and their performance level. It was revealed that majority of male (21.2%) respondents venture into wood and wood products (furniture and carpentry, carving, etc.) while majority of female (6.1 and 6.1%) respondents venture into both textile, clothing, garment, leather and others, respectively. Furthermore, percentage of male respondents that venture into these enterprises are food and beverages (0.8%), textiles, clothing, garment and leather (8.6%), publishing and printing (0.8%), metal and aluminium fabrication (13.5%), construction (3.7%), electrical and electronic equipment (3.3%), block fabrication (3.3%), graphic (4.1%), salon (4.5%), farming (4.5%), automobiles (9.8%) and others (1.6%) while the percentage of female respondents that venture into these technical enterprises are metal and aluminium fabrication (0.1%), electrical and electronic equipment (2.0%), block fabrication (1.2%), Graphic (0.4%) and Salon (4.1%). The table shows certain specialties that female did not specialize at food processing, wood and wood products, publishing and printing, automobiles, construction and farming. Moreover, for those that female specialized at, their proportions were lower to male comparatively. These specialties were possible because individuals are thought to be specialist based on the knowledge they possess (Grant, 1996). Hence, this study affirms Ogunjuyigbe's (2012) view that men are stronger in handling some duties which involves the usage of the physical

strength when compared with women who are not as strong as men. Thus, gender is not an attempt to make us all into little boxes that look the same but rather an attempt to reveal the different ways in which both sexes can effectively manage role or duty, even in their differences (Ogunjuyigbe, 2012). The advocacy for equality does not emphasize that men and women should change roles but rather, both should be allowed to prove their worth in all respects without discriminations. In addition, females should not be enforced to take up some subordinate role; rather both sexes should be allowed to participate in all occupations and roles because both have different ways of doing things (Ogunjuyigbe, 2012). This refutes the feminist stand of liberalism that sees gender with lens of gender equality (Sarikaki et al., 2008). Moreover, the study affirms the stand point of Socialist feminism that recognizes all the important differences among human beings such as class, sex, age, race, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation. More so, Social feminist's stand point about gender is on the unique needs, experiences, competencies of women as women (Black, 1989). This study conforms to Adebowale (2015) that women were observed to have lower participation rates in entrepreneurship than male.

Furthermore, Table 3 shows that majority of male (66.9%) and female (17.6%) respondents' performance is high while only 12.1 and 3.3% of male and female respondents' performance is low, respectively.

Table 4 shows the magnitude and direction of association between the factor variables and response variable. The table shows that there was no multicollinearity among the factor variables and it was also revealed that some of the factor variables have positive association, and some also have negative association while others do not have significant association. For those with positive association; AOR and YBE (r =0.393, p<1%), HEQ and Gender (r =0.128, p<5%), YBE and REB (r =0.344, p<1%), YBE and HBC (r =0.141, p<5%), and REB and HBC (r =0.185, p<1%). For those with negative association, AOR and BL (r = - 0.044, p<1%), AOR and HBC (r = - 0.130, p<5%), HEQ and YBE (r = - 0.249, p<1%), HEQ and REB (r = - 0.335, p<1%), HEQ and HBC (r = - 0.311, p<1%), BL and YBE (r = - 0.271, p<1%), BL and REB (r = - 0.395, p<1%), BL and Gender (r = - 0.161, p<5%), NTWA and HBC (r = - 0.278, p<1%). For factor variables that have a significant association with response variable, it was revealed that age of the managers/owners and year of business experience {AOR and PER (r =0.219, p<1%), and YBE and PER (r =0.176, p<1%)}have positive association with firm performance. Also, there was negative association between how the business was conceived and its performance {HBC and PER (r = - 0.169, p<1%)}. Hence, there was no association between gender and the performance of the firms. This refutes Robb (2002) who asserts a direct effect of gender on performance among small businesses.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The study concluded that socio-economic characteristics of actors significantly influenced the performance of their enterprises in Southwestern Nigeria. The study further concluded that owner/manager's gender is not an important factor influencing the differences in the performance of the enterprises. The result of this study conforms to the socialist feminism that recognizes all the important differences among human beings such as class, sex, age, race,ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation. More so, social feminist's stand point about gender is on the unique needs, experiences, competencies of women as women (Black, 1989). This conformity might have resulted to the view of Sandra and Michaela about Liberal

feminist theory that suggests that women lack access to relevant resources like education and business experience or financial capital. The study further concluded that female participation in technical enterprises was low as compared with male participation. This corroborates other scholars that posit that women were observed to have lower participation rates in entrepreneurship than male (Sandra and Michaela, 2015; Adebowale, 2015). Also, men are stronger in handling some duties which involve the usage of the physical strength when compared with women who are not as strong as men. (Ogunjuyigbe, 2012)

The study recommends that nascent technical entrepreneurs should venture into more technical enterprises and be specialized at vocations that suit their capabilities and interest. Also, they should take cognizance of the socio-economic factors that was attributed to the differences in the performance of the technical enterprises in the study area.

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Source: Adapted from The News Magazine, November 2012.

The amazing thing about this whole scenario is that these political office holders always tell the people that the state or country does not have money, but they have money to spend for their personal wants. For example, the former governor of Edo State, Lucky Igbinedion, retrenched over 7000 staff of the Edo State civil service in the year 2000 without due process and the necessary disengagement packages. During the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan, it was reported that the former minister of Aviation Stella Odua spent so much to purchase bullet proof cars whereas the civil servants in that ministry were not paid their remunerations up to date, the quote below put it succinctly:

> *For Oduah to bypass the Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP) as the statute provides lay claims to Nigerians concern that the BPP has become a lame duck, unlike during the Obasanjo regime. One wonders if this would have happened when madam due process, former World Bank Vice President, Oby Ezekwesili, was in charge. What is the role of EFCC under President Jonathan? The agency has been serially starved of funds to enable it perform effectively. What would be the outcome of the administrative investigation panel, other than Jonathan's outright sack of Oduah. If not madness, what would Oduah do with armored cars? Who is after her life? Or is it for status symbol, or her share of the loot called Nigeria? Why were the cars not parked at the premises of the ministry or NCAA, but Oduah's house? She is acting a script prepared for her by her principal; it only got messier with the outrageous cost of the cars. Coscharis Motors, the seller of the car told a bewildered nation that the cost of the cars was inflated. According to them, the cost of the car as per the invoice issued to NCAA is N78 million each and not N127.5 as claimed by the parastatal. Why was the cost inflated if not to loot the nation? (Bakare, 2013:10)*

According to Mark of Government Magazine, while submitting his report on research carried out on public service around the world, has this to say of more developed countries:

> *"Pay structure ensures that public servants cannot embezzle public fund as is common in many developing countries "what happens is that you cannot spend more than you earn. When you are paid everyone knows, it is traceable and verifiable. It doesn't matter if you are properly paid or not. The members of staff have no room to loot public treasury because these public servants have no access to funds unlike developing countries where ministers, managing directors and permanent secretaries fix their own salaries. They even take from what is allocated for projects" (Mark, 2013:35)*

From the above quote, it shows that E-governance has been given high premium in the more developed societies of the world. It is a situation where almost every transaction made is through the electronic medium, because members of the public do transactions with the government based on a well organized system of government that does not give them easy access to influence or manipulate government laws or business transactions with the employees of the government. There is a central electronic system that knows what and how much is paid to the employees of government, so you cannot spend more than you earn which reduces corruption optimally.

Causes of Inefficiency in the Nigerian Public Service

1. **Poor Remuneration:** The political bureaucrats always have money for every other thing, but not the monthly remuneration for the civil and public servants. Because these public servants are not paid as at when due; and also that when they retire they are not paid their entitlements on time, the zeal to work is not there and they can easily be influenced by any inducement to perform acts that are inimical to the ethics of public service.
2. Dominance of the political executives on the policy formulation and implementation process. Policies are crafted without consultation with the career civil servants and the public because of the pecuniary gains they get from contract awards. It is expected that before works and housing functions are carried out, the experts are consulted so that the cost and quality will be certified. However, it is not so because of what the political office holders want to amass for the next election and gratify their unbridled appetite.
3. **Lack of Qualified Personnel:** The political bureaucrats have made the public service a place for their clients, whether qualified or not. They have made the public bureaucracy redundant due to the neglect of other sectors that would have helped to improve the Nigerian economy. In more developed countries, the public service drives the developmental process but when unqualified persons are employed, the end result is redundancy and retrogression.
4. **Greed:** The problem with the Nigerian public officials is the quest for primitive accumulation of wealth as against the tenets of public service. They have failed to differentiate between wants and needs.
5. **Over-bloated Bureaucracy:** This is one of the banes of effective public service in Nigeria. It is either there are 10 persons performing the duty of 5 persons or there are ghost workers in the public service who are being paid for service not rendered. This constitutes drain to the treasury and increases the recurrent expenditure of the Nigerian state. The law of diminishing returns now sets in.

Conclusion

The Nigerian public service hangs on weak structures that are ineffective in the performance of their duties due to the patron-clientele networks enthroned by the political bureaucrats, which is not based on merit and excellence, but on nepotism, tribalism and prebendalism. This is further aggravated by the rape of the treasury with impunity by the political bureaucrats in collaboration with the bureaucratic bureaucrats. Revenues that would have been used to enhance the performance of public service have been embezzled either by the state governors or their surrogates in the different ministries and parastatals, thereby making service delivery impossible or near impossible.

You cannot tell where politics end and bureaucratic functions starts, or where bureaucratic function ends and politics start. The political executives have become politically bureaucratic in the performance of state functions.

Hence, in order to enhance the effective functionality of the Nigerian public service, the following recommendations will suffice:

1. Rules of engagement that are based on merit should be applied for recruitment into the public service and not on primordial sentiments.

2. The remuneration to the public servants should be improved so that the motivation to work will be in them.
3. The public servants should be sent on regular training to acquaint them with the current administrative practices.
4. Public servants should declare their assets before the assumption of office.
5. The economy should be diversified to redress the stress and the strain on the public service. This is because there are some persons who have no business in public service. By this, I mean, industrialization of the nation.
6. The anti-graft agencies should be strengthened so as to be effective in the performance of their functions.

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ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT AND ANTI-CORRUPTION CRUSADES IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL DISPENSATION

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ABSTRACT
Nigeria, as a country has been endowed and blessed with abundant resources ranging from human to various forms of natural resources. The hugeness of these resources are such that, if they were to be properly harnessed, managed and utilized effectively, Nigeria could have reached greater heights of development and progress. Unfortunately for the country, such resources as vast as they are; are either left under-utilized, wantonly defrauded and mischievously embezzled. Corruption is said to be the greatest social vice that has been tormenting the Nigerian society, which is widely accepted, encouraged and embraced by all, and sundry and being perceived as a virtue rather than a vice. The anti-corruption agencies (I.C.P.C and EFCC),which were the creation of the then civilian administration of Obasanjo were to forestall and put a permanent stop to this social ill that has eaten deep into the entire fabric of Nigeria society, beyond what can be dismissed with a wavering of hand. Upon this background, this study offers a comprehensive analysis of Nigeria's economic crisis and the role of the anti- corruption agencies in the present political dispensation. It concludes by stating that, the whole Nigerian society need to be completely overhauled and re-oriented against wealth and affluence which is the main cause of economic insecurity and corruption. It also suggests that government must ensure that the socio-economic system does not breed or encourage corruption and that all necessary and appropriate steps are taken to punish those who illegally involve in the embezzlement of the nation's resources.
Keywords: Economic mismanagement, Corruption, Development, Anti-corruption crusade

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is an oil rich African country with an estimated population of over 180 million; it also occupies an envious position as the 6th largest oil producers in the world. Despite these positive attributes, Nigeria's reputation as one of the most corrupt nations in the world, coupled with other socio-political issues has greatly affected its global image and has directly impacted on its attractiveness as a potential investment and tourist destination (Nwora, 2007:43).In Nigeria, corruption has not only reared its ugly head into the entire fabric of the society, it has come to be a part of the Nigerian system: politically, socially, academically, militarily, and economically. It is no gainsaying the fact that corruption is the greatest social vice that has been tormenting the Nigerian society. It is widely encouraged, accepted and embraced by all and sundry that it is better viewed and perceived as a virtue rather than a vice. It is no surprise,

therefore, that the international community has been so much magnanimous and beneficent with Nigeria to have adjudged Nigeria as the second most corrupt nation in the world.

The elevation of corruption to this height in Nigeria is not unconnected with the capitalist tendencies of the leaders and the nonchalant attitude of the government to the well being of its citizens. Every Nigerians then thinks of what he/she can gain or acquire in term of the immediate gratification for whatever services rendered to anybody or to the country. There is no doubt that corruption is endemic in contemporary Nigeria as attested to by some commentators and scholars alike (Ogundiya: 2012).For several years, consecutively, Nigeria was ranked the most corrupt nation in the world by a Germany based *Transparency International*, a respected, independent, universal, and no governmental organization.It is an international NGO that produces corruption indexes and surveys which rank countries in terms of the degree to which corruption is perceived to exist in those countries.According to the *Transparency International*latestCorruption Perception Index,Nigeria ranked136 out of 168 countries(ThisDay,May 15,2016). Corruption has not only eaten deep into the fabric of the nation, it has also destroyed its pride among the comity of nations.

The 2013 corruption perception index by *Transparency Internation*al ranked Nigeria 33rd most corrupt country in the world. In 2014, Nigeria ranked 136 out of 174 countries indicating a marginal improvement but still showing Nigeria as the 38th most corrupt country in the world (Okebukola2015.:15). Farida Waziri (former) Nigeria's EFCCChairman, captures the nature at the corruption challenge this way:

> The extent of aggrandizement and gluttonous accumulation of wealth that I have observed, suggests to me that some people are mentally and psychologically unsuitable for public office. We have observed people amassing public wealth to a point suggesting 'madness' or some form of obsessive compulsive psychiatric disorder (The Nation September 29, 2009:1)

The boldest attempt at fighting corruption came in 1999 when the Independent Corrupt Practice Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) were established . The Independent and Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) set up by an act of Parliament in 2000 was perhaps confounded by the magnitude of the problem and as such could not pull a strand of hair off corruption until a more vibrant Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) swung into action about two years ago leading to the arrest, prosecution, and conviction of some offenders(Jaiyeoba, 2007:6) Unfortunately the administration of chief Obasanjo that set up these agencies were also fingered and suspected to be corrupt. According to Odozi, the laws lacked diligence in implementation which was attributable to the following reasons:

> Inadequate resources for designing and implementing various anti crime measures, lack of political will to resolutely implement tough anti crime measures, legal provisions of fragmentation and arbitrage opportunities for criminals (Owolabi:2007)

The EFCC Acts 2004 section 14(2) empowered the agency to "compound any offence punishable under the act by accepting such sum of money as it thinks fit not exceeding the maximum amount to which that person would have been liable if he had been convicted of

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5.0 THE WAY FORWARD: FIGHTING A DOMESICATED MONSTER

The effects of corruption on the Nigerian state and society are so devastating that political structures have significantly lost their capacity to perform their functions effectively and efficiently. The survival and deepening of democracy in Nigeria will depend, to a large extent, on the capacity of stakeholders in the polity to combat the ravages of corruption. This is because; corruption has become a stumbling block to the people in enjoying the economic and social fruits of democracy. Therefore, to succeed in the fight against corruption, the country must deal ruthlessly with the root causes of corruption that hold back sustainable economic development and this requires the adoption of some radical and stringent measures that could be likened to *bitter pills.* The anti-corruption war must be pursued with all sincerity of purpose and sense of objectivity.

The fight needs to be institutionalized so that it will not depend on the personalities in power but can run on auto pilot, no matter the persons or political party in power. We also need a comprehensive fight against corruption which is to be extended to all segments of society, no matter the political affiliation of the persons suspected of having committed the crime. In this direction, we need audit reforms which will guarantee value for money, prevent leakages from the public treasury and make sure that funds are recovered if misappropriated without going through the long haul of judicial process.

In view of this, the immunity enjoyed by some public officials- The President, the vice-President, the 36 state Governors and their Deputies, which has engendered a high level of corruption, perpetrated with impunity, urgently needs to be reviewed.

There is also need to reform the judiciary so as to facilitate the quick dispensation of justice in the courts. Obviously, corrupt officials have capitalized on the slow-space of hearing cases to commit corrupt practices with impunity .Even, in some cases, the penalties meted out to corrupt officers are not commensurate with the gravity of their offences. These soft penalties and, sometimes, total absence of punishment against confirmed corrupt officers encouraged like-mind public servant to follow their footsteps.

Lastly, in an attempt to curb corruption in the society, the government must be responsive and responsible to her constitutional social obligations. Government must adequately and urgently address the problem of poverty, unemployment, injustice and general neglect of the people.

6.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This paper has not only revealed the fact that Nigeria is riddled with corruption but also demonstrated with empirical analysis that corruption is endemic and perverse in the entire fabric of the Nigerian society. Corruption has been identified as one of the most flexing issues in Nigeria's socio-economic discourse as well as the bane of Nigeria's social, political and economic development. In other words, corruption is one of the main reasons for the development of poverty and underdevelopment of Nigeria's economy.

However, the fundamental cause for every limited success achieved in the fight against corruption is insincerity and the weak institutions, particularly the legislature and the judiciary. Where the judiciary delays in the dispensation of justice and the legislature defaults in its oversight functions, corruption will continue to thrive.

that offence".This section of the law clearly shows that the EFCC Act places much emphasis on recovery of stolen and ill gotten wealth at the expense of proportional punishment.Again, Section 14 (1) of the EFCC Act stipulates maximum of #500,000 as fine for stealing billions of Naira, whereas the Criminal procedure law (which are usually applied to the poor and politically less connected persons) stipulates seven years imprisonment for stealing as low as #5,000. The Implication of this is that the rich and members of the ruling class get away with their Crimes while the full weight of the Law comes into play in low class offences.

The EFCC Act and the application of Plea – bargain to regain what has been stolen and free the Offenders through Lenient Judgment shows that the law itself is an instrument of the state, the ruling class and politically exposed Persons to get away with their Crimes. The EFCC Act, at best could be described as Property law; a law that protects the property of the State and its agents at the expense of moral Justice. Chambliss (1976:703) argued that:

> The heart of the Capitalist economic system is the protection of property, which is, by definition the cornerstone upon which the Capitalist economy functions". It is not surprising to find that Criminal laws reflect this basic Concern.

In other words, the EFCC Act rather than discouraging Corruption encourages Corporate Crimes by providing "soft landing" for high profile Offenders through negotiated plea deals. In actual fact, some of the cases have been dragged for several with no end in sight, while the cases protract the suspected treasury looters continue to enjoy their loot, cover their tracks and perfect strategies to avoid being brought to book. With their ill gotten huge wealth, they get the best lawyers to prolong Investigations endlessly.

It is the thrust of this paper, therefore, to examine the magnitude of endemic nature of poverty in Nigeria, critically understudy the efforts of present government in fighting a domesticated monster called Corruption. It urges Nigerians at all levels to make it a point of duty to dig out the root cause(s) of corruption and provide lasting solutions to them, no matter how bitter, painful or difficult the actualization of the solutions would be, if they really want the country to be industrialized and economically developed.

2.0 CONCEPTUALIZING CORRUPTION

Corruption is a global phenomenon that is not only affecting the poor but also the rich. Many researches by the World Bank and experts in the field have shown that the problem of corruption is neither limited to the developed societies of the world nor the developing ones. The implication of this is that, every known human society on earth has experienced one form of corruption or the other (Campos &Pradhan, 2007). As Langseth observed," there *is no single, comprehensive, universally accepted definition of corruption*"(Langseth,2006). Therefore, understanding the causes of corruption is difficult as it is a hidden. Existence of a gap between group and individual interest, lack of choice, benefit furtherance, existence of power and misuse of the power are highlighted. Other factors are poor reward system, great peer community, and extended family pressures demands, and polygamous household. Bad rules and ineffective task system, poor cultural values and ultimately fear of the future uncertainty (Gampat; 2009).

According to Mauro, there are four primary causes of corruption. First principal is government restrictions and intervention which leads to excessive profits. These include trade restrictions (tariffs and import quotas), favourist industrial policies (subsidies and tax

deductions), price controls, multiple exchange rate practices, foreign exchange allocation schemes, government controlled credit.Second, low wages paid to civil servants make them to resort in taking bribe in order to feed their families or make ends meet and survival. Third, monoeconomy that solely depends on a single product such as oil that is limited in supply by nature and profit oriented makes all concerned with its extraction, distribution to be desperate to have their own share through all illegitimate means, bribe, fraud, fund mismanagement, embezzlement etc. Fourth, lack of adequate and sustainable retirement benefits under which serving officials would want to provide for their future through corruption and other unethical practices (Mauro, 1997).

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements sees corruption as the misuse of office for personal gain. It means charging an illicit price for a service or using the power of office to further illicit arms. Corruption can entail acts of omission or commission. It can involve legal activities or illegal ones. It can be internal to the organization (e.g. embezzlement) or external to it (e.g. extortion). While some acts of corruption are 'freelance', others are more systematic. Systematic corruption generates (a) economic costs by distorting incentives and discouraging investments (b) political costs by undermining institutions, and (c) social costs by redistributing wealth and power towards the undeserving. Overall, corruption has effects that vary widely, including sometimes not social benefits, but it usually leads to inefficiency, injustice and inequality (UNCHS, 2002:216).In the perception of President of the World Bank Group, Paul Wolfowitz(2006):

> Corruption is a disease that threatens the hope of the poor: for a better future for themselves and their children. It drains finances that might otherwise go toprogrammes that bring education within the reach of poor children or that offer health care to an ailing father or a young mother.

To corroborate this, Lipset and Lenz define corruption as:

> Efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means, private gain at public expense or a misuse of public power for private benefit. As requesting, offering, giving or accepting directly or indirectly, a bribe or any other undue advantage or prospect thereof, which distorts the proper performances of any duty or behaviour, required of the recipient of the bribe, the undue advantage of the prospect thereof (Lipset& Lenz, 2000).

However, according to Odekunle,corruption is the asking, given or taking fees, gifts, or favour in pervasion or the performance of an illegitimate task hoarding , collusive price fixing, smuggling, transfer pricing, inflation of prices; election rigging and illegal arrest for harassment or intimation purposes, conversion of the other person's money or property to direct or indirect use (Odekunle, 1983).

Nonetheless, some of the specific effects of corruption on the economy as stated in the literature include the following:

Corruption reduces private investment and economic growth;

It worsens incidence of poverty and widens income inequality gap;

Corruption distorts political process and adversely influences political outcome;

It also leads to inefficient resource allocation and wastages in an economy;

repatriation of ill-gotten wealth hidden by Nigerians in that country. UAE is alleged to hold about $200 billion in stolen assets from Nigeria, which is stashed in banks and property in that country's most prominent cities of Dubai and Abu Dhabi. The mutual Legal Assistant on criminal and commercial matters under which UAE will return monies or hidden monies hidden or invested in banks and real estate in the country, was among a series of bilateral agreements signed by Nigeria, when President MuhammaduBuhari attended the Worlds Energy Forum in the country (This Day, May 15, 2016).

Buhari has been trying to galvanize the international community into taking concerted actions aimed at closing safe havens for proceeds of corruption from Nigeria. Addressing the summit on Thursday 12, May, 2016 at the Commonwealth events Tackling Corruption Together: A Conference for Civil Society, Business and Governments Leaders", held at the Commonwealth secretariat, President MuhammaduBuhari advocated the dismantling of safe havens and the commonwealth secretariat, President Muhammad Buhari advocated the dismantling of safe havens and the return of illegally acquired assets to their countries of origin. Indeed, while several commentators had urged him to demand an apology from the British Prime Minister, David Cameron, for his uncomplimentary comments about Nigeria two days before, describes Nigeria as "fantastically corrupt". Buhari said he needed no apology, but the return of corruptly acquired Nigerian assets held in British financial institutions and properties (This Day, May 15, 2016).

It is now clear to all that the fear of Buhari is the beginning of wisdom. The anti-corruption search-light is uncovering all rots and previous cans of worms, with the high and the mighty scurrying for cover. With presidential courage, commitment and consistently, some rotten eggs are being hurled into the dragnet, while many more are surrendering the national loot with sobering trepidation [THIS DAY, June 19, 2016].Today, even the president's worst critics have scored him high and lauded the ongoing anti corruption war of his administration. Some analysts have also praised the manner in which corrupt practices are being death with in every stratum of the Nigerian society and tricking down government's offices, establishments and agencies among others (The Nation, August 13 2016:10).President Buhari has indeed started a new path for Nigeria. He must be lauded for his bravery in confronting institutionalized corruption with structures spread across the country. His strides in dealing with the blazing nozzles of corruption has staggered an empire of crime many Nigerian leaders failed to fight instead became shareholders. In fact, the vigor with which the President has prosecuted the anti-corruption war so far has not only raised hopes that the monster will soon b caged to pave way for real development, but also earned Nigeria the respect of the international community. It is in view of this that the US Secretary of State, John Kerry, also acknowledged the efforts of President MuhammaduBuhari to holistically fight corruption, noting that the president was elected on the platform of clean government: According to him:

> Nigeria is already a regional leader in the fight against corruption. The country is also a role model in the ongoing global efforts to fight corruption (The Nation, August 24, 2016).

Corruption diminishes productivity over time;
Corruption leads to inequitable distribution of social services;
Corruption creates an artificial need for external assistance;
Corruption deepens ethnic divisions and conflicts;
Corruption leads to decaying of infrastructure;
Corruption worsens the debt situation in many countries; and
It lowers popular participation in politics (political apathy)(Ishola, 2012:94)

It is in view of this thatKhan (1996) sees corruption "as an act which deviates from formed rules of conduct governing the actions of someone in a position of public authority because of private-regarding-motive such as wealth, power or status". Whereas, according to Yale, Professor Susan Rose – Ackerman (1999), economics is a powerful tool for the definition and analysis of corruption. Cultural differences, political and social factors and morality may provide nuance and subtlety but an economic approach is fundamental to understanding where corruption exists and its biggest impact. She argues:

Corruption describes an economic relationship between the government and the private sector.
Corruption is a symptom that something has gone wrong with the management of the state.
Corruption is evident when institutions established to regulate the inter relationships between the citizen and the states are used instead for personal enrichment and provision of benefits to the corrupt and under serving.

According to Nweze(2010), the fundamental factors that engender corrupt practices in less developed nations, including Nigeria are greater inequality in wealth distribution; viewing political office as the primary means of gaining access to wealth; conflict between changing moral codes; the weakness of social and governmental enforcement mechanisms; and the absence of a strong sense of national community.Corruption is, therefore, demonstrated by per version or destruction of integrity in the discharge of public duties through bribery or favour, or any other forms of influence or malpractice. It is, accordingly, considered as a social or psychological situation in which the right or correct manner of doing things or handling responsibilities is abandoned for the improper manner as a result of certain internal or external stimuli (Dandago, 1430|2009:16).

3.0 ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT: CORRUPTION AS AN ENDEMIC MONSTER

Nigeria entered the world stage as a large, dynamic, rapidly developing and stable democracy with a huge potential, on October 1, 1960. There were three self-governing regions, enjoying a comfortable economic growth, in competition with each other in the rush to provide for the welfare and security of the peoples. In fact, in terms of development, Nigeria was put slightly ahead of what became known as the Asian Tigers: Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. Nigeria of that era was the toast of the international community (Sagay, 2012:1).

The evolution of corruption in Nigeria has indeed had an impact on the country's development performance. It affects patrimonial type of political settlement which characterized the post-independence, pre-military rule era. There have been differences in the anti-development

4.0 REFORMING THE CONUNDRUM: THE ASSESSMENTS OF ANTI-CORRUPTION CRUSADE IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL DISPENSATION

To assess the anti-corruption crusades of the present political heralded the administration. The argument would be that that one year and a few months is too short a period to assess the performance of a president with a four year mandate. However, the assessment will be done in one key area of corruption. The debate on corruption and growth nexus in Nigeria has become more interesting since inception of the current political dispensation. This is because one of the main focuses of present administration is war against corruption. The sand in the wheel of economic development in Nigeria has been increasing by the corruption menace attributed to politicians and political office holders who are amazing wealthy from public treasury.

Even before assuming the reins of power, President Muhammad Buhari, the candidates of the All Progressive Congress (APC), left no one in doubt during is campaigns that is second coming, just like his days as military head of state, would exercise zero tolerance for corrupt practices. It was not surprising that he shopped for skilled, experienced and upright hands to man strategic offices as soon as he was sworn into office as the 6th civilian president of the federal republic of Nigeria on May 29, 2015(The Nation, August 13, 2016:16).Since his inauguration, President MuhammaduBuhari has taken a number of bold steps aimed at fighting corruption. They includes: setting up of a Presidential Advisory Committee against corruption, headed by Professor of Law and Human Right Activist , Prof ItseSagay; and sacking of some purportedly corrupt heads of some government agencies such as Nigeria Maritime Administration and Safety Agency, Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation, among other. It also includes his decision to immediately enforce the Treasury Single Account (TSA) initiated by his immediate predecessor in office. President Buhari, has also been junketing across the global seeking help and signing bilateral and multilateral agreement with some countries for the repatriation of the country's stolen wealth; one of such is the mutual legal assistance on criminal and commercial matters treaty signed with the united Arab Emirates (UAE) in January (The Nation, July 14, 2016:33).

It is now 16 months that is, a year and four months since the president assumed office. From all indications, the president has kept his promise to wage a relentless war against corruption. Although some people are of the opinion that the anti-graft war is one sided or targeted at the president's political opponents. Others have even gone to the extent of calling it a sort of vendetta against those who may have wronged the president in the past or other imaginary enemies. Whatever the case is, the war against corruption is ongoing and it has made those in government to tread more carefully, a departure from the past when stealing was done with impunity (The nation, July, 27, 2016:19).Though the names of the corrupt officials from whom the assets were recovered were not disclosed, as the President had promised to do, The administration gave the details of looted funds recovered so far as:N78.325 billion, $185.119 million, £3.508 million and €11,250 between May 29, 2015 and May 25, 2016. It is also stated that a combination of cash and assets amounting to the following sum were recovered under interim forfeiture during the same period: N126.563 billion, $9.09 billion, £2.484 million and €303,399(The Nation, July 14, 2016:13).

In January 2016, Nigeria signed an agreement with the United Arab Emirates for the

orientation of corruption across regimes. But these are matters of degrees rather than substance. Because the contextual character of Nigeria's political contestation has always been defined by her ethnic fractionalization, the substantive purpose of the struggles has remained personal accumulation in the guise of ethnic group interests. This is true for all the political actors, be they traditional or modern elites, civilian or military politicians. This is the reason why the process assumes the character of primitive capitalism and its most effective instrument (from the perspectives of the players) has been corruption (Olopoenia, 1998:46-47).

The unprecedented corruption which was done with impunity created persistent distortions in the Nigeria's economy so much that inflation and its pressurizing effects have become the normal feature of the economy, putting the living standards of an average Nigerian at the lowest stupendous proportions.The consequences of corruption are revealed by UNDP (1997:101) thus:

> …corruption in government increases poverty in many ways. Most directly, it diverts resources to the rich people, who can afford to pay bribes and away from the poor people, who cannot. But it also skews decisions in favour of capital-intensive enterprises (where the pickings re greater) and away from labor-intensive activities more likely to benefit the poor.
> Corruption also weakens governments and lessens their ability to fight poverty. It reduces tax revenues and thus the resources available for public service more generally, corruption eats away at the fabric of public life leading to increased lawlessness and undermining social and political stability. from the poor people, who cannot. But it also skews decisions in favour of capital-intensive enterprises (where the pickings re greater) and away from labor-intensive activities more likely to benefit the poor.
> Corruption also weakens governments and lessens their ability to fight poverty. It reduces tax revenues and thus the resources available for public service more generally, corruption eats away at the fabric of public life leading to increased lawlessness and undermining social and political stability.

Corruption has significantly disabled socio-political and economic efforts aimed at the development of the nation and the eventual erudition or reduction of poverty in Nigeria. It is therefore, arguable that corruption is one of the factors that have caused and sustained poverty in Nigeria. Kukah in Orngu(2006) remarked on leadership failure resulting from corruption as one of the causes of poverty in Nigeria.

According to Mr. Antonio Maria Costa, Executive Director, UN office on Drugs and Crime, Nigeria lost close to $400 billion to graft between 1960 and 1999. According to him, "The late General Sani-Abacha alone is estimated to have stolen the equivalent of two to three percent of the country's GDP for every year that he was Head of State (The Punch, 2007:14). Also, in his first budget speech to the National Assembly in 1999, President Obasanjo revealed that in the period preceding the transition, about $20 billion has been stolen and taken out of Nigeria and only about $1.2 billion of this amount had been recovered at that time (New Nigerian, 1999). Amazingly, much of the $190.98 billion Nigeria earned essentially from oil sources in

the period between 1999 and 2006 was lost to corruption (The Punch,2007). Data from the Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP) put this at about #569 billion in seven years for the federal system alone which the Bureau's eagle eyes picked out. Add about #350 billion from the state and local government side and we have a huge leakage (of a major economic artery) on our hands (Okebukola, 2015:16).

Corruption poses a serious developmental challenge. In the political realm, it undermines democracy and good governance by flouting or even subverting formal processes. Corruption in elections and in legislative bodies reduces accountability and distorts representation in policy making. Corruption in the judiciary compromises the Rule of Law and corruption in public administration results in the unfair provisions of services. More generally, corruption erodes the institutional capacity of government as procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off and public offices are bought and sold. At the same time, corruption undermines the legitimacy of government and such democratic values as trust and tolerance. The ravaging effect of corruption is aptly depicted by Peter Cunliffe-Jones (2010:159) in his book *My Nigeria: Five Decades of Independence*where he states that:

> It is clear that no country whose leaders steals or squanders $350 billion and distorts the economy is going to prosper. And this is what has happened in Nigeria. Corruption has undermined Nigeria's economy since independence. As Nigerians say, the country's experience of corruption is far from unique in the world. It is just more extreme than most.

Nobody is immune to corruption in Nigeria. Corruption percolates through the presidency, state government houses, the judiciary, legislature, among pastors/imams in the church/mosque, among the political class, the civil service, in the industry, the [police, the police, armed forces, journalism in the legal profession, among lecturers, custom officers and the society at large. Nigerians irrespective of status are now sycophantic errand citizens to looters of the collective patrimony. This degenerating scenario underscores the reason why poor nations create shameless thieves across societal strata that celebrates looting of the treasury or bribe taking knowing for sure that they will never encounter any retribution whether from the law or the citizenry (Sanusi, 2011:22). It is unassailably true that Nigeria's problems are not from the "harshness and the niggardliness of nature" (Kaynes, 2006). The corrupt practices of the leaders prevent the security from putting its abundant material and human resources into effective and productive use. In an article "oil giant that runs on grease of politics", Nigeria was described as a rich nation floating on oil wealth but almost none of it flows to the people".

Thus, it is kleptocracy- a nation ruled by a government of thieves- a ruling body or order of thieves (the oxford English dictionary, 1989) that hampers the progress of the society. It will take a committed leadership and the best of the followers (not to respect or worship the office holders who fraudulently enriched themselves) for Nigeria to solve its corruption menace (fake contracts, kickbacks, assets stripping and outright conversion of public funds into private purses), create a productive environment, and move the nation forward.