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GENDER RELATIONS AND SOCIOECONOMIC CHANGES IN COLONIAL SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA: INSIGHT ON WOMEN AND SOCIETY IN OWERRI AND ITS ENVIRONS¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the socioeconomic relevance of women in colonial Owerri and its environs. In advancing the literature on social inequality and gender relations in Africa, we argue that women in Igbo region of Owerri and its environs were important actors in the socioeconomic spheres of the area during colonial rule. Eventhough the European colonialists came with a gender stereotype that officially stripped the women of their significant roles and made provisions for men dominance in the society, this paper revealed the strong influence and impact of women on the socioeconomic system of Owerri and its environs in the colonial era. The approach is historical and it is based on the analysis of archival records and the extant literature.

Keywords: Colonialism; Cultural Imperialism; Gender Relations; Political Participation; Women Power.

¹ This paper builds on Gift AdaugoNwamadu's unpublished monograph entitled "Women and Power in Colonial Igboland: The Case of Owerri Province" with the Department of History and International Studies, Edo State University, Uzairue, Edo State, Nigeria.

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Introduction

This paper examines the socioeconomic relevance of women in Owerri and its environs in the colonial era. Owerri and its environs in the context of this paper refer to the colonial administrative units of Owerri province, that is, Owerri, Aba, Bende, Okigwe, and Orlu. Owerri division was the capital of the defunct Owerri province before it was transferred to Port Harcourt in June 1926.⁴ Owerri is presently the capital of Imo State, Nigeria.

The assumption that women are under-represented in decision making in African societies has led to the clamour for their empowerment and gender equity. Even though the official power status ascribed to women in the Africanist literature is low, Owerri women were important actors in the socioeconomic architecture of their society over time. It is on this ground that we critically examine the social change brought about by colonialism and its impact on women participation in the socioeconomic system in Owerri and its environs. The approach is historical and it is based on the analysis of relevant archival documents and literatures.

Igbo Origin and Precolonial Social Structure

The Igbo people are located in Southeastern part of Nigeria. The history of the Igbo people is shrouded in obscurity. This is very true of the many mythologies and counter-mythologies of Igbo origin. The problem is noted by A.E. Afigbo as follows:

The problem of Igbo origins is indeed "a very maze within a maze." It boggles the mind. Instead of one pan-Igbo tradition of origin there are almost as many traditions as there are those independent sub-cultural groups referred to as "clans" in the

⁴ British Online Archives, Nigeria and Cameroon under Colonial Rule, in Government Reports, 1887-1962. File no. 73242A-03, "Provincial Reports 1926-1946"; S.L. Ross, *African Women: The Study of the Ibo of Nigeria*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1965.

Intelligence Reports of the 1930s. In fact in some clans there are two rival traditions of origin.⁵

As observed by Afigbo, the most relevant of these confusing mythologies could be classified into traditions of oriental migratory origin, myths of origin from neighbouring great states and the traditions of autochthony. In the context of this paper, we adopt the autochthony tradition surrounding the Nri of Awka Division relating to the Umunri and Umueri clans – the acclaimed descendants of *Eri* — due to its rich environmental and social insights.

The Nri tradition of origin is embedded in the evolution of agriculture and the practice of dual-gender roles. This myth of Igbo origin traces the evolution of the society to a family of Eze Nri including a wife, sons and daughters. The Eze Nri tradition is particularly factual due to the affirmation of some aspects of the narrative by archaeological discoveries.⁶ Eze Nri family is believed to be located on an anthill over a flooded landscape. This environmental challenge impacted their survival as this family soon experienced some levels of starvation. The intervention of Chukwu (God) in providing the knowledge of agriculture which began with irrigation and yam cultivation was timely for the survival of the earliest Igbo family. This reality was captioned in the mythology suggesting Chukwu's supernatural delivery of the first set of Yam tubers and seedlings to the Eze Nri family. Even though landscape was flooded, it was reportedly blown with the blacksmith's bellows till it became dry and suitable for agriculture. Beyond the introduction of irrigation and agriculture, this myth further reveals divisions of labour in pre-colonial Igbo society.

⁵ A.E. Afigbo. "Traditions of Igbo Origins: A comment". *History in Africa*, Vol. 10 (1983), P. 1.

⁶ T. Shaw, T. "Field Research in Nigerian Archaeology: A Brief Survey and Discussion of Policy". *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1963), pp. 449–464; A.E. Afigbo. "The Anthropology and Historiography of Central-South Nigeria before and since Igbo-Ukwu". *History in Africa*, Vol. 23 (1996), pp. 1-15.

According to this mythology of Igbo origin, the fruitfulness of the yam cultivation was dependent on the fertility of the land. Here, the narrative pointed to the sacrificing of Eze Nri's first son and daughter and the establishment of the Yam plantation on their graveyard. Far from its literary meaning, the narrative symbolizes the dual-gender role in the socioeconomic functionality of the earliest Igbo society. Again, the survival of the people at this earliest time was based on the practice of agriculture which was directly linked to irrigation, yam cultivation, division of labour and dual-gender roles. The pre-colonial Igbo society was based on a non-centralized system of government where societal elders, age grades, women associations, the council of chiefs and secret societies managed the justice system and socioeconomic relations. This was a social structure built on checks and balances in an African representative democratic system where women played a significant role.

Colonial Socioeconomic Organization in Southeastern Nigeria: An Overview

The exploitative relations between Britain and colonial Nigeria made the Igbo economy subservient in the Age of Empire. Consequently, the Igbo society became a dumping ground for British imports. These included textiles, cosmetics, umbrellas, foodstuffs, salt, tobacco, sewing machines, enamelware, ornaments, alcoholic drinks, patent medicines, guns, and gunpowder. In most cases, especially at the beginning of the colonial rule, some of these products were exchanged by barter with palm oil and kernel. Palm oil and kernels trading increased especially from 1902 when they became the major raw material in making top quality soap and margarine as well as animal feeds and other products. Between 1903 and 1913, kernel export from Southern Nigeria significantly increased.⁷ It is noteworthy that women gained directly from the export of palm kernels by cracking and selling the kernels and keeping the proceeds. As G.T. Basden puts it:

⁷ S.M. Martin. *Palm Oil and Protest: An Economic History of the Ngwa region, South-Eastern Nigeria, 1800-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p.50.

Practically, the whole of trade in the Igbo country is in the hands of the women, and they are extremely capable. The more expert a woman proves herself to be, the more she is appreciated by her husband. Ability in this direction is always a desideratum in a man's choice of wife.⁸

The new palm trade evolved from the economic structures of the pre-colonial and early colonial era.⁹In this context, *Afia*, the traditional market of the Igbo society was vital to women participation in the local economy. The market served as a media centre where information was shared, conflicts resolved and rituals performed. The colonial era was marked by an improved transportation system that boosted market activities and empowered women in Owerri and its environs. Successful women keyed into the introduction of bicycles in the 1900s, thereby enhancing their mobility and movement of goods. By 1914 when many of the roads and waterways in the area had been constructed, the export trade in the Owerri Province alone was valued at over £1,000,000.¹⁰ The number of vehicles purchased in the area increased annually. The highest densities of roads were around the Central Igbo area between Okigwe, Orlu, Owerri, Aba, and Umuahia.¹¹The integration of Owerri and its environs into the Eurocentric colonial structure impacted gender relations. As J.V. Allen puts it:

Westernization is not an unmixed blessing. The experience of Igbo women under British colonialism shows that Western influence can

⁸ G.T. Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*. Lagos: Academy Press, 1921.

⁹ T. Falola and M. Heathon. *A History of Nigeria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

¹⁰ Nigeria National Archives Enugu (henceforth NNAE), OWDIST 6/2/6, Report on the Export Products of Owerri Province, Nigeria, 3/11/14.

¹¹ NNAE, MINLOC 16/1/80, File No. 1063, Annual Report Owerri Province, 1955.

sometimes weaken or destroy women's traditional autonomy and power without providing modern forms of autonomy or power in exchange. Igbo women had a significant role in traditional political life. As individuals, they participated in village meetings with men. But their real political power was based on the solidarity women, as expressed in their own political institutions - their "meetings" (mikiri or mitiri), their market networks, their kinship groups, and their right to use strikes, boycotts and force to effect their decisions. British colonial officers and missionaries, both men and women, generally failed to see the political roles and the political power of Igbo women. The actions of administrators weakened and in some cases destroyed women's bases of strength. Since they did not appreciate women's political institutions, they made no efforts to ensure women's participation in the modern institutions they were trying to foster.¹²

The historical effect of this scenario on the socioeconomic structure of the society is the subject of the subsequent section of this paper.

Socioeconomic Impact of Women in Colonial Owerri and its Environs

The demographic structure of colonial Owerri and its environs shows the dominance of the women population. For instance, in 1930, the number of women stood at 594,102 while the men and children were 573,329 and 808,355 respectively. According to the 1931 census figures the women constituted 31.2 per cent of the population followed by men that accounted for 28.7 percent.¹³ The positioning of the menfolks as dominant operators of external trade under colonial rule was brought about by being the sole beneficiaries of the high-yielding palm seedlings and loans from the colonial government that enabled them to establish large oil palm farms and plantations. They were also able to invest in palm pressing and nut-cracking machines as well as in oil mills. Taking advantage of these innovations and favourable colonial policy, several

¹² J.V. Allen, "Sitting on a Man": Colonialism and the Lost Political Institutions of Igbo Women". *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol 6, No. 2 (1972), pp. 165.

¹³ Colonial Annual Report, "Social and Economic Progress of the People of Nigeria for 1934", (1935), p. 19.

men accumulated substantial wealth and attendant political statuses as warrant chiefs commensurate to their enhanced economic statuses as *ogaranya*, i.e. wealthy men.

In a polygynous Igbo family structure where a man could marry many wives, the feeding and provision of other basic daily needs of the family fell on the shoulders of the women of the household. Thus, while men could invest most of their money in business, women's income was drained by familial responsibilities. As a result of these sociocultural inhibitions, women faced a major challenge in their commercial engagement and found other ways to survive the colonial stiff competition. Despite the lack of direct access to imperial finance, women still benefited from the opportunities created by the monetized Igbo economy. To raise capital, Igbo women had formed self-help credit and savings societies called the *Isusu*. The women's innovation amidst adversity put them at the centre of economic and social transformations in colonial southeastern Nigeria. As noted by G. Chuku,¹⁴ women's roles as economic innovators, agents of rural development, a formidable productive force, and mass mobilizers for political processes have not been accorded the required recognition in the existing literature and the historiography of the Igbo.

The imperial structure of colonialism impacted women participation in the economy of Owerri and its environs. The Age of Empire was embodied in Western ideas of urbanization, infrastructure, education and capitalism. This was an era of intercultural encounters and profit-driven policies and approaches to societal living with implications for the local culture of the people of Owerri and its environs. An important aspect of colonial cultural imperialism is the intervention of the British in gender relations. This was inherent in the British indirect rule system, which formalized male authorities and informalized women institutions in Owerri and its environs as well as the Igbo region in general. In the areas of justice and political administration, the

¹⁴ G. Chuku. *Igbo Women and Economic Transformation in South-eastern Nigeria, 1900-1960*. London: Psychology Press. 2005. p. 230.

colonial court was superior to the communal assembly, while Warrant Chiefs absorbed the roles of traditional chiefs. This imperial structure undermined women participation in political decisions in Owerri and its environs. Indeed, the native councils were appointed in the various divisions of Owerri province.

As observed by Falola and Heaton, the British intrusion was contested by the natives and to a large extent unsuitable to the local sociopolitical formation embedded in local traditional councils derived from representative democracy.¹⁵ Thus, many of the people abhorred the Native Courts and resulted in available forms of local adjudication. Nevertheless, the British Warrant Chief operated at a superior and formalized position in the new colonial political system.¹⁶ Hence, the constitution of the warrant chiefs mainly from the men folks put women at the mercy of men in Owerri and its environs.

The perceived weaknesses of the traditional Chiefs and the absence of centralized authority made the British colonialists adopt stooges and weaklings for positions in the native courts. Consequently, the British-made Warrant-Chiefdom became a floating political institution devoid of local support.¹⁷ As observed by A.E Afigbo, the process that produced this type of political leadership was faulty. This is particularly a case of British misguided policy in an atmosphere of imperial tension.¹⁸ Hence, it has been argued that the British placed the warrant chiefs in positions of power over communities that did not even recognize them.

¹⁵ T. Falola and M.M. Heaton. *A History of Nigeria*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 131-133.

¹⁶ F. Daryll and G.I. Jones, *The Ibo and the Ibibio Speaking Peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria*. London, 1950.

¹⁷ Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, pp. 131-133.

¹⁸ A.E. Afigbo. *The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria*. London: Longman, 1972.

The European interference in Southeastern Nigeria undermined the local institutions - the Igbo kinship network, the dual-gender political system, as well as the age-grade system were eroded. It is vital to note that before the European colonial rule in Owerri and its environs, these local institutions guided individual behaviour through the machinery of checks and balances. The restructuring of women dominated institutions such as traditional markets placed men in an advantageous position in the societal economy. In the area of training, the men folks were more favoured to acquire Western education in line with the new dominant male roles in agriculture, industry, commerce and administration. The women in Owerri province responded to the colonial institutionalized gender inequality through protests, riots and wars. These responses were obvious in the 1916 market independence protest, the 1925 *Nwaobiala* Movement against cultural imperialism and British encroachment on the Igbo heritage. These were followed by the 1929 Water Rate protest, the 1929 Women's riot, the Anti-Taxation and Inflation protest of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.¹⁹

The women responded to the imperial marginality by taking advantage of the conduit of opportunities in the colonial economy. However, colonial appropriation of local resources and the silencing of the womenfolk in the imperial system instigated women's attack in the political structure. As observed by S. Leith-Ross, women cooperated to defend their identity and common goals beyond their local communities.²⁰ For instance, women's movements and mass protests in the colonial Owerri province were triggered by the tax crisis of the late 1920s regarded as the Aba Women's Riot. The women's protest of 1929 is rightly recorded as a significant moment in the history of Nigeria. The events in Calabar and Owerri provinces are generally considered the

¹⁹ S.L. Ross, *African Women: The Study of the Ibo of Nigeria*. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1965), pp. 110 – 240.; G. Chuku, *The Igbo Women and the Economic Transformation of Southeastern Nigeria*. London: Psychology Press, 2005.

²⁰ Ross, *African Women*.

consequences of misguided colonial policies.²¹ ²² The Colonial government more or less referred to these women involved in this rebellious movement as “dancing women”.²³ In the Owerri Province, a slight recrudescence of the uprising that occurred in the Orlu District of the Okigwe Division was mainly caused by a rigorous application of the produce Inspection regulations at Oguta.²⁴

While a certain number of women demanded the outright elimination of taxation, others demanded its reduction. For instance, in Okigwe and Bende Divisions of Owerri Province, women demonstrated between 1938 and 1939, demanding the reduction of the tax from 3shillings to 1shilling per adult male to be paid in 4 months due to poor sales. To enforce the new tax rate, Ubahu Ezianya women, for example, collected 1s per head when tax collectors insisted on the 3s and refused to accept 1s recommended by women. While the people of Bende Division argued that they would pay no more taxes until they saw the gains of the ones they had paid since 1928, Abiriba people resolved not to pay further taxes until at least a road was built in their town.²⁵ In Okigwe alone, more than 500 women assembled at the Okigwe Native Court on 7 December 1938 where they sang and danced. The number rose to 2,000–3,000 when women from neighbouring villages and clans of Isuochi, Uturu, Nneato, Otanzu, and Otanchara joined them on 8 December 1938. At this point, the women attempted to

²¹ W. Adebani, *The Political Economy of Everyday Life in Africa: Beyond the Margins*. (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), pp 73.

²² B. Naanen, “You Are Demanding Tax from the Dead’: The Introduction of Direct Taxation and Its Aftermath in South-Eastern Nigeria, 1928-39,” *African Economic History*, No. 34 (2006), pp. 77.

²³ NNAE, CSE 3/17/15, “Women Dancers Propaganda, Anti-Government developments in Owerri, Onitsha and Ogoja Provinces”.

²⁴ Annual Colonial Reports, Nigeria, 1930. p. 10.

²⁵ NNAE, OKIDIST 9/1/155–156, “Anti-Tax Agitations in Okigwe and Bende Divisions, 1938.”

break the prison and release prisoners. At Isuochi, Umuchieze, Ihube, and Nneato, over 5,000 women were carrying sticks, singing war songs, and dancing. They destroyed properties belonging to the tax collectors and government and released 56 prisoners at Isuochi. Women also seized tax tickets from men who had already paid their taxes. It took the deployment of the police to stop the demonstrations. Three of the women leaders were arrested and between 200 and 250 of them were injured.²⁶

The continuous fall in prices of produce and the high cost of imports had created high inflation in Owerri and its environs during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Women complained that they could not sell their produce for reasonable prices; that they were poor; and had no money. For example, a tin of oil at Umuahia in December 1938 was sold between 10d and 11d.²⁷ Although the government refused to abolish taxation or reduce it to a flat rate of 1s demanded by women, the demonstrations recorded some success. For instance, some notorious tax collectors were relinquished of their jobs. Government officials made some serious effort to establish communication links with the people, explaining certain policies and actions of the government. According to the colonial report, women, moving and singing and performing the special dance (known as Nwaobiala) in groups of 50, 100 to 300, protested against the decadence of Igbo society and called for the restoration of the local customs and traditions of the Igbo. The women argued for the reproduction of Igbo society based on sustainable principles necessary for its continuous existence. In their list of demands, women condemned the poor sanitary conditions of many compounds and emphasized the need to observe more sanitary cleanliness. They protested against the establishment of modern tarred roads and called for the cleaning of old roads and reopening them. The women also protested against the introduction of the European monetary system. They

²⁶ NNAE, OKIDIST 11/1/373, "Report on the Disturbances in the Okigwe and Bende Divisions of the Owerri Province, December 18, 1938," D. O. Okigwe to the Resident Owerri Province.

²⁷ NNAE, UMPROF 1/5/4, "Women's Movement Aba Patrol Report to SSP, Part III, 1930."

affirmed the deleterious impact of European colonization on morality with a particular reference to the upsurge of prostitution in society.

The women movement contested the high bride price that appears to delay young female folks from getting married as at when due. As a concerted protest against the Europeanization of their culture, they demanded that young women and girls should go nude until after their first childbirth. Among other things, women protested against the colonial legal system, gender favouritism in the agricultural sector concerning Cassava cultivation as well as inflation and unhealthy diet perceived to be responsible for infertility and that prevents the birth of twins. Furthermore, the women wanted the separation of marriages, i.e. free men for free women, slaves for slaves, Christians for Christians, and pagans for pagans. Besides, as a front against gender inequality, they demanded freedom for married women to be free to engage in extramarital relationships like men.²⁸ The movement though generally peaceful, resulted in a considerable disturbance. In a few places, it turned into violence. For instance, at the Nnobi Court, women obstructed the roads, burned the market and filled the courthouse with refuse.

The burning of the marketplace can be explained in the women's perceived degree of contamination and pollution that befallen their sacred places and the Igbo society at large by European presence. Consequently, some of them were arrested. The government had to deploy the military to restore order in Nnobi, Abakaliki, and Okigwe. The movement was also directed against the youths. In several places, young unmarried girls were attacked. Church women were also targets of attack. On

²⁸ NNAE, ONPROF 7/12/92, File No. OP 391/1925 "Bands of Women Dancers Preaching Ideas of Desirable Reforms—Movement of," June 11, 1925; ONPROF, M. P. No 1538/128/1925, "Cochrane's memo to the Resident," December 9, 1925; Memo No. 124/M P.62/1925, "D. O. Awgu to the Senior Resident, Onitsha," 1925.

November 23, 1925, some church women of Olokoro in Bende District complained that their properties were seized four days earlier as they refused to join the Movement.²⁹

In a nutshell, the key to the successes of women's resistance movements was anchored on the women's awareness of their distinctiveness and common interests. They contested the political framework based on the Eurocentric social structures, ideas, foreign capital, technologies, judiciary and religion that subjugated women social status and relevance in the society.³⁰ As observed by Toyin Falola, the Women's War of 1929 symbolizes a contestation of a colonial suppression of women participation in local economy and politics (see Figure 1).³¹ A dimension of colonialism is cultural imperialism. In colonial Owerri and its environs, cultural imperialism found expression in the colonial formal structuring of power where men were positioned in the highest echelon of the society. This phenomenon symbolizes a disruption of the social structure of Owerri and its environs. However, African women were never passive observers of events in their societies. As Toyin Falola rightly noted in his memoir – *A Mouth Sweeter than Salt*:

Whenever I read the literature or listen to speeches claiming that African women lack power, I ...quietly ... remind myself that the picture has never been fully revealed. A mouth that turns into a knife will cut its own lips. The full picture will not be revealed until many more people discover an *iwin* [a supernatural being] who will either grant their requests or torment them. Even then, the experience of the last person to die will be hard to imagine.³²

²⁹ NNAE, ONPROF 7/12/92, "Women's Purity Campaign," D.O. Bende to Resident Owerri Province, 9 December 1925.

³⁰ Ross, *African Women*, p. 178.

³¹ T. Falola. *Colonialism and Violence in Nigeria*. Indiana University Press. 2009; T. Falola and A. Paddock. *The Women's War of 1929: A History of Anti-Colonial Resistance in Eastern Nigeria*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2011.

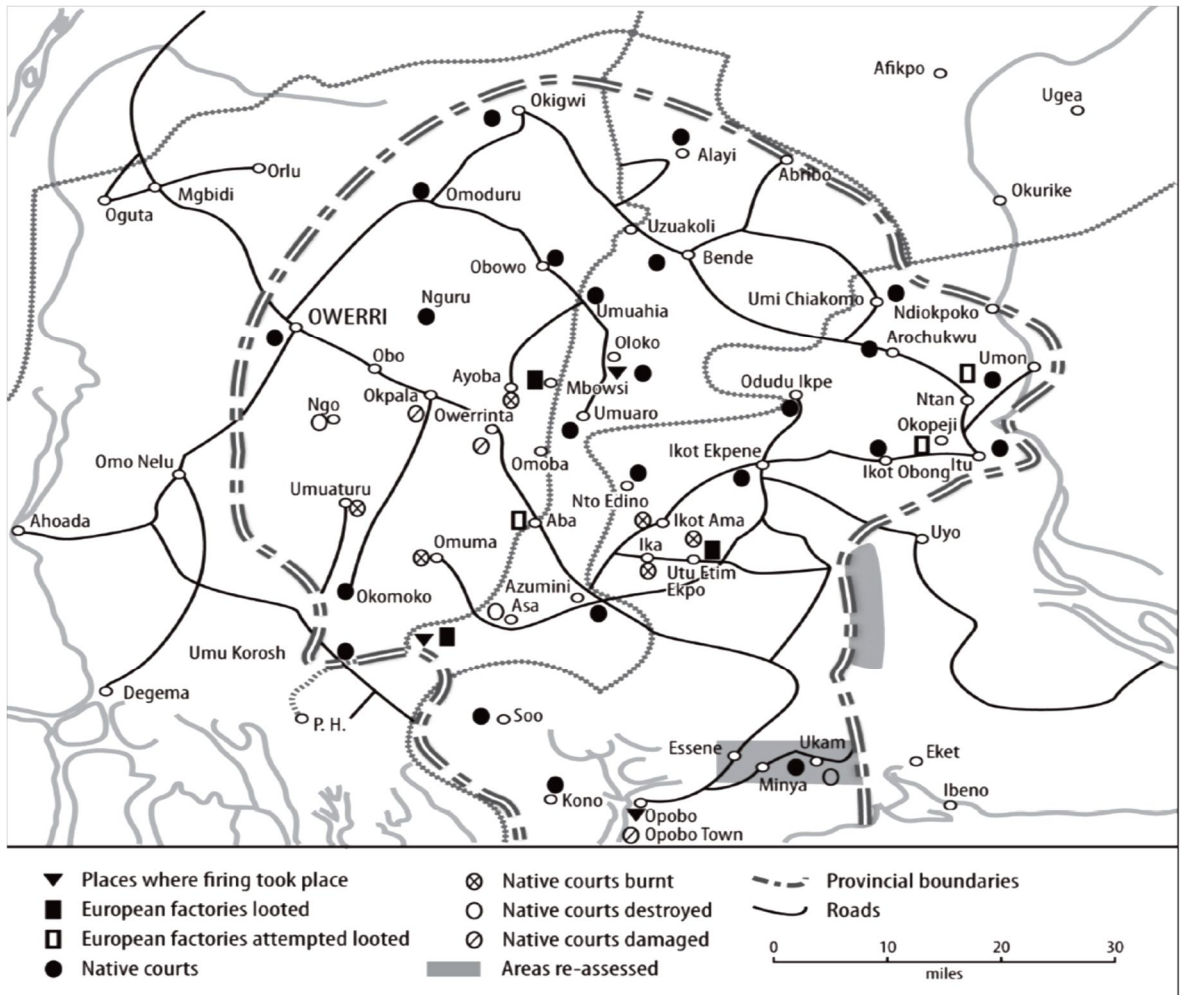
³² T. Falola. *A mouth Sweeter than Salt: An African Memoir*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2007, p. 193.

Indeed, when there is an action, there must be a reaction. The reaction to the colonial plundering of women independence in Owerri and its environs manifested in various civil protests and conscious mobilization of women trade unions and societies against the imperial statusquo. While this development could be seen as an isolated case of local responses against colonialism, it provided a groundswell for the nationalist movement in South-East Nigeria. This phenomenon unveils the endurance of women socioeconomic influence in colonial Owerri and its environs despite the colonial intrusion.

Concluding Remarks

The coming of colonial governance to Owerri and its environs led to the informalization of important women institutions in the society. The British imperial structure and governance created a network of power between the British officials and the men folks in the area. This is the case of complicity between the local male folks and the colonial authorities. The colonial administrative re-ordering was far-reaching in the society as precolonial spheres of women dominance were officially subjugated under male authority. However, the women of Owerri and its environs responded through more doggedness against the conspiracy of a Eurocentric structure. This led to civil unrest such as the Aba women riot as well as re-organization of socioeconomic groupings such as market union and trade group which provided a breathing space and enduring template for women socioeconomic influence in colonial Owerri and its environs. The women were able to challenge the colonial order, using their power as a group to protest against unfair public policies. These local feminine responses to the imperial status quo are inherently vital parts of the nationalist movement for the independence of Nigeria in the twentieth century.

Figure 1: Map of Events- Women's War, 1929 (It also shows the Location of Colonial Owerri and its Environs)



Source: T. Falola and A. Paddock. *The Women's War of 1929: A History of Anti-Colonial Resistance in Eastern Nigeria*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2011, p. x.

MENTAL DISTANCE AND THE THINGIFIZATION OF PATIENTS IN THE MEDICAL CASE REPORTS IN MATLWA'S PERIOD PAIN

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Abstract

This study examines the literary references or representations of patients in medical case notes or reports. It discusses the healing process of the patient as well as its psychological impact on the patient and the physician. Since the medical case note or report employs language like other literary forms, it is established in this study as a form of literature. Being a very important medical document, the medical case note contains information about the patient's illness, diagnosis and therapy. Its aim is to keep the physician abreast with the condition of the patient. Hence the choice of words employed by the physician in writing or giving the report reveals the physician's mental image of the patient's condition and betrays the physician's biases that may signal his mental distance as well as inhibit the patient's symbolic healing. Studies have shown that in order to achieve holistic healthcare, it is important to interrogate patients' medical case notes or report from a literary perspective. Hence for the purpose of this study, Kopano Maltwa's Period Pain is selected because it is a firsthand experience of a medical case report written by a physician-writer. Instances of case note reports in the text were subjected to literary analysis using Freudian psychoanalytic theory. The study discovers that diction depersonalises the patient who are described using the name of their illness, number of their ward and bed. It concludes that more humane referents should be adopted in describing the patient in order to create more empathic connection and healing.

Keywords: Medical Case Report, patients, thingification, medical education, mental distance

Introduction

The relationship between the physician and the patient is very important in the healthcare structure. The whole healthcare structure is put in place to cater for patients and treat them in order to make them better. If represented in war or military language, the healthcare structure is instituted to help the patient win the battles they have to fight

against the ailments besieging their bodies. This must be the understanding of people when they report that a patient “lost the battle” against cancer or any other ailment that leads to the death of the patient. Physicians refer to their patients on a daily basis both in formal and informal situations. The medical case note is a formal document with which physicians interact with fellow physicians and other caregivers about the health of the patient. During ward rounds and other professional fora where the patient is brought to the fore, even in informal situations like physician’s interactions with colleagues, linguistic terminologies are employed to refer to patients. These terminologies could be totally sourced from their “medical jargons” or from the non-professional day-to-day vocabularies used within the society.

In an operational sense, the term “representation” is used in this study to refer to instances of terminologies, referents, lexia or words used by physicians to refer to the patients in both clinical and non-clinical interactions involving the Medical Case Report. This study examines the representations of patients in the medical case note, when written or spoken in the literary text. It aims to reveal the psychological resultant effect of this on patients, the physician’s perception of the patient, the quality of healthcare that is available to patient and the physician as portrayed in Kopano Matlwa’s *Period Pain*.

The case note as a sub-genre of literature

Joanne Trautman Banks (1992: vii) defines the case note as “an oral or written account of an illness that typically begins with a statement of the chief complainant, proceeds through the history of the present illness, past illnesses, past medical history, review of systems, family history, and social history, and ends with the results of the physical examination and laboratory tests.” Bank’s identification that both the “oral” and “written” forms of clinical records qualify as case note ensures that both the formal (written) and informal (spoken) forms are represented. Abdel-Hady El-Gilany (2018) opines that the “clinical case report describes and analyzes the diagnosis and/or the management of one or two patients” (p. 7). The case note is also regarded as a form of evidence made available to healthcare personnel both in clinical therapy and medical research. Banks identifies the case note as a “genre.”

The case note can be justified as being a genre of literature from both the written and spoken perspectives. For scholars who argued that it is a genre of literature, their position is hinged on the term “narrative.” Rita Charon (1986) noted that the case note is a narration of the patient’s illness. It employs the power of narration to present the medical life and history of the patient. She however noted that there is a subjugation of the patient’s voice in the case note and advocates for another approach to writing the case note – one which will contain the patient’s voice so that he becomes a co-narrator in his story of illness. Charon in *Narrative medicine: honoring the stories of illness*

(2006) argues that narrative medicine is the best form of medicine because it helps the patient to narrate his story and the physician to be able to empathise with the patient. As a physician-writer herself, Charon put this into practice in teaching her medical students. She has helped students to create an imagined narrative of the patient's illness; narrated from the patient's perspectives. The case note is conceived as a form of "narrative re-presentation" of the patient's medical predicament (Monroe, Holleman & Holleman, 1992, p. 45).

Richard M. Ratzan (1992: 104) in "Winged words and chief complaints: Medical case histories and the Parry-Lord oral-formulaic tradition" argues for the literariness of the case note from the perspective of "an orally presented medical case history." He argues that there are similarities between Homeric pieces and the medical case histories. The doctor becomes a bard, a singer of medical tales told at the grand rounds which has a "special" place and time. He also identifies the frequency or repetitiveness of presentation and the "equivalent variation" done during the presentation of the case note as similarities between oral presentations and the case note. Equivalent variation refers to the use of different lexical items of similar meaning or synonyms to describe an object or idea. A physician can use "left base" in lieu or "base of the left lung" to describe a physical diagnostic. The mode of learning of the art is also similar. He finds sameness between the art of Parry-Lords South Slavic bards and the medical singer of tales. They both learn by listening to experts. He likened both processes to that of language-acquisition by a child through which skills like intonation, gesticulation, pitch, volume and facial expressions are learnt. He also supported his argument with Ruth Finnegan's opinion that the definition of oral poetry must be expanded to accommodate "what might not seem necessarily "oral" or "poetry" or literature worthy of "serious" study" (p.104). Against the backdrop of this argument, Ratzan concludes that "it is, therefore, reasonable to consider oral medical case histories a type of oral literature...if we adopt Finnegan's definition" (p. 104).

Language, Mental distance and the thingification of patient

Memmi Albert (1991) identifies "language", which he describes as "that wonderful reservoir constantly enriched with new experiences" (p. 104), as one of the means of achieving inter-generational acquisition of a people's heritage. Though Memmi was examining this in the context of the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, it is nonetheless apposite to this study. If we take physicians as a people, their heritage is also passed down from one generation to the next through the form(s) of language they employ in both formal and non-formal professional relationship. The linguistic choice of a speaker reveals the perception of the speaker about the referents and the psychological connection or disconnect in his relationship with the person being described. In both forms of the case note, physicians describe their patients to colleagues and other caregivers, unconsciously revealing their mental view of the patient. This perception, inadvertently and unconsciously, affects the quality of

healthcare that is given to the patient. It also conditions the minds of other physicians in covert dimensions. The reason for this is that the patient is thingified by the kind of linguistic referents used to describe him in his case note, especially the oral forms. In *If* (1983), Ola Rotimi opines that a human who has been turned into a thing has been “thingified.” In order to suffer this, the person is stripped of his humanity or made less of a human in the view of the speaker; operating from this pedestal, he is able to inhumanly treat the thingified person. Sebunnya, G.M. (2013) asserts that medicine and medical education has an over reliance on scientific objective data and places this above the psychological, cultural and religious inclinations of the patient, which may help to shed more needed light of knowledge on the illness and ensure a successful physician-patient interaction. It also leads to a reduction or lack of empathy between physician and patient for which a mental distance is culpable. Scholars agree that there exist a lack of empathic connection between physician and patient (Benatar, 1988; Hunter, 1991; Omobowale, 2001; Kuper, 2007; and Reid, 2014).

Mental distance could also be described as psychological distance. Baltatescu Sergui (2014) defines the concept as “a cognitive separation between the self and other instances such as persons, events, or times.” Within the context of this study, mental distance is taken to mean the psychological distance between the medical personnel and their patient. This cognitive distance creates a mental gap between physicians and patients by negatively affecting the physician’s perception of the patients. This also impacts the professional physician-patient relationship, the general wellbeing of the patients, the physician and by extension that of the general population. This study looks into how this mental distance is revealed in the physician’s choice of words and expressions in the patient’s case note in *Period Pain*. In line with Ratzan’s position, both the written and oral forms of the case note will be considered. Jacob. J. Walker (2012) opines that physicians learn to keep some mental distance from their patients, especially the ones suffering from terminal illnesses, in order to reduce the effect of the patient’s death on the physician. Quoting Dr. Reman, Walker paints a picture of medical education thus:

People who are physicians have been trained to believe that it is a scientific objectivity that makes them most effective in their efforts to understand and resolve the pain that others bring them, and a mental distance that protects them from becoming wounded from this difficult work (p. 5).

This is lent more credence when we remember that Walker is quoting Reman who is a medical doctor and has passed through this training. The frightening revelation in his position above is the existence of a “mental distance” in the physician’s mind. Distancing is taught with the profession! Reman’s position, as expressed above, paints a picture of individuality and self-protection in that some of the processes involved in

medical education teach skills that help physicians to ensure they are not “wounded” by the physician-patient interaction. This type of training will effectively hinder empathy. We have discussed some of the ways by which physicians unconsciously and sometimes consciously develop this mental apathy that results in a lack of empathy for their patient and by extension a failure of the processes of healing. This type of formal or informal training that preaches the development and maintenance of a mental distance in the physician-patient clinical encounter leaves more to be desired.

This raises a lot of disturbing thoughts and mind-boggling questions: how can a doctor maintain a distance, physical or mental and successfully treat and cure patients? Reman is a medical doctor so his observation that medical doctors maintain a mental distance is even more disturbing – given the fact that he is an insider in the profession. A physical distance, even when it is very far, can be reduced by technological advancement. For instance, a doctor and patient can interact through phone calls. Physical distance does not have a very strong tendency to inhibit the success of the patient-physician interaction and treatment but a mental distance is destructive to the process. A mental distance suggests that the doctor is not really IN the process. So, how can he go beyond HEARING patients and proceed to actually LISTENING to them. A mental distance will only allow him to HEAR but not LISTEN.

Gillon, R. in his work *Medical Ethics: four principles plus attention to scope* (1994) opines that “good communication requires, most importantly, listening (and not just with the ears) as well as telling (and not just with the lips or a word processor).” This underscores listening as an intensive action that requires the totality of the listeners’ physical and emotional being and concentration if they are to understand the thesis of the discourse. Why is listening so important in human interaction? The act of listening allows interlocutors to get the right message being passed. The physician is able to understand what the patient is trying to pass across even when the messages are sent through signals and implied. He is able to draw inferences from what has been said and even the unspoken messages. Blending his professionalism with a good listening attitude, the physician is able to get the signals that the patient’s body is sending to him. This will put him on a better stead to really deliver qualitative care to the patient, miles ahead of what any mental distance, no matter how well managed can help him achieve.

Keeping a physical distance is even better and less injurious to the healing process than a mental distance because the length of the distance in the “mental distance” case is longer than the widest of distances that could be maintained if a physical distance was to be kept. In the mental distance case, the physician is not able to relate with the patient in a way that assures him of his affection and readiness to help in his healing process. Keeping a mental distance also objectifies the patient or the object of the distance. Objectifying him/her makes the physician develop a feeling of superiority. This, coupled with his training which had identified scientific knowledge as the only key to successful healthcare delivery, makes the physician assume the

omniscient, all-knowing position during the diagnosis and operating from this exalted throne, he is unable to genuinely factor enough of the patient's psychosocial insight in his diagnosis and his eventual prognosis other than describing the symptoms. Some physicians even tend to show that they already know how the patients feel in their body, at least, he has been taught the nomenclature, nature, process and manner of majority of affliction, maybe not every known ailments and illnesses. What does an unscientific, sick and mentally impaired patient have to offer him? In all his scientific knowledge and supremacy, he concludes that he/she has nothing significant or not already known to offer. This form of mental positioning affects the optimal and patient-centred focus of healthcare delivery in a negative way. This also foregrounds the need to arrest this situation in an effective way.

This must be some of the informal Save-Our-Souls that experts in the field of Literature and Medicine are responding to by clamouring for the inclusion of the humanities in the education of medical students in order to help create a new generation of more pragmatically humane medical practitioners and institution. Reid's opinion that "medical graduates need to be empathic" also underscores the need for the efforts of these experts at using literature as a tool to teach empathy in medical education.

Discussion: Textual analysis of Kopano Matlwa's *Period Pain*

Kopano Maltwa is a South African physician-writer; born in 1985. Her first novel *Coconut* was published in 2007 while she was still a medical student. She has also published *Spilt Milk* (2010) and *Period pain* (2017). She is interested in working with undernourished children. *Coconut* shared the 2010 Wole Soyinka prize for Literature with Wale Okediran. *Period pain* is purposively selected for study because it presents detailed physician-patient clinical interaction more than the previous works of Maltwa. She brought more of her medical consciousness to bare on the issues she addressed in the novel. *Period Pain* is the story of Masechaba, a newly inducted South African doctor who had high hopes and expectations from her medical practice. However, she experienced a lot of hardship and professional infractions perpetrated by her senior colleagues. During the xenophobic attacks that happened in the land, patients who were brought in for treatment suffered a lot of discrimination. Chaba, as her mother calls her, felt professionally disenchanted by the words Dr. Voel-Vfamba employs to describe patients during the daily ward round. Chaba complains of the inhuman treatment of patients. As a punishment for defending the strangers, she was "correctionally raped" by her kinsmen. As a patient in the same hospital where she works, she experienced some of the realities of the negative experiences of patients in the hands of medical personnel, even in the choice of words used to describe her. It affected her psychic balance.

Through Chaba's personal experience of pain and her professional experiences as a doctor and patient in the text, Matlwa examines various aspects of the problems of healthcare delivery and the South African health institution from both perspectives. The

clinical interaction or relationship between physicians and their patients is the first issue raised in the text. She reveals the manner in which patients are “thingified”, turned into a thing by their physician in their case notes/reports and casual references to patients in both formal and informal discussions with colleagues, which Ratzan describes as the oral case note. Further analysis of the instances categorised as case notes or reports in *Period Pain* reveals that physicians make reference to a patient using the number of ward or the number of the bed on which the patient is admitted and the type of medical condition(s) which the patient reported at the hospital. Different linguistic referents are used by physicians to describe their patients against this background.

The very first instance of an attempt to describe a patient was seen in Masechaba’s review of her journey towards becoming a doctor and some of the infractions she sees as a practicing professional. Chaba informs the reader that she knew she was out of luck when she “saw green peas come out of bed A3’s neck” (p. 26). She was referring to a patient she attended to earlier at the hospital. During ward round Dr. Voel-Vfamba, her senior colleague, told her that the death of the patient should not cause her any disturbance because “she was going to die anyway.” Dr. Voel-Vfamba also added that that is how they learn as doctors; the death of a patient sounds like a progress in their learning curve. This instance falls into the category of patients being represented by the number of their bed or ward. A3 is the number of the patient’s bed. Chaba did not even know the name of the patient. Names and prepositions are still referents that retain the humanness of the patient. By describing the patients as bed A3, they have been reduced to a thing. In the mind of the physician, the humanness of the patient is reduced. The choice of the term “bed A3” in referring to the patient also helps to maintain a mental distance between the physician and the patient. This is Dr. Voel-Vfamba’s strategy of coping with the patient’s death and that was why it was easy to accept the patient’s death as one-of-those-things and also encourages Chaba to do the same. This signals a form of indoctrination through informal medical education. Dr. Voel-Vfamba, representing the older generation of physicians, is indoctrinating Chaba who represents the younger generation of physicians. Monroe et al., (1992) opine that “the way physicians see their patients and talk about their professional practice will necessarily preclude other ways of seeing, acting, and interacting. Thus an attentive concern for the language of the case report is crucial” (p. 46).

Physicians also refer to their patients using lexia and expressions that combine their bed number and the ailment they suffer in one description. Chaba informs that Dr. Voel-Vfamba referred to a patient as “the cardiac failure in Bed A3!” (p. 32). This is the same patient Chaba refers to as Bed A3. Voel-Vfamba, however, combines both her ailment and bed number as a referent. She has cardiac failure and was admitted on bed A3. This is basically depersonalising the patient; reducing him to a thing, an object, in the unconscious of the physician. Unfortunately, just like the contents of the Freudian unconscious, this will surface in the physicians’ clinical interaction with the patient. Charon (1986) identifies the processes physicians go through in “thingifying” their

patients. Firstly, to physicians, people become their body. This happens at pre-clinical and almost unconsciously as the physician becomes fascinated with the bodies of people, mostly in social gathering. The body of people around them are viewed or admired for the physiological features they see. For example, someone with very visible veins can trigger them to begin to think about how easy it will be to thread an intracath through the veins. This, according to Charon who notes that the depersonalisation of the patient takes place in three stages, is the first stage.

The second stage extremely turns the patient to an object. Here, the physician begins to create a mental distance between himself/herself and patient, especially if the patient is suffering from a terminal illness. This ensures that if and when the patient passes on, the physicians is unaffected by the loss. This has become a means through which physicians achieve an end — keeping a safe mental distance so as not to be emotionally affected if the patient dies. It also helps him to avoid the pain that comes with it. This is not an advocacy for physician's lives to be tethered or deranged by the death of a patient but creating this aloofness distances the physician from the patient mentally and affects the healthcare structure. For instance, Masechaba laments that when doing a resuscitation, “I know I should feel something, but I don't know how to anymore. There is something in me that's blocked, that's stuck...so when the patients die, I am relieved. I tell myself it's better for them to die” (p. 34).

She has created a mental distance that has incapacitated her from empathising with the patient. After certifying two patients dead, Chaba was baffled that she “felt nothing” and she laments, “I tried forcing myself to pause, to stop, to acknowledge. But nothing came. I even tried doing the sign of the cross, but nothing stirred within me” (p. 48). At the third stage, the physician turns the patient to the source of his problem and in writing their case note for example, Charon notes that physicians' choice of verbs reveal their opinion or judgment of the patient. They use phrases like “patient denied...”, “patient complained...”, “patient failed...” etc to anchor some of the blame of their clinical stress, pain, trouble, and fatigue on the patient. At this stage, physicians, especially medical students or interns are ready to get their data from the patient at any cost even with the use of force as noted by Charon, a physician by profession. Dr. Voel-Vfamba's description of a patient as “bed A3, the cardiac failure in bed A3” is worthy of some examination in order to determine its psychological impact and imprint on the subconscious of the patient and even the physician.

This description does not, in any way, include any personal details of the patient. This shows that, arguably, the symbolic healing of the patient is not the focus of the whole case note documentation exercise; it is the illness that has taken centre stage. In the light of this professional practice, the efforts of the physician is unconsciously directed towards understanding the disease either for research or personal knowledge and in extreme situation, a research-oriented physician may even wish to see the illness progress to death so that he can see the last stage of the illness before death, especially

if this stage of the illness has not been well documented in medical research. This is a form of professional failure. Munroe et al. establish that physicians must examine and read both the sick and the sickness he presents as texts from which they have to draw meaningful interpretations that will help prognosis, therapy and healing. They note the objectification of patients by physicians in their case notes and concludes that there is no humane dimension in the referent to patients in the case note. For example, in Dr. Voel-Vfamba's psyche, he has substituted the humanity of the patient with the "thingness" of the disease he is suffering. By achieving this, he has unconsciously accepted him as an object and consequently should not be affected by anything that happens to him. This also makes it very easy for him to achieve the needed mental distance.

Walker (2012) reveals that the mental distance is ingrained in the very fabrics of the education of physicians, quoting Dr. Reman, he informs that, "people who are physicians have been trained to believe that it is a...mental distance that protects them from becoming wounded from this difficult work" (p.5). Clinical practice is what is referred to as "this difficult work." At the death of "Bed A3", Dr. Voel-Vfamba told Chaba, "that is how [they, physicians] learn...she was going to die anyway and that [she] shouldn't feel bad. Patients die all the time. Nobody expects you to save all of them...we do what we can" (p. 26). This shows a total lack of empathy for the patient but this does not come as a surprise just like Macbeth in the Shakespearean classic drama, *Macbeth*, who had "murdered sleep" and can not sleep, Dr. Voel-Vfamba has achieved mental distance so cannot empathise with his patient(s). The problem with a loss of empathy for patients is that meaningful healing cannot take place. Patients may not see themselves as healed because of the apparent disconnectedness between them and the physician.

Coulehan (1991) argues that symbolic healing is the total healing and it is this kind of healing that physicians must strive to achieve in their clinical interaction with their patients. Symbolic healing is achieved through three stages: achieving empathic connection, narrative connection and cultural connection with the patient. Unfortunately, a physician of Dr. Voel-Vfamba's orientation would not even go past the first stage. This means that his patients do not achieve symbolic healing even when they are healed of their illnesses. In what mirrors Charon's third stage of the processes involved in the objectification of the patient, the "third year students" in the hospital where Chaba works are always "desperate for signatures" and will get it "at any cost". She called them "Vultures."

Patients are also described in the case note using their ailments as referents. Chaba described a patient as "Noluthando, that stage 4 lady with cervical cancer, who's bed bound and has fistula coming out of everywhere" (p. 58). She also said that one patient is "MIA." This could mean "Medical Information Anywhere" which suggests

that Noluthando is a medical specimen that will interest any medical personnel or institution interested in research because of her medical condition. Marlene Busko (2006) notes that MIA refers to a deadly combination of three medical conditions that have high mortality rate individually – Malnutrition, Inflammation, and Atherosclerosis, a cardiovascular disease. He refers to them as the “deadly trio.” The combination of these diseases raises the risk of mortality of the sufferer at a level greater than what it could be for the individual ailments. This is definitely a patient that physicians will want to maintain a mental distance from because of the terminal nature of her ailment. After some interaction with Nyasha, Chaba started feeling the need to be more empathic as a physician. Nyasha, the only physician-doctor in the text is Matlwa’s symbolic representation of the power of art to help make physicians more empathic.

Nawal el Sadaawi, the Egyptian physician-writer, believes that it is in the powers of art to develop the “sensibility” of man. She also opines that art helps man to understand the “other” and feel their “pains”. So, she decries this disregard for the humanity of the patient, vehemently, thus:

How can I deal with patients if I treat them as a case or number, not as human beings? That’s one of the lacking elements in medical education. They are never taught that the patient is a whole human being. Just as a spleen, or a liver, or a case with something. I think the creative arts bring this human, this holistic look to the human being. So, that’s why medical students should be artists. (Interview with Nawal el Sadaawi, 1995, p. 71)

So, the arts become a tool to train the physician to humanise his patient and Sadaawi advice to physicians, “if you love medicine, go, but have some art with you” (p.71) underscores the importance of art in this regard.

The analysis of the text also reveals that there are other referents employed by physicians to describe their patients especially in their oral interaction. When Chaba was ruminating on the justifications for the way patients are treated by physicians, she notes that physicians usually blame their dead patients for causing their own demise by coming “late to the hospital”, being “irresponsible.” This re-echoes Charon submission. Coming late to the hospital may be pardonable as an excuse but to refer to the patients as irresponsible is derogatory and unprofessional. Chaba also refers to patients in the ward as “a sea of dying arms and mangled bodies.” The word “mangled” is used to refer to something that is destroyed, severely damaged either by tearing or by crushing. Psychologically, referents like this will only put the physician in a position where he already concluded that the patient is just a living dead. This will unconsciously affect the way he treats the patient who he has already accepted as a thing, as dead-on-arrival. Chaba regrets that she didn’t protect “cardiac failure in bed A3” from Dr. Voel-Vfamba, the third year students who are with their log books and desperate to get “signatures at

any cost”, the “registrars who sought nothing else but to clear the ward so they could study for their exams, and consultants who already have titles for their papers on the patients – *‘a rare case of drug-induced cardiomyopathy in an elderly black female’*” (p. 32). With this, Matlwa already represented every strata of medical personnel in the above – medical students, physicians in further training, represented by the registrars in the hospital and even consultants who are in the uppermost rung of the professional organogram of physicians. Chaba has shown that whether the illness results in life or death, these personnel have something personal they stand to benefit from the situation of the patient. This also contributes to the observed thingification of patients.

Chaba brought a universal dimension into the discourse by noting the thingification of patients, especially blacks, by white physicians in the hospital. In her words, patients “are just ragdolls for them to perfect their clinical skills.” The choice of the lexical item “ragdolls” highlights the dehumanization of the patient in their comparison to not just dolls but dolls made from rags. The word “rag” itself connotes uselessness and only good for the waste bin. The term “ragdoll” itself is metaphoric of a case of double jeopardy as revealed in the compound nature of its word formation process. It also heightens the degree of the depersonalisation of the patients. The destruction of lives and property which characterised the xenophobic attacks that occurred in the text led to an increase in the number of patients in the hospital and more work for all the medical personnel in the hospital. The nature of treatment given to patients, both in terms of social relationship and medical attention, is also fraught with lots of depersonalising expressions and lexia. The patients were derogatorily called “kwere kwere” (p. 38) which is the South African word for a foreigner or visitor to a place. These foreigners were no longer welcomed in South Africa and were attacked, maimed and killed by South Africans for staying in their country. The society became a death trap for all foreigners, especially blacks. Those who survived the attacks were rushed to the hospital for treatment but unfortunately, they were also mocked and maltreated by medical personnel in the hospital. Nyasha, the Zimbabwean, is the only exception as she tried her best to cater for these patients. Chaba too raises a lot of questions about this maltreatment both in the society and at the hospital.

How were the medical personnel able to maltreat the patients thus? The choice of the word “kwere kwere” did the magic. The word has a meaning in the context of antagonistic human relationship within which it was used that goes deeper than just “foreigners.” It already paints the foreigners as fetish, thieves, greedy destroyers of one’s future, and vermins (p. 38) and so they have to be done away with. With this at the back of their minds, it is easy to treat them inhumanly. The word “treat” is used to mean both the psychosocial human relational pattern and the therapeutic process the “kwere kwere” are put through. Chaba puts the nature of this treatment in perspective:

I hate the obstetrics and Gynaecology staff...the nursing sisters there are mean and cruel, especially to the foreign patients. They call them dirt.

They shout at them for coming in the middle of the night without antenatal books. They ask them why they fill up *our* wards. They look at the scabs on their legs and smack their lips and remark, ‘You see this one? You can tell she jumped the border only just yesterday.’ They scrunch up their noses when they examine them. They laugh at their names. They speak to them in Sesotho, isiXhosa, isiZulu, even though they know they can’t understand. (*Period Pain*, p. 48) (emphasis mine)

The use of the word “our” in relation to the ward is significant for meaning. The South African medical personnel have created a mental gap between them and the foreign patients; it also revealed that they have *othered* fellow Africans in their psyche; they have turned them to the *other* just like the way a coloniser regards the colonised. Just like the word “kaffir” was used to refer to blacks and heightens their thingness during the apartheid regime, “kwere kweres” does the same to other Africans in South Africa. The word “our” becomes a verbal representation of this psychological othering process. They have created a “we” versus “them” paradigm within which the humanity or otherwise of foreign patients are determined. Since the answer can only be negative within the context of the xenophobic attacks or segregationist agenda underlying the clinical encounter, the foreign patients were treated as being less of a human. It will not be surprising then that patients subjected to such inhuman and depersonalising treatment cannot achieve any result-oriented or the Coulehan symbolic healing because the psychosocial atmosphere of the hospital and interaction with the supposed medical practitioners in whom they sought medical solace is even as antagonistic as the very ones that caused them to become patients in the first instance. Without saying it, they have lost faith in the kind of healing they could give them. Some very sensitive or paranoid patients may even choose not to take the prescribed drugs for fear of being murdered in the name of wrong prescription which they fear may even be done intentional.

The psychosocial impact of thingification on the patient, both in terms of the quality of healthcare they get and their overall psychic balance has been discussed. However, another equally destructive angle to the whole process is the impact on the physicians themselves. The most prominent result of this depersonalisation process on the physician is portrayed through Chaba. Right from the very first clinical interaction she has as a qualified medical practitioner, she started interrogating the inadequacies of her education, formally and informally through the processes of professional mentorship gotten from physicians like Professor Siyatula and Dr. Voel-Vfamba. She lamented, “Prof. Siyatula did not warn us about any of this...didn’t warn us about the helplessness, the fear, the contempt that awaited us” (p.30). She feels medicine just assumed that doctors should be able to handle everything. What medicine did not “warn” them about are humanistic values that underlie their clinical practice. These have been “de-emphasised” for the sake of scientific values thereby making them half-prepared for their job. Chaba also identified the inadequate medical infrastructure in the

healthcare process as one of the reasons why there is a lot of pressure on the average African physician and this, in turn, hinders the formation of meaningful bond or empathic connection between physicians and their patients. The most prominent impact of this on physicians and other medical personnel is that in depersonalising the patient, they also lose some of theirs too. The damning realities of medical practice and other personal issues like Tshiamo her brother's suicide took its toll on Chaba's mental balance. She was doing fine before she started practising, even with Tshiamo's suicide but the way patients are treated and the non-chalance with which her superiors handled the death of "Bed A3" – a death she believes was caused by them – and several others bothered her green professional mind. She could not imagine how they are able to carry on after such fatal encounters without any feeling of guilt. For her, the guilt was so much that she concluded that they are "murderers, all of us, murderers" (p. 32). And she captures her mental state thus:

I want to cry, but it takes too much, too much energy. I want to run away to escape, but to where? Escaping requires planning, thinking, organising. I feel like I am drowning in myself. Is that possible? To drown in the blood coursing through your own veins? I feel like the air in my lungs is choking me. Like there is a small me inside the big me that is sinking, struggling. Somewhere deep inside of me there is a thing in need of saving. Something in there is in trouble. It is screaming, it is gasping, it is dying. (Period Pain, pp. 32-33)

She was already experiencing mental torture which is forcing her to query the level of their professionalism as physicians and healthcare givers. In a bid to redress the injustices of the xenophobic attacks, she started advocating against it and gained publicity quickly. In the words of Dr. Phakama, she was "correctively raped" for her efforts. This made her a patient and allowed her to experience, first hand, the pains of the patients from a patient's perspective. She did not like it. She was not happy that even as a physician in the same hospital, nobody noticed that she was raped and not feeling well the following morning after the rape incident. The reason for this is not far-fetched. To her fellow South Africans, she has been regarded as an outcast for daring to publicly condemn the xenophobic attacks and defend the "kwere kwere." This has earned her the status of a "kwere kwere" and made it easy for the medical personnel that attended to her to achieve a mental distance from her and depersonalised her. They even asked her to thank her star that she was not "necklaced." Mark Oliver (2018) explained that "necklacing" is an act of putting a car tire around the victim's neck and torching the person. Some mobs go to the extent of amputating the victim before setting the fire. Necklacing was a weapon deployed by South Africans against fellow South Africans who they felt betrayed the struggle during the anti-apartheid regime. The term "Necklacing" was used to help the reader understand the degree of the othering that Chaba was subjected to before and after the rape. She even thinks that those who raped her are also workers in the hospital where she works.

At the height of all these, Chaba concluded that the medical system had failed her because they were not trained to care for themselves only for others. She eventually became mentally imbalanced and psychotic. In this condition, she still experienced physician's insensitivity to the real yearnings of their patients through her psychologist, Dr. Phakama who never bothered to listen to her but only kept churning out technicalities. Chaba wondered where she must have downloaded what she was telling her. The silver lining in the healthcare delivery system with regards to the development or presence of truly empathic medical personnel in *Period Pain* is in the persons of Dr. Nyasha, the only physician-writer in the text and Dr. Haffeejee, the physician that attended to Chaba after it was discovered that she got pregnant from the rape. Chaba describes him as "an angel sent from God" because of the way he listened to her before "taking a history" (p. 147). She truly connected with him unlike Dr. Phakama. Matlwa intentionally raised these two physicians as yardstick for measuring who and what a true physician should be and the qualities they should possess. A general impact of this is that the whole healthcare system witnesses many infractions and not symbolic healing of patients. The system is also affected by brain drain as we see the good ones leaving. Owing to the xenophobic attacks, Nyasha eventually left South Africa for Canada.

Conclusion

Language is the means through which humans interact in every facet of life they find themselves. One of the most important places where people meet is the hospital because it is one where healing is sought as men try to come back to sound health in a bid to be able to face other aspects of life meaningfully. The importance of the hospital is captured in the saying, "health is wealth." Language has the power to cause men to act or react in specific ways. These may be intended by the speaker or unintended but made to happen as a result of the lexical choice of the speaker. This can be done in formal or informal, written or spoken mode. Physicians interact with their colleagues about the medical condition, prognosis and therapy of their patient in both ways. The most formal way of doing this is through the case note they write on each of their patients. This document contains the trajectory of the illness, past and present. Ratzan (1992) argues that a physician's oral presentation of patient's condition to other physicians in formal and informal situations also qualifies as case notes. Using Ratzan's argument, this study examines physicians' case notes in Kopano Matlwa's *Period Pain*. There is the use of derogatory lexicon that metaphorically represents patients as "dirt", "irresponsible", "ragdolls", "raggadi juice", "kwere kwere" etc. Physicians also dehumanises patients through their choice of referents. Patients are described by the ward or bed number and the type of ailment(s) they suffer – "Bed A3", "cardiac failure in bed A3", "drug-induced cardiomyopathy." They are also likened to other socially derogatory objects. These referents deprive the patients of their humanity in the physician's psyche, albeit unconsciously (Munroe et al. 1992; Charon, 1992, 2006) and inhibits symbolic which Coulehan argues is the true healing which everybody within a healthcare system should strive to achieve.

Physicians are also impacted by their conscious or unconscious thingification of the patient. Though not very obviously, they too are mentally charred by the experience and gradually lose some of their own humanity in the process. The overall impact may not be very overt on them but will be revealed over time in the quality of healthcare they give to their patients. It will also come to the fore when the voice of the patient is significant in judging the healthcare structure just like Chaba's voice was in judging fellow physicians as a physician and in judging Dr. Phakama and Dr. Haffejee as a patient. Physicians will need to intentionally employ lexia and expressions that help their unconscious to keep the humanity of the patient in mind because even in their perceived ignorance about the technical aspects of the illness, they are still the expert in the way their bodies perceive the illness which the physician needs to correctly diagnose and offer therapeutic interventions.

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IFRS and Audit Committee Mechanisms Impact on Audit Quality of Listed Firms in Nigeria

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Abstract

This research investigates IFRS interaction with audit committee mechanisms on audit quality of listed firms in Nigeria. Data were collected from listed firms in Nigeria. Audit committee independence and audit committee meeting were interacted with IFRS audit quality, factoring in instrumental variables in the construct. The findings indicate that audit committee independence and audit committee meeting were significant and negative on audit quality since IFRS adoption in Nigeria. The study suggests that future researchers should examine the effect of audit committee religion, spirituality, ethnicity, nationality and attitude to risks under IFRS adoption on how they translate to audit quality of listed firms on a country specific basis and cross-country level using other estimation methods.

Keywords: IFRS Adoption, Audit Committee Independence, Audit Committee Meeting, Audit committee Gender Diversity, Audit Quality.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Since emergence of the international financial reporting standard (IFRSs) by the international accounting standard board (IASB), firms in over one hundred and fifty (150) developed and developing countries have embraced it for the purpose of reporting earnings in a uniform manner. The international financial reporting standards were

published in 2001 with the aim of providing a single set of high quality and uniform accounting standards among firms globally. For firms in Nigeria, adoption of IFRS was from the year 2013 upward. Wu and Zhang (2009) state that the adoption of IFRS particularly in the emerging markets affects the role of accounting conservatism in firms, enables auditors to thoroughly assess the quality of the financial reports before issuing unqualified audit opinion regarding the true and fair view of the concerned firm state of affairs.

Chand and White (2007), posit that reporting in the same regulatory framework across different jurisdictions and continents improves transparency, enables accounting results to be more informative for valuation purposes and enhancement of investment decision making by investors. The end point of IFRS adoption and implementation is to influence financial reporting and audit quality in firms. The audit committee is a vital component of corporate governance which oversees the financial reporting process in firm (SOX, 2002; DeZoort & Hermanson, 2002). It is as an integral part of corporate governance mechanism which assist in the coordination of board directors, the internal auditors, and the statutory auditors to achieve quality financial report and audit in a company. Hence, Majiyebo, Okpanachi and Nyor (2018) point out that audit committee is the fundamental to quality financial reporting and audit in firms in the light of incessant corporate collapse. Firms which frequently engage financial experts on their audit committee tend to report higher quality earnings than those which do not (Fela et al. 2003; Bedard et al. 2004; Abbot, Parker and Peter, 2003; Krishnan, 2005; Dhaliwal et al. 2006).

Majiyebo et al. (2018), Magrath and Weld (2002), Rezaee (2005), Al-Absy, Ismail and Chandren (2018) further stress that the corporate collapse like Enron WorldCom and Arthur Anderson after the external auditor report was hinged on the lack of formidable audit committee in the firms. Prior to the demise of the multinational firms, incidence of

earnings manipulation and smoothing by the board directors and managers was rife in addition to the existence of ineffective audit committee (Hasnan, Abdul-Rahman & Mahenthiran, 2013; Sulaiman, Danbatta, & Rahman, 2014). Al-Najjar and Clark (2017) add that if audit quality may be at its peak, audit committee mechanisms possess a remarkable capacity to contribute to the environment of legitimacy and public trust in financial statements of firms and the capital markets at large. Miko and Kamardin (2015), note that the role of the audit committee members in reducing manipulation of accounting numbers in firms and in certifying the quality of financial reporting is premised on the depth of their accounting expertise, IFRS knowledge and training from time to time. Thus, audit committee members' versatility in accounting standards is not only a basic impetus for transparent financial reporting but is fundamental in reducing the possibility of managers and board directors engaging in earnings manipulations in firms. The presence of at least one member in the audit committee consisting of independent members with financial and accounting standard expertise is associated with a lower chance of positive discretionary accruals in firms (Bedard, et al. 2004; Carcello et al. 2006, DeFond, Hann & Hu, 2005).

The Securities and Exchange Commission Code of 2011 emphatically stress that for the audit committee to be fully effective, majority of the members must be independent directors with the requisite accounting expertise to discharge the expected duties. Birla Committee (2000) opine that a qualified and independent audit committee with requisite financial and knowledge of accounting standards in a firm goes a long way enhancing the credibility of the financial disclosures and promotion of transparency. This underscores the interplay between audit committee independence and accounting standards at enhancing audit quality. Duchin, Matsusaka and Ozbasc (2010) stress that a relatively high proportion of independent directors in audit committee would enhance the objectivity, reliability and transparency of the financial reporting and disclosures which in turn impacts on audit quality, strengthens the confidence of investors, both

potential and existing investors in capital market. The Sarbanes- Oxley Act of 2002 strongly encouraged that firms with less than 100% independent audit committee members be de-listed (Romano, 2005). This directive has the likelihood of strengthening oversight function, discouraging undue management manipulation and reduces conflicting pressure of powerful groups in firms (Hundal, 2013).

Besides the financial expertise of members of the audit committee, they are expected to demonstrate competence, independence and diligence, which among others include regular holding of meetings to assess issues peculiar to pecuniary and non-pecuniary in nature. Chan, Liu and Sun (2015); Ghafran and O'Sullivan (2017), Lisic, Myers, , Seidel and Zhou (2019) opine that academic researchers now concentrated on the usefulness of audit committee characteristics and how they influence audit quality in the light of IFRS adoption. Specifically, Ghafran and O'Sullivan (2017) state that audit committee strands viz – a – viz audit committee size, independence, meeting frequency and the presence of financial expertise are correlates of quality financial reporting and audit in firms. When audit committee members are independent and hold meetings frequently, it assists them to effectively monitor, report and challenge the unethical activities of managers and external auditors (Gopinath & Allen, 2010). Abbot, et al. (2003); Carcello and Neal (2000, 2003) surmise that the frequency of audit committee meeting is fundamental to reducing firm-specific agency cost variables and influence the thoroughness of external auditors' reports in a firm which is capable of boosting investors' confidence.

Frequency of meeting by members of audit committee is very germane towards overseeing the activities of the board of directors and to see the extent with which the external auditor is objective in the discharge of audit assignment in a firm. Beasley, Carcello and Hermanson (2000) point out that the audit committee meetings have the possibility of reducing fraudulent financial reports. Thiruvadi and Huang (2011) add

that audit committee frequency of meeting implies better financial reporting and good corporate governance outcomes. The frequency of audit committee meeting enables the audit committee to remain informed and knowledgeable about accounting and auditing issues in order to direct internal and external audit resources for addressing the matter in a timely manner (Abbott, et al , 2003). Ruzaidah and Takiah (2004) further add that the frequency of audit committee meeting in a firm assist in better financial reporting and timely release of audited financial statements because they help in monitoring management roles and responsibility.

There has been strong advocacy for female gender inclusivity in corporate board and audit committee of firms in the past decade. This is in view of the positive attendant effect of having women in boards and strategic committees, including audit committee in firms. Majority of women with requisite accounting knowledge are often segregated against in firms by the male counterparts perhaps because of policy bias and sentiments. Never the less, women inclusivity in boards and audit committee have been observed to influence operational process and earnings. Du, Jian and Lai (2017) opine that discretionary accruals is negatively and significantly associated with the presence and ratio of women in audit committee of firms in China. Thus, audit committee gender diversity can be regarded as a veritable factor to promoting negative discretionary accruals in firms. The effect of IFRS moderation with audit committee gender diversity on audit quality has received sparse empirical evidence (Sun et al. 2011; Thiruvadi & Huang, 2011). This informs the need to undertake this research with a view to bridging the research gap in the context of Nigeria.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Empirical Review

The relationship between audit committee independence and audit quality has continued to occupy the front burner in empirical researches in developed and developing countries. The empirical researches on the nexus between audit committee independence and audit quality are inconclusive (e.g, Zaman, Hudaib & Haniffa, 2011; Vafeas & Waageleir, 2007; Mitra, Hossain & Deis, 2007; Bansal & Sharma, 2016). Carcello, Ittlingworth (2006); and Mitra et al. (2007) reported significant negative impact of audit committee independence on audit quality. Krishnan and Visvanathan (2009), and Zaman et al. (2011) reported a positive impact of audit committee independence on audit quality. The inconclusiveness of the relationship between audit committee independence and audit quality may be predicated on perhaps audit quality measure differentials, sample size, sample period and estimation methods.

Bryce, Ali and Mather (2015) examined accounting quality in the pre-/post adoption periods and the impact on audit committee effectiveness of 200 listed firms in Australia. They used both the univariate and multivariate regression methods to analyze the data. The result indicates that accounting quality is not significantly enhanced subsequent to the adoption of IFRS in Australia. The study also showed audit committee was more effective in maintaining accounting quality under IFRS than under previous Australian GAAP. Matta et al. 2011) empirical research showed that audit committee are more effective in minimizing earnings management under IFRS than the prior GAAP in Italy.

The study of Churiri and Januarti (2017) on the effect of audit committee characteristics and integrated reporting using a sample of 58 firms listed on the Johannesburg stock Exchange showed no association exists between independent audit committee members and audit quality and integrated report. Bliss, Muniandy and Majid (2007) argued that having sufficient independent directors on audit committee is associated with higher audit quality. Baotham and Ussahawanitchakit (2009) empirical study result showed that audit committee independence has a positive relationship with audit quality; and

audit quality has a positive correlation with audit credibility. Krishnan (2005) in an empirical investigation reported that independence of audit committee is another key characteristic for effective monitoring of the financial reporting process and audit exercise among listed firms. Independent directors within the audit committee are better at monitoring their insider counter parts (Defond & Francis, 2005).

The gender and independence of a member of the audit committee contributes to effectiveness of operational processes in firms. Stewart and Munro (2007) emphasized that female representatives on audit committees demonstrate superior communication skills and are better prepared for meetings. Also, Thiruvadi and Huang (2011) submits that in comparison to committees that are totally male, a woman's presence makes members more diligent. This has the tendency of reducing weak audit quality (Ittohen, Miettinen & Vahamaa, 2010). Kuang and Chen (2010) state that a feminine presence on the Chinese corporate board is closely correlated with demands for higher quality external auditing.

Xiang and Qin (2015) argued that having women on the audit committee can significantly increase audit the quality of financial reporting and the efficacy of internal control, thus promoting audit quality in Chinese firms just like in every other country company. Sun et al. (2011) empirical study revealed that the representation of women on fully independent audit committee exert significant effect on audit quality. The primacy of IFRS interactive effect with audit committee independence on audit quality remains insufficiently investigated in GCC and other Arab countries including Saudi Arabia. Premised on this gap, this study hypothesis that IFRS adoption has no significant interactive effect with audit committee independence on audit quality of listed non - financial firms in Saudi Arab.

The association between audit committee meeting and audit quality has been attracting the attention of researchers in accounting and auditing literature for some decades. The study of Churiri and Januarti (2017) on the effect of audit committee characteristics and

integrated reporting using a sample of 58 firms listed in the Johannesburg stock Exchange showed that audit committee expertise and frequency of meetings by members of audit committee positively translates to high audit quality and integrated reporting.

Hogue, Rabiulslain and Azam (2013) report that meeting frequency permits the audit committee more effectiveness in overseeing the financial reporting process and internal controls. Regular meeting by audit committee members in firms improves the quality of accounting information and audit (Song & Windram, 2004). In the view of Mangena and Tauringana (2008), audit committee who meet more regularly perform better supervisory roles in financial reporting than those who do not meet regularly. Chariri and Januriti (2017) concluded that frequency of audit committee positively influences audit quality. Besides the fact that frequency of audit committee meeting induces audit quality, the role of audit committee at overseeing the financial reporting cannot be separated from the independence of its members (Al-Najjar, 2012; Hamid, Othman and Rahim, 2015). Carcello and Neal (2003) posit that independence is the cornerstone of audit committee effectiveness.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

The focus of this study to determine how IFRS interacts with ownership structure on audit quality of listed firms in Nigeria. Following this, the ex-post-fact research design is employed. Seventy (70) listed firms were selected using the simple random sampling technique in the period 2014 to 2019. This represents four hundred and twenty (420) firm- annual observation. Descriptive statistics, correlation matrix and general method of moment (SGMM2) were employed to analyze the data after applying diagnostic tests.

$$\begin{aligned}
DA_{it} = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 DA_{it-1} + \beta_2 ACI * IFRSdummy_{it} + \beta_2 Acm * IFRSdummy_{it} + \beta_3 \sum control\ variables_{it} \\
& + \beta_4 \sum audit\ committee\ control\ variables_{it} \\
& + \varepsilon_{it} \dots \dots \dots 1
\end{aligned}$$

AQ_{it} = Audit quality of i company in t period; $IFRSD_{it}$ = level of implementation or adoption with 0 code; for local accounting standards' implementation code 1 for implementing IFRS; $ACI*IFRSdummy$ = interaction of IFRS with audit committee independence; $Acm*IFRSdummy$ = Interaction of IFRS adoption with audit committee meeting; i = Individual company in the sample size; t = Period the study covers; ε = Error term acting as a surrogate in the models; β_0 = Intercept; $\sum Control\ variables_{it}$ = consists of audit firm size AFS, Leverage Lev, and Company size CS of i company in t period and $\sum audit\ committee\ control\ variables_{it}$ = consists of audit committee gender diversity and audit committee size of i firm in t period.

4.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This sub-section concerns the empirical analysis and discussion of the data analyzed. Tables of the data analysis are in appendix 1.

4.1 Diagnostic tests, Descriptive statistics and Correlation Analysis

Table 1 reveals that the mean of the variance inflation factor (VIF) of 1.03 is indicative of absence of multicollinearity among the variables in the study. Table 2 represents summary of the descriptive statistics. Audit committee independence (ACI) mean value is 3.05% with a standard deviation of 15.65 in the sample firms. This underscores the fact that the sampled firms do not maintain corporate governance policy that encourages high independent audit committee membership. This may trigger high risks which encompass low independent monitoring of the executive directors and external auditor over quality earnings management and increase in accruals in the firms.

Frequency of meetings by the audit committee members (ACM) has a mean value of 6.33%. It can be adduced that the audit committee members failed to meet regularly to access perhaps, the decisions by the executive directors regarding earnings management, quality financial reporting and thoroughness of the external auditor commitments at ensuring quality audit report during the audit exercise.

The control variables of audit committee gender diversity (ACGD), that is, women representation in the audit committee of the listed firms revealed a mean value of 0.04%, which can be interpreted as less than 1%. It is an explicit reflection that women are segregated against in terms of appointment and recognition into key positions and strategic committees in financial firms in Nigeria. This low proportion of women in the audit committee could affect them in monitoring activities of the board of directors and other key committee members over earnings management.

Table 3 is suggestive of absence of multicollinearity between mechanisms of audit committee and discretionary accruals excluding audit firm size, leverage and company size control variables as revealed by the mean of the variance inflation factor (VIF). Audit committee independence is weak and negatively associated with discretionary accruals by a coefficient value of ($r = -0.0078$). While audit committee meeting (ACM) is positive and weakly correlated with discretionary accruals ($r = 0.0221$). The control variables, audit committee independence (ACI) and meetings are correlated positively with audit committee gender diversity (ACGD) and negatively with audit committee size (ACZ). This implies the few percentage of frequency of meetings held enabled the audit committee to effectively checkmate earnings manipulations in Nigeria firms. However, the negative association between discretionary accruals, audit committee independence, audit committee gender diversity is suggestive fewer representation of women and low percentage of independent directors in the audit committee in the firms adversely affects their oversight function and ability to act as watch dog on behalf of the shareholders.

Tables 4, 5 and 6 results reveal that the specification tests of AR (2), Hansen and test are economically insignificant and thus valid. An indication that the empirical models were properly specified and fit for interpretation purpose. The diagnostic tests results indicate absence of Heteroscedasticity and serial autocorrelation effects.

Table 4, column (4) shows the coefficient value of lag discretionary accruals (DA) is less than 0.268. The coefficients values of audit committee independence (0.004) and audit committee meeting (0.069) exerted significant positive effects on discretionary accruals. By implication, these audit committee mechanisms though significant, contribute to low audit quality of listed non-financial firms in Nigeria particularly in the absence of IFRS adoption. The findings are consistent with Chariri and Januriti (2017). Overall, the result is suggestive that in the absence of international accounting standards, audit committee mechanisms might not be effective on audit quality in non-listed firms.

Audit committee gender diversity exerted a positive and significant effect on earnings management. Implying that the proportion of females in auditing committees is not active at the monitoring level of earnings manipulations in the firms under the reference period. The size of the firm audit committee was negative and significant on discretionary accruals. The size of the constituted audited committee is a major driver of high audit quality of Nigeria listed firms. While the leverage and company size was favourably signed and significant on discretionary accruals. Audit firm size maintained inverse and significant effect on audit quality. Size of a company and debts determine the capacity to engage a big 4 audit firm in order to have objectivity and independence during audit engagements. The findings are consistent with Hoque et al. (2013); Baotham and Ussahawanitchakit (2009) and Ittohen et al. (2010)

In table 5, the coefficients of IFRS interaction with audit committee independence (IFRSACI) is negative (-0.006) and significant at 99% level on discretionary accruals. This result implies that IFRS interaction with audit committee independence is a driver

of high audit quality of listed firms in Nigeria. While the empirical finding negates Mitra et al (2007), it is in line with Krishnan and Visvanathan (2009).

IFRS interaction with audit committee meeting (IFRSACM) coefficient value is negative (-0.006) and significant at 99% level on discretionary accruals. The implication is that IFRS interaction with audit committee meeting contribute to high audit quality of listed firms. The finding is in tandem with Beasley, Carcello and Hermanson (2000) where they stated that frequency of meetings by audit committee has the possibility of reducing fraudulent financial reports and increasing quality of audit reports.

Table 6 emphasis the robustness check of the panel data estimation. The AR (2) and Hansen results are economically insignificant and hence valid. Interaction of IFRS with audit committee components (ACCOMIFRS) has a significant negative coefficient value (-0.083) in column (2) on discretionary accruals (DA). This portends that audit committee mechanisms interaction with IFRS leads to a negative discretionary accruals and thus enhance audit quality of listed firms in Nigeria. The finding is consistent with Bryce et al. (2015); and Matta et al. 2011).

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study investigated impact of IFRS interaction with audit committee mechanisms on audit quality of firms in Nigeria. The research finding indicates audit committee mechanisms improved audit quality of firms in the period of IFRS adoption than under the Statement of Accounting Standards (SASs) in Nigeria. The study concludes that interaction of IFRS with audit committee mechanisms is a veritable tool to influence high audit quality of listed firms in Nigeria. The research finding has some implications for policy makers. The low percentage of women and independent members in the audit committee of listed firms in Nigeria necessitate the need for the government and policy makers to legislate for certain quota of women and non-executive members with requisite accounting expertise to drive a negative discretionary accruals and high audit

quality. The study suggests that future researchers have to examine the effect of audit committee religion, spirituality, ethnicity, nationality and attitude to risks under IFRS adoption on how they translate to audit quality of listed firms on a country specific basis and cross-country level using other estimation models.

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APPENDIX 1**Table 1: Test for Multicollinearity****VIF**

Variable	VIF	1/VIF
ACM	1.04	0.958827
ACI	1.02	0.984981
ACZ	1.05	0.95538
ACGD	1.01	0.989424
AFS	1.01	0.986351
CS	1.06	0.946364
LEV	1.01	0.993397
Mean VIF	1.03	

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
DA	420	0.54	8.60	-0.01	266.95
ACI	420	3.06	15.66	0.00	100.00
ACM	420	6.33	2.38	0.00	16.00
ACGD	420	0.05	0.21	0.00	1.00
ACZ	420	5.25	1.73	1.00	9.00
AFS	420	0.52	0.50	0.00	1.00
LEV	420	13.72	0.44	-0.04	13.74
CS	420	6.37	0.87	3.55	8.66

Table 3: Audit committee Mechanisms and Audit Quality

	DA	ACI	ACM	ACGD	ACZ	AFS	LEV	CS
1	1							
2	-0.0078	1						
3	0.0221	0.0547	1					

4	-0.0042	0.0249	0.0767*	1				
5	-0.0129	-0.0424	-0.0054	-0.0271	1			
6	0.0281	-0.0622	-0.0458	0.0251	0.0169	1		
7	-0.9856*	0.0048	-0.0223	0.0073	0.023	-0.0307	1	
8	-0.0754*	-0.0426	-0.1050*	-0.0165	0.1577*	0.0858*	0.0599	1

Note * represents 5% level of significance

Table 4: Digenetic test and direct effect of audit committee mechanisms and audit quality

	(4) DGMM1	(5) DGMM2	(6) SGMM1	(7) SGMM2
L.DA	0.271 [0.39]	0.130*** [0.03]	0.306 [0.30]	0.289*** [0.02]
ACI_P	-0.003 [0.01]	-0.002 [0.00]	0.004 [0.01]	0.004*** [0.00]
ACM	0.206** [0.11]	0.052* [0.03]	0.078 [0.06]	0.069*** [0.00]
ACGD	-0.158 [1.36]	0.297 [0.38]	0.631 [0.62]	0.768*** [0.07]
ACZ	-0.565** [0.28]	-0.137* [0.08]	-0.102 [0.13]	-0.075*** [0.01]
AFS	-0.145 [0.37]	-0.012 [0.06]	0.215 [0.22]	0.175*** [0.02]
LEV	-15.916*** [1.37]	-18.549*** [3.00]	-17.435*** [0.82]	-18.968*** [1.75]
CS	-1.729* [0.96]	-0.854*** [0.21]	-0.686* [0.36]	-0.608*** [0.04]
CONSTANT			243.994*** [11.13]	264.455*** [24.07]
Observations	660	660	825	420
No. of instruments	50	50	81	18
No. of groups	165	165	165	70
Arellano-Bond: AR(1)	0.252	0.133	0.126	0.071
Arellano-Bond: AR(2)	0.843	0.221	0.691	0.201
Hansen test (p-val)		1.000		0.194

Table 5: IFRS Interaction with Audit Committee Mechanisms on Audit Quality

	(1) aci	(2) Acm
L.DA	0.431** [0.17]	0.208*** [0.02]
ACGD	0.584* [0.33]	0.618** [0.29]
ACZ	-0.069** [0.03]	0.090*** [0.01]
AFS	0.196***	-0.026

LEV	[0.05] -19.406***	[0.02] -19.368***
CS	[1.39] -0.524***	[0.01] -0.129***
ACI	[0.11] 0.005***	[0.03]
IFRSACI	[0.00] -0.006***	
ACM	[0.00]	0.023
IFRSACM		[0.01] -0.006**
Constant	270.263*** [19.03]	[0.00] 266.409*** [0.17]
Observations	825	420
No. of instruments	54	25
No. of groups	165	70
Arellano-Bond: AR(1)	0.014	0.049
Arellano-Bond: AR(2)	0.279	0.152
Hansen test (p-val)	0.972	0.786

The table represents the variables in the construct. DA, discretionary accruals; ACI represents audit committee independence; IFRSACI represents IFRS adoption's interaction with audit committee independence; ACM represents audit committee meetings; IFRSACM represents IFRS adoption's interaction with audit committee meetings. ACGD represents audit committee gender diversity; ACS represents audit committee size; AFS represents audit firm size; LEV represents leverage while CS represents company size. Standard errors in brackets * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ represent 10%, 5%, and 1% significance levels, respectively.

Table 6: Interaction of IFRS adoption with Audit Committee Composition on audit quality

	ACM
L.DA	0.142** [0.07]
ACCOM	0.045*** [0.00]
ACCOMIFRS	-0.083*** [0.00]
ACGD	0.486** [0.22]

ACZ	-0.115*** [0.01]
AFS	0.268*** [0.02]
LEV	-18.735*** [1.58]
CS	-0.887*** [0.06]
Constant	263.853*** [21.64]
Observations	420
No. of instruments	70
No. of groups	29
Arellano-Bond: AR(1)	0.484
Arellano-Bond: AR(2)	0.280
Hansen test (p-val)	0.086
Standard errors in brackets	
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$	

CORRUPTION, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria is seen by many as corrupt. While some see corruption as endemic, others believe that it is popular way of life due to its pervasive nature. As a pressing issue in Nigeria, corruption negatively impacts the nation's economic, political and socio-political fabric, derailing public morality to the detriment of needed development. Several studies have established negative relationship between corruption, governance and development in Nigeria. This is because corruption stifles leadership efficacy and dwarfs trust in government due to growing gulf between government and the people amidst failure to measure up with good governance, corruption, still exist in varied shape and dimension. From oil related corruption to that of administrative and political corruption, Nigeria remains entrenched in the bottomless pit of graft that cripples good governance and corrupts the developmental process. The study using triangulation of method to generate data and thematically explore and analyse issues, examines nexus between corruption, leadership and development in Nigeria. It found out that endemic corruption, denigrates leadership which in turn, undermines the development process. In conclusion, the paper recommends institutional overhaul to tame corruption and birth development in Nigeria.

Key Words: Nigeria, Corruption, Development, Leadership, Elite-Class.

Introduction

The issue of corruption and its discourse is fast becoming a central theme in both academic and public debates globally. This is however a typical issue in developing countries because of the pervasive and endemic nature of corruption in modern times. Although the concept of corruption has a more precise definition, it has often been safely seen as loosely translating to '*dishonesty in the management of public affairs with the sole intent of securing private gains*'. While this does not solve the problem one is bound to face in an attempt to pin down corruption for apt and exact analysis because

of its slippery/fluid nature, it however gives a clue about the popular view that the concept/word corruption, entails wilful abuse of both power, authority, position and most importantly, trust. It has come to be associated with somewhat eclectic issue of moral forthrightness in the management of group affairs with those sober enough to refrain from abuse of privilege and position of trust, seen as morally upright, (Idoko et al, 2015).

The World Bank (2001) for example, saw corruption as the *“abuse of power for private benefit which thrives when economic policies are poorly designed”* while Ayobami (2011) conceived same as *“a dishonest behaviour exhibited especially by people in authority for personal gains”*. Whatever the prism one chooses to look at it from, one can say that corruption embraces the whole gamut of *‘uncharitable attitudes and behavioral patterns that not only erode public trust and morality, but pave way for private enrichment to the detriment of public interest and cohesion needed to thrive an inclusive social space, governance and undermine development’*. It thus safe, to say that corruption which encompasses any act deliberately undertaken with the intent of achieving private gains at the expense of public or group interest, corrode public morality because it amplifies illegality that stifles effective leadership in the public space, emasculates productivity and undermine national development.

Opinion may differ on what corruption aptly entails but its impact remains unmissable. As a pressing issue globally, corruption which manifest in varied forms, remain anathema of acceptable rules of engagement and as such, erodes public trust and disrupt peaceful atmosphere for sustainable development. As a pressing issue in Nigeria, impact of corruption has bared its fang on the nation’s economic, political and socio-political fabric, derailing public morality to the detriment of needed development; PricewaterhouseCoopers Limited, (2016). The report indicated unpardonable impact of corruption on the nation’s institutions and structures, sapping same of needed strength to drive both purposeful governance and feasible developmental strides to birth conducive atmosphere for socio-economic development. Other scholars in their separate but related studies, established the nexus between corruption and underdevelopment in Nigeria; (Page, 2018; Idris & Salisu, 2016, Idoko et al, 2015, Dike, 2005). None of these studies minced words in establishing the negative relationship between corruption, governance and development in Nigeria.

The paper is divided into three main sections. The first section focused on conceptual and theoretical clarification by looking at corruption, governance and development in the Nigerian context. The second section, focused on the import of corruption on governance and developmental process in Nigeria while the third, concludes the paper with recommendations that equally serve as a call for action on how to curtail the menace of corruption in Nigeria to birth development.

Conceptual and Theoretical Clarification

The relationship between corruption, governance and development, has attracted wide scholarly and academic attention in recent times. Scholars of differing background; economics, political science, sociology and development studies, have tried to establish the nexus between corruption, governance and development. Most of these studies, established a negative relationship between the trio, establishing that the impact of corruption, stifles robust governance and dwarf developmental efforts. World Bank reports in (2001) and (2010) respectively, observed that ‘corruption has a negative impact on economic performance, employment opportunities, poverty reduction, and access to public health and police services’. This, the Bank noted, induces poverty because the poor are denied access to the basic needs for survival and opportunity is privatized by those entrusted with public authority. Hardoon, & Heinrich (2013) equally noted the impact of corruption on governance and development by extension. While the situation can be said to reflect the Nigerian state, situation at the state levels are either similar or worse in both depth and intensity. This section in dealing with key concepts tangential to this study, explore them in the Nigerian context before narrowing the discourse to that of the states that the study focuses on. The next sub-section, examines corruption in Nigeria.

Corruption

As a concept, corruption is a universal phenomenon but has outlook and manifestation that is often peculiar and in differing dimension from one society to another local manifestation. This is because globally, dishonest behaviour acts or inactively done solely to gain private favour at the expense of public interest can be seen manifest albeit, uniquely. It’s therefore safe to say that corruption manifests in different ways and in different sectors in any society. That again, explains why corruption has been defined in several ways and qualified with differing adjectives. The act itself, has come to be loosely related to break of trust or abuse of vantage position to scurry either ‘economic’, ‘political’, ‘financial’, ‘administrative’, ‘bureaucratic’ ‘moral or ethical’ favours/gains. To this end, some see corruption as abuse of moral principles to gain narrowly defined objectives to detriment of mutually benefiting general goals. Whether petty or grand corruption, it has come to represent deliberate subversion of rule in pursuit of personal gains, ActionAid (2015). Corruption simply refers to as dishonest and illegal activity by those in authority or power, (Idoko et al, 2015). It entails ‘the violation of established rules and regulation for personal gain and profit’ and also can be seen as ‘willful misrepresentation of facts and figures with intent to illegally appropriate for selfish gain’.

Seen as a social ill that entails deviation from popular norms and assigned and often formal duties because of private gains. According to Page (2018:3), corruption or corrupt acts, manifest in varied shades that includes massive contract fraud, petty

bribery; outright embezzlement of public funds and complicated money laundering schemes. Others according nepotism and administrative corruption with payroll fraud which Toakodi & Assi (2016) as key issue which they noted, involves pocketing the salaries of non-existent workers. Aluko (2003:5) consequently described corruption broadly as:

Myrdal (1986) observed that irrespective of the shade we elect to see corruption, it entails willful violation of societal legal, moral laws and principles by either an individual or group in pursuance of narrowly defined interest. It broadly entails ‘the process of involving oneself in act of embezzlement, conflict of Interests such as the award of contracts by public office holders to cronies and personally held companies, bribery, fraud. Others include political corruption like nepotism or favoritism, ethnicity, rigging of elections, misappropriation and conversion of public funds for personal gains as well as bureaucratic corruption, extortion, manipulation of procurement processes by over-inflation of contracts, leaking tender information to friends and relations to mention but a few”.

Corruption has been associated with inherent ability to inhibit development and endanger political stability in societies such as Nigeria where it is arguably rife. “Corruption appears to be the single greatest obstacle preventing Nigeria from achieving its enormous potentials judging from existential realities. It drains billions of dollars’ year-in, year-out from the country’s economy, stymies development, and weakens the social contract between the government and its people.” (Page, 2018). That explains why scholarly and academic works focuses on the issue of corruption in Nigeria.

The Corruption Discourse

If there is one concept that attracts wide interpretations in the social sciences, it is corruption. Scholars hardly agree on what this concept means. However, for the sake of this study, we will see corruption as *‘illicit deals, actions or inactions taken by an individual or group, with the sole intention of enriching self/selves at the expense of both the people and the good they represent’*. It directly negates conventional practices capable of bringing about good of the people. That explains why as earlier observed, many people link rent-seeking to corruption because of the self-seeking nature of context of *‘rentierism’*.

Slippery as the concept appears, coining a definition for it has been a difficult task because as noted above, scholars lack consensual agreement on what corruption is. This again, drives from the multiplicity of activities and behavioural tendencies that constitutes a corrupt act. An attempt to pin down the concept was made by Owohunwa (2007) who traced the concept to the Latin word, *“corrupt”* which means *“to destroy”*.

If this is anything to go by, it means literally, that corruption amplifies decay or that capable of polluting a society and denying it desired good that can either be development or social cohesion. Based on the above, one can then understand why Thorndike-Barnhart dictionary see corruption as *“the act of making, or the process of becoming evil or wicked. It is synonymous with rot, and decay”* while Chuta (2004) saw it as *“putrefaction, tainting of purity or falling away from standard of integrity or rectitude defined by law, upheld by social norms or conscience or recognized by general conscience of mankind”*. Implicit in both views, is the undeniable fact that corruption, obviates accepted societal practice. This is in tandem with Azenabor (2007) who saw corruption as *“an immoral or dishonest action or way of offering and accepting bribes (in cash or kinds) or using the power of one’s office or position for personal enrichment”*. What we can deduct from the forgoing, is that it implies that corruption taints an ideal society and pollutes its structure.

According to Odekunle (1986), corruption exists in every country of the world, developed or developing. He equally noted that it varies in nature, magnitude, consequences and extent to which it is or can be managed. Seen as apparently manifest in many societies, corruption entails the misuse of public resources by public officials for private gain. In this sense, Huntington (1968:55-71) sees corruption as *“behaviour that deviates from accepted norms in order to serve private ends.”* while Atlas (1990) sees it as *“the abuse of trust for the sake of private benefits”*.

While these captured what can reasonably be said to constitute corruption, they however failed to say what makes up private gains and what public interest entails. One other salient flaw of the above definitions, is the insinuation; unintended perhaps, that corruption is the exclusive preserve of those in the public domain. What happens to individuals and those in private domain? Can we say abuse of set official rules or deviation from established codes, a monopoly of public officials? There is need therefore, to balance the argument because corruption and what it takes to be corrupt, respects neither person nor tribe or where he/she works.

Though what is regarded as corruption is contestable, we can however, for the purpose of this study, operationalize it to mean to mean ‘acts of illegality that violates established codes to serve interest of few rather than the generality of the people’. Illegality as the key word can again, be further clarified. In one breathe, illegality can safely be seen as an act of willful violation of established rules solely to satiate selfish interest while in another sense; it can be seen as compromise of private virtue needed to judiciously discharge public responsibilities. Taking illegality as the measuring stick of what constitutes corruption; attention can and should then, shift to the examination of the extent to which corruption obviates attainment of public good.

Public good is bound to remain elusive when acts of corruption which Toyo (2006) noted to include outright fraud, embezzlement, falsification, perversion designed to gain some benefits for self or favourites, bribery and nepotism, is rife. This leads to emergence of both materialistic and non-materialistic corruption, Nwabuzor (2003). He further noted that both can either be organized or chaotic corruption. By materialistic corruption, Nwabuzor meant “*unjust and fraudulent enjoyment of material benefits due to excessive hedonistic pursuit*” while non-materialistic corruption he opines, focuses on gratification with non-material benefits due to moral depravity. Both forms of corruption can manifest in everyday public life with inevitable social consequences that undermines functionality of the state and the developmental effort. While there appears to be a slim line of difference between the material and non-material corruption espoused by Nwabuzor, it is important we note that one accentuates the other. It takes the initiative (non-material) for development of the real corruptive acts with proofs (*material corruption*). Attempt to separate the intention and initiative to engage in corruption from the accruable benefit from that initiative, leaves the concept embellished in unintended clarification crisis.

Whether we elect to see corruption as organized and chaotic corruption, it doesn't retract the fact that it amplifies moral decays in pursuit of narrowly defined goals. Though Cynado and Ezeogidi (2013) accepted the bifurcation of corruption when they observed that “*organized corruption represents the high-level corruption while the chaotic corruption represents the low-level corruption*”, it doesn't quite denounce the effect of the act and how that distorts governance and developmental processes. The corruption discourse must therefore, be broaden to capture salient; albeit, neglected issues that should drive the debate. There must be renewed focus on core drivers of corruption, its impact on both governance and developmental process as well as issues making the corruption fight futile irrespective of seeming commitment by government around the world.

Nature & Types of Corruption:

The word corruption can safely be operationalized to mean ‘erosion of values, standards and ethical norms’ in pursuit of personal gains/narrow interests. The act may have universal coloration, but the depth and dimension which is usually peculiar to societies, differs too. That explains why the study identified both individual and group corruption as well as petty and mega corruption. Idoko et al (2015:67), also noted shades of corruption in any political system. Heidenheimer (2002:153) distinguished between ‘white’, ‘grey’ and ‘black’ corruption. He noted that majority of the population condemns ‘*black corruption*’ and advocates punishment while observing that there is ambiguity about punishment when it comes to ‘*Grey corruption*’ and in the case of *white corruption*, people would ‘not vigorously push for punishment option since that type of corruption is regarded as tolerable’. This position is arguably contested as it

conflicts with Kurer (2015) position when he noted that Corruption always involves a failure to conform to some standards as well as Transparency International position that sees corruption as ‘the misuse’ (2012a) or ‘abuse of entrusted power for private gain’ (2012b). whether black, grey or white corruption, it ends in violation of expected norms and accruals of benefits by those trusted with position of authority, private or public. The various shades of corruption manifest within a context and situations that are bound to vary.

Individual Corruption

This happens when there is breach of trust and rules of engagement by an individual solely to achieve private gains at the expense of the people and/or institution. This is the most common type of corruption which manifest in giving and taking of bribes, money laundering and outright stealing of public goods by an individual. This arguably seemingly innocuous act, may occur irregularly, but is potent enough to cripple established moral codes and societal norms as well as undermine both institutional frameworks and structures meant to uphold meaningful governance that can birth development.

Systemic Corruption

At this stage, corruption spreads into the fabric of both the society and established institution of governance. This happens when corrupt individuals at the individual corruption level, galvanize themselves into group to literally hijack the institutional frameworks to entrench a perverted system that would always support constant erosion of values. Once this is done, major institutions and processes of the state are routinely dominated and used by corrupt individuals and groups to achieve narrowly defined goals. This leaves the people vulnerable and stymies meaning public engagement that can drive good governance and development, (Morris 2008) because ‘dishonest people are bound to exhibit authority for personal gains’. Ayobami (2011).

Bureaucratic Corruption

This type of corruption according to Idoko et al (2015), entails buying of favour from the bureaucrats or decision makers who formulate and administer public policies. It helps sustain systemic corruption because the public policy formulation and implementation process is hijacked by powerful few with disproportionate advantage over the mass public with limited access to both government and established public institutions, (Bardhan 2006). Those who interface daily with public/private administration and the services they render in the hospitals, schools, local licensing authorities, police, tax authorities, town councils etc., face this odious manifestation of eroded moral codes by those trusted with authority that bureaucratic corruption represents.

Political Corruption

Irrespective of one's ideological posture, political corruption and its evil twin, electoral corruption, is the height of corruption in any politically organized society. It happens at the highest level of any political setting. According to Morris (2008), political corruption occurs when politically exposed individuals saddled with political/public authority to formulate, establish and implement laws in the name of the people they represent, are corrupt themselves. Idoko et al (2015) noted that political corruption occurs when the 'laws and regulations are abused by the rulers, side-stepped, ignored, or even tailored to suit their interests'. Also known as 'grand corruption', political corruption is arguably the highest level of corruption in any society. It is usually perpetuated by corrupt individuals that will always favour institution of corrupt system with compromised bureaucratic system, synchronizing individual, systemic and bureaucratic corruption earlier seen. Immediate effects of political corruption include but not limited to the misallocation of resources, inappropriate decision making process as well as denying the people the right to equitable representation; especially when it dovetails into electoral corruption.

Drivers of Corruption

Attempt to situate drivers or causal factors of corruption, is bound to launch one into the eclectic analytical realm. This is because none can safely explain why an individual or group would opt to be corrupt. Both physical and psychological dimensions exist to explain what drives corruption in any society. Though these factors provide explanatory variables, they in no way represents empirical answer to the big question of why people are corrupt or elect to be involved in corrupt practices. The issue needs deeper exploration to understand why people indulge in violation of established norms for narrow gains. Although Rotimi et al (2013) attempted to provide answer to the question in the *Kpakpin corruption model* they created; it nevertheless, explained what drives corruption in any society. We can however, attempt to explain possible drivers of corruption in any society relying on the following factors.

Greed and Selfishness:

Corruption is a willful and deliberate act aimed at achieving more than what an individual deserves. The twin evil of greed and selfishness, are key drivers of corruption in any society. It takes the greedy and selfish to violate rules of engagement, erode moral rules and trash ethical behavioral pattern with the sole intension of '*privatizing public property*'. Greed and selfishness blinds corrupt individuals and leaders to moral sanctions as their hearts are seared not to see ills associated with unbecoming acts that corruption represents. When this is the case, political leaders become not only greedy and selfish, but act with impunity to the detriment of the people and health of public institutions, (Dike 2005). This singular factor is key to explaining core issues of

corruption. Where contentedness is lacking, greed evolves. Greed is molded into maturity by selfishness because a greedy people are self-conscious, forgetting both the people and associates. While strengthening the quest to continue the ignoble self-love at the expense of the people, the corrupt soul, seeks inordinate material things with no regards to established rules of engagement. This Hardoon and Heinrich (2013) observed, destroys not just trust but the foundation of good governance and development by extension.

Unemployment:

The unemployed could become vulnerable amidst mounting needs. Untamed mind could become exposed to unethical means of meeting such needs; especially those tempted to recourse to illegal means of making money out of desperation. Although Human Right Watch report (2007) linked unemployment with corruption, most people object this as a feasible cause of corruption. To them, unemployment can birth corruption only when there is a breakdown of moral fabrics. This line of argument presupposes that no individual would deliberately elect to be corrupt if he/she plays by simple societal norms that expects moral sanctity. This means that being corrupt, is a deliberate choice and never as a result of either good or bad economic status. Morally upright society; abhors corruption because integrity is primed, seen and accepted as vital yardsticks for social engagement and recognition.

Societal moral decadence:

Irrespective of the society, moral norms or established legal codes, exist to direct affairs of members for the collective benefit of all. In the Africa setting and Nigeria to be specific, age-long moral codes exist that forbade individuals or groups from engaging in acts unbecoming of the societal values. When these established codes of conducts are willfully violated in pursuit of personal gains, it births corruption. This manifest in replacement of merit system with favouritism and nepotism. Favouritism which Mbaya, et.al (2006) sees as unfair, occurs when individuals or groups, are given treatment they don't deserve while those deserving, are denied same. Those powerful enough to tilt the patronage pendulum, abuse power/position to favour friends and kinsmen in most cases.

Another corruption inducing symptom of societal moral decadence includes ostentatious living and ignoble culture of praise singing. Ostentation duly earned is explicable but when the source of people's income is questionable and they engage in luxurious lifestyles, it poses more serious concern to societal moral fabrics. The quest for ostentatious lifestyle by misguided people, has been associated with the hike in corrupt tendency in most societies and Nigeria in particular, (Ajayi, 2006). This is made particularly worse when the people elect to sing praises of individuals with unknown source of wealth. This lures misguided people to seek wealth at the expense of known

moral codes. Manro (1995) noted that politically exposed individuals, are pushed into corruption because of praise singers. Such individuals are given the wrong impression that they are doing well since ‘singing their praises’ albeit wrongly, sends wrong signal that they are doing well. Corruption thrives under this kind of compromised moral atmosphere.

Weak Government and Institutions:

With the emergence of modern government and governance style, laws and institutions are expected to be firm enough to deter willful violations of norms. When there are weak institutions and structures, there is bound to be weak government that would be overwhelmed by the onerous task of policing the moral fabric of the society against deliberate violation by individuals for selfish gains. Corruption dominates societies with weak government. This is because the government would be struggling to curtail corruptive tendencies or stop corruption due to absence of strong will, politically and morally; to do so. When this is the case, a culture of impunity reigns which predisposes the society or political society to a ‘free-fall’ down the corruption ladder. Where there is the will to embrace anti-corruption measures, such are subjected to morbid political manipulations as its handlers are reduced to mere ‘political attack dogs’ with opposition party members; as prime targets.

In the Nigerian setting, the various anti-corruption mechanisms, are arguably manipulated by the government to frustrate the battle against official graft and general corruption. Critics complain that President Muhammadu Buhari’s anti-corruption efforts are similarly lopsided, with one senator from his own party asserting that his “government fights corruption within the government with sweet-smelling perfume while it fights corruption against opponents and critics of government with a powerful insecticide.” (Soni, 2018).

Culture of Impunity:

The inevitable consequence of weak government and institutional frameworks and dearth of moral fabrics mentioned earlier, is the culture of impunity. It emboldens few privileged individuals to do what they like since the law is weak enough not to sanction them. This provides cover for individuals to engage in corrupt acts because they possess “undue influence over public institutions, structures, laws, regulations and policies at the expense of the public interest. This is made worse by the fact that they are capable of hijacking and controlling government to the detriment of the general public. In the Nigerian state, there exist individuals that are above the law and as such, do what they like. This in most cases, involves using public resources to meet private needs and abuse of official position to meet narrowly defined goals. They operate with impunity and reckless abandon in breaking rules to scurry individual gains at the expense of the people. Idoko et al (2015) and Toakodi and Assi (2016) were clear when

they noted that individuals that are larger than life, exist to undermine established legal frameworks. That is corruption.

Corruption in Nigeria

Like most countries, corruption exists in the Nigerian state. What can safely be seen as both organized and material corruption, can be seen in the Nigerian state. With unenviable record of one of the most corrupt country in the world, the Nigerian state is seen as corrupt in several respects. Consequently, governance and developmental efforts, are greatly undermined. Available literatures, submitted that corruption is not only endemic in Nigeria; it is also pervasive and appear ingrained in the nation's socio-political system. This has prompted many to believe that 'corruption is a way of life for many as those clothed with authority or some kind of position of trust, operate in *'ethics free zone'*'. According to Nwogu & Ushahemba (2016),

"Corruption in Nigeria has deeply entrenched/ingrained in the national ethics, politics, civil society, public and private sectors and has been deeply permeated by a pervasive and debilitating culture so much that it is best regarded as been institutionalized".

Many believe it is pervasive and endemic. Its impact has been established in various realms, economic, political, social, as well as the gradual erosion of developmental efforts at the central and state levels where the degree of corruption, varies. As aptly Page, (2018:3) noted,

"Corruption in Nigeria appears to be ubiquitous and takes many forms: from massive contract fraud to petty bribery; from straight-up embezzlement to complicated money laundering schemes; from pocketing the salaries of non-existent workers to steering plum jobs to relatives and friends. Some officials enjoy perquisites so excessive that they are widely seen as a form of legalized corruption"

To examine the issue of corruption in Nigeria, this study focused on three critical sectors crucial to the Nigerian public life. These include corruption in oil sector, administrative as well as political corruption in Nigeria.

Corruption in the Oil Sector

Findings from the Nigerian context, reveals that corruption exists in the oil sector. Nigeria operates largely mono-cultural economy that thrives almost on oil revenues. This has left unintended consequence of rent seeking at both the state and individual

levels. Rent-seeking thrives when there is institutional fragility and that encourages corruption. That explains why 70% of the oil wealth in Nigeria between 2003 and 2005 were stolen, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) (quoted in Nodland and Hjeltestad, 2007:7). Besides the outright theft of oil revenue emblematic of corruption in the Nigerian oil sector, other areas where corruption occurs, includes awards of operational licenses and that of oil related contracts. Both will be briefly examined below.

According to Gillies (2009), *award of oil operational licenses*, especially in the upstream sector, is the first area where corrupt practices manifest in the Nigerian oil industry. This is because the process is fraught with twisted standards to satiate narrow interest with a view to achieving private gains. To this end, ‘undeserving beneficiaries of oil wells and related contracts’, are often cronies, political acolytes and individuals with either ethno-religious or political links. Undeserving beneficiaries serve as conduit pipes that ‘oiling’ the arguably lucrative corruption industry in Nigeria. Alabo-George (2012) noted that the whole revenue generation and distribution process in the arguably skewed Nigerian federal system, is beset with corruption. She had noted that ownership of oil wells, is lopsided as *the Northern and Western part of the nation monopolize ownership of oil wells in an unfair and non-transparent manner*”.

Agagu (2013) in a piece argued that flaws associated with the federal structure in Nigeria, reflects in the award of oil related licenses. He identified this as institutional decay which he observed, results in failure of public policy framework and institutional viability. This entrenches corruption which Smith (2008) noted, causes ‘*popular discontent*’ in Nigeria. In the oil bearing states of the Delta, oil induced corruption is rife as politically exposed elites, jostle for oil wealth to the detriment of institution stability and needed development. What this reveals is that corruption as always, stifles administrative capacity to chart development course. That brings the issue of institutional corruption discussed under administrative corruption in the next sub-section.

Administrative Corruption in Nigeria

Nigerian public life outside the core oil industry is also replete with corruption. Public and administrative life of the country at the national, state and local government is arguably rife with corruption. Politically exposed individuals and groups especially those elected or appointed into public; especially political offices, often indulge in corrupt practices by abusing their position to achieve personal goals. This reflects in both outright stealing and embezzling of public funds that could be channeled into mutually beneficial public projects. As Mbah (2007:19) noted, public office holders do things with utter impunity and can afford to steal public funds for personal use to the detriment of all and at the expense of desired development.

Administrative corruption arguably permeates the Nigerian political space. This entails twisted merit and reward system in the civil service as well as political engagement at both the federal and state levels. In Kogi state for example, recruitment, reward and promotion in the civil service is anchored of ethno-religious links while payroll fraud is rife, Miliki (2017) and Toakodi & Assi (2016).

In Bayelsa state for instance, there are reported cases of corruption which varies from official sleaze and political corruption to institutional corruption in the civil service that doesn't only manifest in the recruitment, reward and promotion processes, but outright theft of public funds through what Toakodi & Assi (2016) called '*payroll fraud*'. This entails stealing of funds in an organization via the processing of the organization payroll via Buddy Punching, pay cheque diversion, unauthorized hours and outright use of Ghost employees to get pay they didn't work for. This corrupt and fraudulent act makes it possible for corrupt civil servants acting in consonant with politically exposed individuals or groups, to bloat the wage bill of the state with non-salary items as well as fictitious names which they go behind and collect the proceeds to oil their luxurious lifestyle at the expense of the suffering workers, masses and neglect of development.

Payroll fraud occurs because of the need of select few to secure wealth or power at public expense which, according to Lipset and Lenz (2000) noted, allows for misuse of public power for private use. It happens when a syndicate with singular goal of gaining advantage at public expense, push their inordinate desire to siphon public funds (that could have been used to provide infrastructure) to private accounts. This ignoble act, provides perpetrators leeway to satiate their quest for materialism and meet '*self-created albeit; bogus social demand*' at public expense. As Jaja (2012), blind quest for materialism which can safely be said to be the driving force of corruption and payroll fraud, provides shortcut to affluence, self-glorification and approbation of ill-gotten wealth. This This shade of corruption besides dominating every level of government, helps entrench political corruption which is outright compromise of the political process to the detriment of both the people and envisaged healthy political process expected to deepen democratic process and national development.

Political corruption in Nigeria:

Political corruption happens at the highest echelon of leadership in any politically organized society. Though it has varying shades from one society to another depending on level of maturity and development, it can safely be reduced to '*abuse of political office for personal gains*'. According to Mark & Philp, (2015), corruption in politics occurs where a public official (A), violates the rules and/or norms of office, to the detriment of the interests of the public (B) (or some sub- section thereof) who is the designated beneficiary of that office, to benefit themselves and a third party (C) who

rewards or otherwise incentivizes (A) to gain access to goods or services they would not otherwise obtain.

Acts reflecting political corruption ranges from deliberate manipulation of the political process to favouring either the wrong people or group or imposing weak candidates on the people. This prevents the people from having their say on issues of who will represent them. This prompted Page (2018:7) to note that *“in Nigeria, electoral corruption is not merely a means to an end (that being the perquisites of public office), it is also a lucrative pursuit unto itself”*. Willful manipulation of the political process for a narrowly defined benefits, is usually to weaken the institutions and plant stooges that would frustrate purposeful governance and development by extension. This creates systemic corruption usually manifested in bureaucratic corruption that permits poor service delivery and purposeful dereliction of duties by those saddled with such responsibilities for selfish goals. Systemic corruption according to Ayobami (2011) breeds a culture of corruption and skews the people’s perception of what is right and wrong” while Babalobi (2008), submitted that corruption in the public service is encouraged by weak government institutions, arguably poor pay incentive, lack of openness and transparency.

Corruption involving failure to conform to some standards leaves the political process abused for selfish interest as good governance suffers (Kurer, 2015). This is the situation in Nigeria where corruption is rife (Fabamise, 2017, Idoko, 2016, Page, 2018, Nwabuzor, 2006). In Kogi state for example, “corruption undermines good governance by fueling popular disillusionment with corrupt politicians manipulating the political system to get into power and perpetuate selves in power to the detriment of the people and that of needed institutions and political system”. This is arguably also the case in Bayelsa state where contest for political power, is seen as war because of the lucre from corruption. Who wins political office is seen as the new sheriff in town because of the accruable opportunity to enrich self and abuse vital state institutions while governance and development suffer. Agbiboa & Maiangwa (2012) were clear when they noted that:

“corruption breeds underdevelopment and political instability in the Niger Delta” ...the underdevelopment of the Niger Delta cannot be meaningfully examined in isolation from the general predicament of the Nigerian state as a weak state marked by misspent oil rents and chronic bureaucratic and political corruption”.

This leaves a sour taste on every lip desiring good governance because political corruption vitiates state institutions, compromises the political process and dash development hopes as public officials enrich selves with development funds. This

leaves unpleasant results governance not only suffers but made sterile and debased to make development huge task.

Impacts of Corruption

As ‘the misuse’ or ‘abuse of entrusted power for private gain’ Transparency International (2012a, 2012b), corruption has negative impacts. Scholarly works have established this to include its capability to induce poverty and institutional decay as well as erosion of electoral sanctity. Fabamise (2017) holds that corruption is responsible for “Nigeria’s under-development despite the abundance of human and material resources”. Nwogu & Ushahemba (2016), believes that the longtime reign of corruption that has pervaded the firmament of governance in the country, negatively impacts on economic growth sanctity of our cultural values. This is in addition to breeding political instability that comes with the compromise of vital state institutions for narrowly defined goals (Agbiboa & Maiangwa, 2012). We can therefore identify the following impacts of corruption on the society, economy, governance and the political process within the context of this study.

- (a) Corruption births value erosion which makes it easy and possible for people to break trust and embark on unwholesome acts of selfish aggrandizement and abuse of position of trust to the detriment of systemic growth and group cohesion. (Idoko, 2016, Agbiboa & Maiangwa, 2012).
- (b) Corruption breeds underdevelopment as waste is glorified among corrupt public officials to the detriment of needed development.
- (c) Corruption compromises sanctity of the electoral and political process as quest for political power sears the heart of politically exposed individuals to rules of decent engagement. A manipulated political process, strips the people of the opportunity to make their political choice. This could be a recipe for insecurity in a politically conscious environment.
- (d) Corruption births crisis as disenchanting people could vent their anger on their oppressors. On the other hand, the struggle to outdo one another by the political class, could pitch them against themselves to chatter peace once enjoyed.
- (e) Corruption seeds intractable division as the class structure of ‘haves’ vs *have-nots* emerges with time as the disproportionate distribution of state resources that leave majority below the poverty line becomes obvious.
- (f) Corruption give rise to negative role models especially in societies with debased social values that thrives on praise singing earlier seen as drivers of corruption.
- (g) Corruption saps good governance which stifles development and efficient public service delivery.
- (h) Corruption makes the electoral process violence prone as political actors with the sole aim of enriching selves and abusing public office/position for narrowly

defined interest, do all they can to capture power; not minding public safety or regards for sane rules of public political engagement.

All the aforementioned ultimately vitiates good governance because those trusted with public authority, care less about established rules of engagement that can birth expected development.

Development

Development as a concept lacks conceptual clarity as scholars disagree on the exact meaning. For instance, those with economic background, conclude that development is all about improvement in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Others aligning to evolution theory, believe that development is historically constructed to capture improvement over historical epochs (e.g. Todaro and Smith 2009, and Escobar 1995:5). There are however others such as Sen (1999) who conclude that development mean freedom. We can therefore say development among other things, be viewed as a historical construction, economic progress and/or as holistic improvement.

Modernization scholars hold that development should be seen historically. Escobar (1995:5) for instance, argued that *'development is historically constructed'* in line with modernization arguments. Development seen in this light captures the historical dimension of development. Though this however fails to balance the argument of what development truly entails, as it embraces the North-South narratives reminiscent of Said's (1979) oriental conception which aligns with historical discourse of development. In economic terms, development is adjudged to have happened when there is an economic improvement in a country. For instance, Todaro and Smith (2009:14) argued that development happens when *"the capacity of a national economy, whose initial economic condition has been more or less static for a long time, to generate and sustain an annual increase in its Gross National Income (GNI) at rates of 5% to 7% or more"*. Thirlwall (2003) on the other hand, believes that development should be seen in terms of economic improvement reflected in *"the expansion of entitlements and capabilities, which are not well captured by aggregate measures of output growth"*.

Broadly, development is seen as improvement in an individual, group, society and national life. While the extent to which this happens arguably varies from one nation to another, how such improvement is managed is an issue that attracts scholarly attention. That explains why the United Nation (UN) came up with fourteen (14) Millennium Development Goals (MDG) as measurable benchmark to determine global development and how it can be sustained (Osborn et al, 2015) (see Chapter 6). The essence of the MDGs is arguably to achieve not just global development that appeals to countries' individual development context, but to ensure that sustainable development is achieved.

As a global policy discourse, sustainable development seeks improvement in environmental, economic and social aspects of nations in their quest to improve wellbeing (see Chapter 1) that has trans-generational appeal (Oladeji, 2014). The Organization for Economic Co-operation and development (OECD) (2001) quoted in Ayodeji & Oluwatayo (2016:523), conceived sustainable development as *“the development path along which the maximization of wellbeing of human wellbeing does not compromise perpetual use by future generations”*. This chapter explores how such development has been governed in Nigeria.

Defining development has been complicated by the ideological and disciplinary foundations of development scholars. While some see it as historical construction, Escobar (1995:5), other conceive it as an economic improvement, (e.g. Todaro and Smith, 2009:14) and as holistic improvement (Rist 2010:13). On the hand, there are also those with a broader conception of development. Eghweree (2016:40) sees development as *“embracing the whole gamut of processes that lead to the enhancement of the living standard of any society with a view to making it achieve acceptable minimum standard that is able to sustain life, guarantee equality and freedom needed for the good life”*. In sum, the pursuit and sustenance of development is relevant to all nations irrespective of whether they are classified as developed or less developed.

Development in Nigeria

The slippery nature of the concept of development makes it difficult to say where it exists or not. However, taking the holistic view of development as a basis, one can say that development exist in relative terms in countries around the globe on a continuum from Developed Countries (DCs) to Less Developed Countries (LDCs), term used to describe third world countries. According to Horowitz (1972:17); a third world country *“is non-American, ex-colonial, and thoroughly dedicated to becoming industrialized, whatever the economic costs”* as opposed to a first world country. Third world countries among other things are seen as having low growth rate, high rate of unemployment and largely traditional societies compared to what obtains in modern societies seen in developed countries Kambhampati; (2004:14). To this end, many tend to see Nigeria as one of the LDCs whose developmental strides, appear to show inability to measure up with prevailing global standard. Those with this view, rely on existing realities and what economic indicators reveal. Consequently, attempt would be made to ascertain the place of Nigeria in development terms in this section. Two conceptions of development which includes improved economy and holistic improvement in the life of an individual, group or a nation, will be relied upon.

Taking Sen's (1999) postulation that sees *‘development as freedom’* to begin, we can then see improved living standard which translates to improved health care due to proper sanitation and hygiene, infrastructural facilities, high per capita income and

gross national product in the life of a nation as development. Such improvements, eradicates ‘unfreedom’ sing Sen’s word. While absence of development comes with its own challenges, the best-known method of achieving development from available literatures remains the application of economic principles such as monetary policies to drive the development process. Applying economic principles help drive the growth and development process. Economic growth according to Lipsey (1986), is “*the positive trend in the nation’s total output over long term*”. When this is achieved, there would be ‘*sustained increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for a long time*’ Lipsey further noted. From this brief exposé, we can see the central role economic growth play in shaping the development strides of a nation. As Dolan et al (1999) holds, “*economic growth is most frequently expressed in terms of increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), a measure of the economy’s total output of goods and services*”. What we can see from this, is the centrality of economic sector of any nation in driving the productive capacity to drive the development process.

Improved productive capacity of the state engenders growth which provides wealth for individuals, groups and the state. When there is wealth in the hands of the people, basic needs that constitutes ‘unfreedom’ according to Sencan be surmounted since individuals can afford the desired life-style while being in a position to pay tax to the government. Private companies on the other hand, equally have enough to invest and provide job opportunities for the people. The multiplier effect would be an enlarged capacity to invest and generate wealth which invariably benefits the government since there would be enough funds to be invested in critical infrastructural facilities to uplift living standard of the people. In all, the economic condition of any nation is central to driving the growth and development process.

While development should be seen beyond the core economic postulations as the three versions of development earlier seen made clear, it is important we understand the place of the economy in the development process. Efficient economic policies are believed to aid development process. That’s why the structure of the economy is important because it helps shape the economic fortune of any nation, and thus by extension, determines the developmental strides. For example, state-centric economies such as China with central planning mechanism are deemed to have achieved rapid development (Iyoha, 2005). Nigeria operates mixed economic system with reliance on the exploration of oil. According to Sanusi; (2010), “*the Nigerian economy...is characterized by structural dualism*” which can be seen as coexistence of two sectors such as oil and agriculture. What then can we say of the development situation in Nigeria? What were the efforts made to achieve suitable development pace in the face of abundant oil resources?

Concept of Good Governance

Governance in simple terms, entails the whole gamut of how public trust or power by extension is exercised in the management of a country's resources to achieve definite goals that usually cascade into development. Governance covers the whole spectrum of traditions and institutions by which political and bureaucratic authority is exercised in a country. This Rufai (2014) noted, includes the process of selecting governments, monitoring and replacing government as well as the capacity of the government to equitably and effectively formulate and implement mutually beneficial public policies to guarantee the right of all and health of established institutions needed to engineer healthy economic and social interactions. This means good governance must of necessity, entail 'making decisions and exercising power over people either in towns/villages, states, institutions and countries in a fair, equitable manner to guarantee the right of all and sustenance of established institutions and social structures.

While crafting what good governance entails, Hardoon and Heinrich (2013) singled out "accountability, transparency, enhanced public participation in decision making, strengthened public sector and civil society institutions and greater adherence to the rule of law" as immutable variables one should look out to safely classify any administrative system as either good or bad. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), (1997) also hinged on this when it submitted that good governance should embrace measures that define and shapes both structures and political cum economic relationships in any political system. Impacts or effects of governance on societal, development and general wellbeing of the people are often measurable either in good or bad context.

Corruption, Governance and Development: The Nexus

From all we have seen, there is a tangible links between corruption, governance and development. In an ideal situation where moral fortress is unscathed, governance would remain focused and directed at achieving goals that often include that of development. If corruption creeps in to permit leakages of state resources, development would doubtlessly suffer. This because corruption corrupts governance to eventually frustrates developmental efforts. Good governance needs unmitigated uprightness in the management of public affairs. The is the main requisites for good governance according to Hardoon, & Heinrich, (2013).

"include the followings: Political legitimacy for the state through democratic elections and transfer of power and an effective political opposition and representative government, Accountability and transparency in the sharing of information, Separation of powers, Effective internal and external audit, Effective means of combating

corruption and nepotism, Competence of public servants, Impartial and accessible justice systems; and The absence of arbitrary government power”.

As corruption grows, it makes possible for ‘good money’ to find its way into wrong hands. When this is the case, state institutions are compromised by individuals powerful enough to undermine established rules and frustrate development eventually. That births ignoble culture of impunity where people or groups, can afford to disregard laid down rules regarding governance and development by extension. This depicts the meeting point between corruption, governance and development. In the absence of corruption, governance would be purposeful and fruitful with development sure as is social services. When reverse is the case with corruption on the drivers’ seat, governance suffers while development is scuttled on the altar of primitive accumulation by corrupt individuals saddled with duty of piloting public affairs. Various studies different but related, established a negative link between corruption, governance and development (Idoko et al, 2016, Page, 2018, Toakodi & Assi, 2016, Agbiboia & Maiangwa, 2012).

The general situation in Nigeriacaptures the ignoble nexus between corruption, governance and development. Politically exposed individuals, abuse both position and authority to enrich selves, fail deliberately to govern effectively and steal too much to leave enough for developmental purposes. With illicit funds to spread, politics becomes a calling where such illicit finds are ‘invested’ with the hope of tilting the political process to their advantage. This results in violent prone electoral process to enthrone a government that undermines the development process.

The Effects of Corruption on Good Governance

Corruption and good governance appear to be parallel lines that desire to meet but unfortunately, will never. This is because corruption which we have seen as shrewd abuse of public trust for private gains dissipates both structures and institutions built to achieve formidable governance capable of shouldering the task of development. Corruption is associated with gross violation of both political and socio-economic rights as well as the denigration of sacred state institutions by those trusted with public authority; to satiate narrowly defined and often; private gains. This Bardhan (2006) noted, ‘represents a major hurdle on the road to social and economic development’. The practical effects of corruption on good governance can be seen through the lens of the following points.

Diversion of development resources for private gain:

One effect of corruption on good governance, is the diversion of resources to other uses other than development. This stifles the state’s ability to progressively achieve

sustainable developmental agenda. Public funds in private pockets, also means that social services would be absent while needed infrastructural facilities suffer.

Misallocation of Talents/Promotion of culture of mediocrity:

Non-financial corruption like abuse of official position, leads to engagement of the wrong people into position of authority. Such people that benefit from nepotism without regards to educational qualification or merit because of corruption, perform poorly on the job while talented and qualified persons without similar opportunities, suffer neglect and waste away. This amplifies misallocation of talents and leads to retarded development.

Low levels of economic growth:

In addition to the above, corruption stagnates good governance and leads to low level of economic growth. This happens when there is distortion in the allocation of resources to wrong sources. This drain public purse and deny the state opportunity to invest in worthwhile ventures. When this is the case, the pervasive and troubling impact of corruption on the poor becomes obvious because of its ability to distort public choice and expectation in favour of powerful few. This reduces states capacity to provide social safety (UNDP, 2000).

Corruption Fight and Development drive: Who calls the Shot?

Ills of corruption at the national and states level, is obvious. This manifests in many ways that includes worsening case of poverty (ActionAid, 2015), lack of good governance (Agbibo & Maiangwa, 2012), institutional and moral decadence (Toakodi & Assi, 2016) as well as economic stagnation (Page, 2018 and PricewaterhouseCoopers Limited, (2016). These adds to unintended consequence and effect on the political system and electoral process to mimic sanctity of the process and mock the very essence of democracy and development.

Response to corruption has been a central one with the states doing very little in this regards. Historically, the first major effort to fight graft can be linked the Gowon era when he made eradication of corruption as an agenda and consequently, requested public officials to declare their asset via decree 5 of 1966. Murtala's Mohamed Corrupt Practices Decree of 1975. Decree 1975 as well as Shagari's 'Ethical Revolution', drew attention to the ill of graft and the need to refrain from the ill. Other measures include War Against Indiscipline of the Buhari-Idiagbon military regime, National Committee on Corruption and other Economic Crimes of the Babangida's era and Abacha's 'Indiscipline Corrupt Practices and Economic Crimes Prohibition Decree of 1994.

All these were efforts made at the center to confront graft that bedeviling the Nigerian state before the fourth republic, achieved very little until a more robust anti-corruption measures represented in the form of specialized agencies to confront same, were created. This was in the year 2000 when former President Obasanjo renewed the anti-corruption battle with the launch of Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) with Economic Financial Crimes commission (EFCC) coming in 2003. Both bodies were created to give the corruption fight, a bite. In 2011, the Jonathan administration came up with the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) solely created to make information about governance, open and assessable to members of the public. This was to nip corruption in the bud since available information, would make corrupt officials, continue in the nefarious act of sleaze.

While all these measures were created at the center with overriding power nationally, it is worthy to note that their operations and level of success against corruption, leaves so much to be desired. EFCC for example, has been accused as a tool of the executive arm of government to execute political wars with perceived political opponents. Accordingly, “Successive Presidents have used the EFCC and its sister agencies to go after corrupt political rivals while pressuring them to turn a blind eye to their own allies’ misdeeds” (Page, 2018:15, Soni, 2018) while the ICPC and the CCB, were accused of corruption at one time or the other. This made mockery of the whole essence of the corruption fight because shielding political allies from prosecution and haunting supposed opponents, contravenes natural justice.

Fight against corruption: the situation in the states

At the state levels, the fight against corruption is as directed and dictated by the central authority in Abuja. This many believe, is due to the way the Nigerian state is structured. However, anti-graft measures at the state levels, is non-existent. Operations of the central created bodies, is arguably seen as ineffective and devoid of needed push to the corruption fight at the state level.

In most of the states, institutional fragility makes it possible for corruption fights, to be swept under the carpet. In most of the states, “corruption is rife but treated like a family business’ without serious effort is made to dislodge ‘corrupt rings’ in public service and governance. People consequently struggle to meet their basic social needs in the states and difficulties of life is in the face of impunity that reign supreme amidst growing corruption in the state. This happens because there are no feasible measures in place to fight corruption. This confirms the payroll fraud earlier mentioned (Toakodi & Assi (2016). Anti-graft bodies are made rich by corrupt individuals while the state bleeds they concluded.

In the face of all these, expected development remain elusive amidst biting hunger, poverty and high cost of governance devoid of tangible reflection in the life of the people. This paints the omnibus links between corruption, governance and development in Nigeria.

Conclusion

Nigeria is seen by many as corrupt. While some see corruption as endemic, others believe that it is popular way of life due to its pervasive nature. The World Bank (2001) for example, saw corruption as the *“abuse of power for private benefit which thrives when economic policies are poorly designed”*. As a pressing issue in Nigeria, corruption negatively impacts the nation’s economic, political and socio-political fabric, derailing public morality to the detriment of needed development, PricewaterhouseCoopers Limited, (2016). Other scholars in their separate but relates studies, established the nexus between corruption and underdevelopment in Nigeria; (Page, 2018; Idris & Salisu, 2016, Idoko et al, 2015, Dike, 2005). None of these studies minced words in establishing the negative relationship between corruption, governance and development in Nigeria.

The paper relied on popular accounts and public documents to synchronize evidence that establish presence of corruption, how it negatively shapes governance to undermine national developmental efforts. Corruption creates lack of trust in government due to growing gulf between government and the people amidst failure to measure up with good governance. From oil related corruption to that of administrative ad political corruption, Nigeria remains entrenched in the bottomless pit of graft which Hardoon, & Heinrich (2013), cripples good governance and corrupts the electoral process. Miliki (2017) and Toakodi & Assi (2016) noted existence of administrative and political corruption in Bayelsa and Kogi states with *‘payroll fraud’* evident in the former. This continues to vitiate sanctity of both governance and the political process with the inevitable; albeit, negative impact on good governance and needed development.

Recommendations

Based on findings from this study, the following recommendations are made on how to tame corruption and achieve development in Nigeria.

- (1) There should be massive investment in poverty eradication programmes to enhance the peoples’ self-worth so that they won’t remain vulnerable and a ready tool for corrupt public officials.
- (2) There should extensive investment in both civic education and moral re-orientation in Nigeria and the two states in particularly. This would birth attitudinal change and prepare the people for the task of patriotically building the nation and their states as the case may be.

- (3) Appropriate reward system should be established to motivate people to do their best in public offices. If our system is merit driven, wrong people won't find themselves in sensitive public offices. Merit system ensures level playing fields that gives all sense of belonging.
- (4) The government at the federal and state levels, should enforce the Procurement Act in full. This should entail constituting and inaugurating the national Procurement Council with proper monitoring to ensure due compliance and effective implementation.
- (5) Information flow is key to nipping corruption in the bud. To this end, the federal and state government must and should ensure full compliance with the Freedom of Information across all ministries, departments and agencies.
- (6) The Federal government should ensure that anti-corruption bodies are free from any form of manipulation; political or administrative. Needed funding and administrative support should be promptly given to enable them work. Until they are free and autonomous with needed power to do their assigned duties, they won't be able to discharge their corruption fighting mandate.
- (7) Oil related corruption with trappings of both bureaucratic and political corruption, should be addressed with appropriate measures. To this end, Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) should be strengthened to effectively discharge its mandate of ensuring transparency and accountability in the extractive industry.

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INLAND WATER TRANSPORTATION: THE UNTAPPED POTENTIALS IN NIGERIA'S ECONOMY 1901-2020

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ABSTRACT

It is imperative for government to develop inland water transportation in Nigeria because it is cheaper, safer, it has less operating cost and Cargo handling capacity. This study focuses on 'Inland Water Transportation: The Untapped Potentials in Nigeria's Economy 1901- 2019' The Nigerian inland waterways comprise the coastal creeks, the Lagoons, Lakes, and Rivers. These natural waterways run from Badagry in the extreme west to Calabar in the south-east of the country. Although, from the viewpoint of the colonial administration, Nigeria's transport network was efficient, it was quite inefficient in the context of the country's national economic integration. The problem in this study is that although, Nigeria is well drained by over three hundred inland rivers and waterways, these natural waterways have not been developed for transportation of goods and people. This paper recommends amongst others that; all inland river terminals and ports in Nigeria be dredged and furnished by government with infrastructural facilities.

Key Words: Inland Waterways, Transportation, Potentials, Untapped, Economy

INTRODUCTION

A.D. Ali, in his Doctoral dissertation at the University of Lagos wrote that:

If the navigable waterways in Nigeria are well developed, it would not only be a means to economic development but an instrument for national integration. An improvement of the efficiency of water transportation in Nigeria would bring about an improvement in the productivity of the economy. If the waterways are developed as a cheap means of transportation it could serve as a substitute to road, rail and airways. Developing the waterways offers better prospects than the wasteful investment on the railways, roads and airways.¹

From 1901, the colonial government operated fleets of crafts on Nigeria's inland waterways. However, since independence in 1960, these inland waterways have not been improved and utilised as modes of transportation. From the 1970s, the tonnage of cargo shipped on the inland waterways have declined progressively. Nigeria is drained by over three hundred rivers and waterways. The Rivers Niger and Benue are the two biggest of these rivers and waterways and are navigable from the open sea up to the hinterlands during high waters (rainy season) for six months in the year. The Government Marine Department (GMD) was established in 1901, to oversee activities on these inland waters of Nigeria. In 1954, the Inland Waterways Department (I.W.D) was created out of the Government Marine Department and in 1997, the National Inland Waterways Authority (N.I.W.A.), took over from the I.W.D). Subsequent government in Nigeria have been paying lip services to developing inland water transportation in Nigeria.

Statement of Problem

The first problem facing inland Water transportation in Nigeria is the decline in water traffic since the 1940s. From 1870, commercial navigation and transportation into the hinterlands of Nigeria grew with the expansion of Nigeria's export trade. Passenger traffic on the Lower Niger and Benue Rivers also grew with the increase in the volume of trade. But, with the construction of new roads and the extension of the existing ones in the 1940s, and with greater number of lorry available on the roads for transportation, Water transportation came in serious competition with road transportation.

The second major problem facing inland water transportation in Nigeria is poor government attention to the sector. Since independence in 1960, the Nigerian government is not interested in developing inland water transportation as alternative to roads and railways. The Government Marine fleets in 1907 consisted of 14 self-propelled vessels, 15 poling house-boats, four lighter, and two pontoons. By 1956, the Inland Waterways Department (I.W.D) operated 179 units of various craft. These craft were used to perform a wide range of government activities such as administrative, medical, ferry operation, creek services, channels demarcation, river patrols and surveys. The cash revenue of the Marine Department for the year 1937 and 1938 amounted to £73,3014 (Seventy Three Thousand, Three Hundred and Fourteen Pounce).

The third major problem facing inland water transportation in Nigeria is poor infrastructure and operational facilities. It was for this purpose and to motivate investors that the Nigerian government established NIWA in 1997, unfortunately, it has not lived to its expectations. In the colonial period the Marine Department piloted vessels which visited the Nigerian Ports. The essence of this was to safeguard against accident. Cylindrical buoys manufactured at the Dockyards of Apapa and Lokoja were laid for moorings at the various rivers, creeks and the Nigerian Ports. The Marine Department also undertook the construction of various craft which included 70-feet diesel engine

touring launches, 36-foot diesel engine launches, steel poling barges, surf boats etc. Contrary to general belief, all government crafts built in Nigeria were designed and constructed entirely in the dockyards of the Marine Department. They were not imported in sections to be put together. Plates were received in flat sheets and frames in straight length. They were cut and worked into shape by African labour. The only complete units imported were the engines.

The fourth major problem facing inland water transportation in Nigeria is that although, Nigeria is well endowed with natural waterways other modes of transport are not constructed to link these waterways. Consequently, the waterways do not meet the freight requirement of inland water transportation of the country. The result is that existing waterways were underutilized and unexploited. The government also failed to construct artificial canals where there are no natural waterways. Other problems are, fluctuation in the water volume and silting of rivers, obstruction of waterways by wild weeds such as the water hyacinth and the occurrence of rapids and falls on some large rivers.²

Conceptual Clarification

Transport

A.D. Ali,³ in his Doctoral dissertation defines transportation as the movement of man and materials from one location to another. It has always been an important activity of man from the most primitive to the most advanced states. From a marketing point of view, transportation fulfills the need to move goods from points of production to points of sale and consumption in the quantities required or needed at a reasonable cost. Transportation is also crucial to the development of any nation because of its impact on social, political and economic activities. Indeed, J.G. Bell⁴ has remarked that among the things that make a nation great are: fertile soil, busy workshops and mobility of people. Transportation is both a result and cause of an advancing society. In modern times integrated transportation reflects the level of advancement of a country.

Inland Water Transport

A.D. Ali⁵ identifies inland waterways as the best mode by which man transported himself before other modes were used. Rivers have very considerable influence on many phases of human activities as indicated by geographical and historical facts. The Nigerian inland waterways comprise the coastal creeks, the Lagoons, Lakes, and Rivers. These natural waterways run from Badagry in the extreme west to Calabar in the south-east of the country. Boulton⁶ in *The Peageant of Transport Through The Ages*, noted that vast stride was made in the possibilities of water transport when the steam engine was invented as motive power. Mechanical transportation became popular in the nineteenth century when the steam engine invented by James Watt in 1765 was applied to both water and rail transportation. Steam boat was first used on tide water (water that

risers and falls regularly i.e. not stagnant) and on the inland waterways in 1807 on the Hudson River.⁷

W. H. Boulton⁸ in his researches on inland water transportation wrote that the Yangtze is the principal freight line to interior China. Despite limitations imposed by hills and rapids, the River Congo carries a heavy traffic. It is navigable for thousand miles above its mouth. The River Amazon is so wide, deep and free from obstructions that it is navigable by ocean steamers for 2,300 miles to Iquitos in Peru. The bulk of river commerce in the United State is carried on the Mississippi.

In comparison, A.D. Ali⁹ noted that some of the most important cities, towns and villages in Nigeria are situated along river. Towns like Yawuri, New Bussa, Jebba, Pategi, Lokoja, Onitsha, Asaba, Warri are along the Niger. Along the River Niger also are found industries. Examples are paper mill at Jebba, sugar factories at Bachita and Sunti, iron smelter at Itakpe-Ajaokuta and petroleum at Warri. Unfortunately, the natural waterways in Nigeria have not been developed for the transportation of goods and people.

Economy

Economy is the totality of productive activity in a society. It is the percentage expansion or reduction of productive activities which brings about wealth creation in a society or country over a given period usually one year. Economic development is a qualitative change in human society. Economic development has universal indices. Transport is a major precondition for economic development. While development is very necessary and urgent in Africa, Nigeria's political leaders have no sense of urgency in attending to the necessary conditions for development but have engaged themselves with victimization of political opponent, intolerance, and with little attention to potentials of moving out of underdevelopment.

The Economics of Water Transport

A.D. Ali¹⁰ in his Doctoral dissertation enumerated the advantages of water transportation over other modes of transport. Water transport is efficient, affordable, environmentally friendly, waterways does not suffer traction, it is suitable for bulky commodities such as iron ore, stone, gravel, cement, coal, forest products, lower accident rate, cheaper cargo-carrying capacity, etc. It might interest us to note that the River Thames was once London's high street from the 1750s, when the waterways served as the dominant mode of transport particularly with the invention of the steam engine by James Watts in 1765 up to the 1840s, when the railway came as substitute to water transport.

A.D. Ali¹¹ in his Master's Thesis at the University of Jos stressed the economic importance of water transportation to the development of society is that it offered to riverside peoples early opportunities for movement. Water as a gift of nature served as one of the earliest means of communication. It was through these natural high ways

that the first Europeans penetrated into the interior of the West African sub-region. Aside from the use of caravan trade routes into the hinterland of Nigeria, water transport provided the most important linkages between the settlements of the interior of Nigeria and the riverside settlements.

G.O. Ogunremi¹² in *Counting The Camels*, explained that the important advantage of water transport was not in speed but in overall cost and in saving of labour. For example, the dugout canoe which was popularly in use in West Africa before the invention of the steam engine, was cheaper than pack animals such as the camels, donkeys, horses, and head portage. Also, canoes have a greater carrying capacity than pack animals. A canoe was the cheapest mode of transport for both short and long distance journeys in pre-colonial Nigeria.

A.D. Ali, noted that:

*Water transport is the oldest mode of transportation, it is the most energy efficient form of transportation and gives the lowest running cost. Less amount of energy is required to overcome friction and propel a vehicle on water than is required on land and far less than to keep a vehicle airborne. This advantage has made it possible for large quantities of bulky goods to be conveyed on water such as iron-ore, grains, liquids such as petroleum products, and steel products. About 70 percent of international trade travels by water while the balance is carried by either land or air.*¹³

Steamers carry more goods than motor vehicles. A motor vehicle cannot carry more than 36 passengers and if it is carrying mixed loads that are a combination of passengers and goods then the weight or size of the goods carried decreases as the number of passengers increased or vice versa. There is no doubt about the fact that the operation of water transport gave massive employment and created purchasing power which stimulated the growth of commerce and consequently increased mass consumption and improved the standard of living. Eye witness report that:

According to Alhaji Suleiman Nmagaga and collaborated by the report of Central Water Transportation Company Limited 1980 Diary:

Inland Water Transportation: The Untapped Potentials in Nigeria's Economy

Nigeria is divided into three nautical or navigational systems namely (1) Niger Benue (2) Cross River and (3) Inter-Coastal, which is 250 metres from Escravos to the sea. River Niger has a length of 790 nautical miles (NM.) From Lokoja to Nigerian Border, River Benue has a length of 564 NM. The Cross River system which is from Calabar to

Frontier is 250 NM. long While the inter Coastal from West Frontier to East Frontier is 457 NM¹⁵ There are 22 river crossing stations in the Lower Niger established by NIWA between Lokoja and Onitsha and 13 crossings between Onitsha and Patani. Proper work on the Lower Niger is required to increase the chances of an all year-round navigation. NIWA designed the width alignment of the navigational channel of the Lower Niger to take care of a two-way traffic with a radius of curvature of about 500m.¹⁶

Water transport is suited for the movement of low cost bulk and semi-bulk cargo over long distance. Thousands of tons can be moved on a single voyage. There is considerable economies of scale in this mode of transport. This economic advantage is seen in the greatly reduced transportation cost per unit cargo. Speaking on the freight capacity of the waterways in Nigeria, P.C. Osademe noted that:

If water transport is properly planned and operated in Nigeria, it can take many trailers and trucks off the road. The waterways in Nigeria are seriously underutilized. Water transport is efficient and affordable. It has a high prospect of revenue yielding. Inland water ports can generate more income by increasing their usage.¹⁷

The inland waters of Nigeria could serve extensively the transportation needs of Nigerians particularly in the aspect of trading activities by the river side dwellers. The water ways could serve a useful purpose for the transportation of agricultural produce to the seaports for onward shipment overseas. In the 1920s, the Lower Niger accounted for well over 30 % of produce exported from Nigeria.¹⁸

Experts say that water transport has a low capital outlay and operational cost. It is resistant to traction at moderate speed. Enumerating the benefits of water transport, O.K. Achimuvu stated that:

Water transport is the cheapest mode of transportation compared with road, rail, and air transport. Water transport is safe and suitable for carrying bulky goods like cement, steel products, timber, etc. It is environmentally friendly. If water transport is developed it is capable of taking off the much traffic from the road and minimized traffic congestion in the cities. Water transport is 5 times cheaper than rail transport, 25 times cheaper than road transport and 50 times cheaper than air transport. If water transport is developed in Nigeria it is capable of diverting 30 percent of traffic from the road.¹⁹

The economic potentials of a developed water transport cannot be overemphasized. Water transport is capable of generating large revenue from tourism as obtains in technologically advanced countries. Water transport is indispensable for the conveyance of passengers and goods for the riverine communities.²⁰

Dudley F. Pegrum²¹ compared water transport to motor transport and highlighted their common features. He explained that the waterways have vehicles such as canoes, boats, ferries, motor launches, and ships just like cars, buses, lorries and trucks ply on the high ways. The waterways over which the traffic moves are similar to the public highways. The terminal facilities are comparable with the motor parks. If the navigable waterways in Nigeria are well developed, it would not only be a means to economic development but an instrument for national integration. An improvement of the efficiency of water transportation in Nigeria would bring about an improvement in the productivity of the economy. If the waterways are developed as a cheap means of transportation it could serve as a substitute to road, rail and airways. Developing the waterways offers better prospects than the wasteful investment on the railways, roads and airways.

The argument on the advantages of water transport over other modes of transportation is further explained by Dudley F. Pegrum²² that it is more convenient for heavier goods to be conveyed on water than on the highways because the waterways does not suffer traction. Bulky commodities such as iron ore, coal, stone, gravel, cement, forest products, grains and petroleum products are better moved on the domestic waterways. Inland water transport is most important to the industrial development of Nigeria. In the steel industry, the Ajaokuta steel mills as well as other steel rolling mills were designed to rely heavily on water transport.

Pegrum²³ wrote that, water transport is useful for the movement of heavy raw materials and finished products from the steel complexes to the open market and from the open market to the steel complex. The Aluminum Smelter at Ikot-Abasi (ALSCON) in Akwa-Ibom state also relies heavily on the Imo River for the transportation of its processed aluminum ingots to the sea ports. For the expected development to take place in this sector, a fully developed and efficient inland waterways transportation system is necessary.

The existence of many rivers and lakes in Nigeria facilitates water transportation particularly in the riverine areas. Till date water transportation is the only means of transport in most of the riverine areas.²⁴

Former Nigeria's Minister of Transport Nasir Ahmed El-Rufai opined that:

An interesting and profitable investment opportunity awaits Nigerian private investors in the inland waterways transport sector. This is particularly in the areas of commercial

transportation (such as ferry services), barge bulk cargo services, large container services and regulated floating counter transport (mobile retail shop). Other profitable investment opportunities include large-scale fishing farm, tourism, solid mineral prospecting, oil field services, agro-allied linkages and water sports.²⁵

Nigeria needs to make a conscious effort at developing inland water transport as a necessary path toward creating a new Nigerian economy. Investment in the inland waterways would create employment opportunities for some of the 150 million people in Nigeria. It would also generate revenue for the government through regular payment of taxes and other tariffs. Efforts are being made towards the buying of NIWA Shares as part of the privatization exercise of the government.²⁶

There had been controversy over the issue of developing the inland waterways in Nigeria since the colonial period. The controversy started with the argument over the dredging of the Lower Niger River to make it navigable all year round from the confluence of the Rivers Niger and Benue at Lokoja to the open sea at Burutu in Delta State, Nigeria.²⁷

Table 1: Major Rivers in the World and their Mileage

S/N	RIVERS	MILEAGE
1	AMAZON	4,160
2	NILE	3,800
3	YANGTZE	3,470
4	CONGO	2,920
5	MISSOURI	2,900
6	HWANHO	2,880
7	MEKONG	2,610
8	NIGER	2,550
9	MISSISSIPPI	2,470
10	WOLGA	2,420
11	ST. LAURENS	2,360
12	PARANA	2,360
13	INDUS	2,050
14	BRAHMAPUTRA	1,800
15	DANUBE	1,800

16	ZAMBEZI	1,680
17	GANGES	1,600
17	DNJEPR	1,410
19	IRRAWADDY	1,240
20	KHINE	820

Source: (A.D. Ali. *Nature and Impact of Trade And Inland Water Transport in the Lower Niger Region 1879-1997. Ph. D Thesis, Department of History and Strategic Studies, University of Lagos, Nigeria, December, 2010, 57).*

Official publication of the Netherlands Engineering Consultants (NEDECO), reports that the River Niger is the longest river in West Africa. Before the construction of roads and the building of railways the river was the main transport route. About one third of the total length of the River Niger is situated in Nigeria. Indeed, the name Nigeria is derived from the River Niger.²⁸

Some of the most important cities, towns and villages in the country are situated along River Niger. Towns like Yawuri, New Bussa, Jebba, Pategi, Lokoja, Onitsha, Asaba, Warri, Idah, Agenebode are along the Niger. Along the River Niger also are found industries. Examples are paper mill at Jebba, sugar factories at Bachita and Sunti, iron smelter at Itakpe-Ajaokuta and petroleum at Warri.²⁹

Frank H. Woodward³⁰ explained that it was necessary for the various modes of transportation in a country to be given adequate and equal attention. He argued that for transportation system to be efficient users must be able to choose the correct mode of transportation suitable for moving their goods or consignment. He listed the factors affecting freight transport as: security of goods while in transit, packaging requirements, delivery time available, and loading and unloading problem. The imperative and advantages of inter-modal transfer and co-ordination in Nigeria cannot be overemphasized. First, Nigeria occupies a large territory and has a large population. Second, and consequently travel demand in the country is high and requires a more serious attention. Third, the demand for transport keeps growing fast. Fourth, transport service is at increasing cost due to the increasing cost of purchase of vehicles, vehicle spare parts and fuel.

A major set-back in developing inland water transportation in Nigeria is the absence of linkages between the various modes of transport existing in the country. The absence of inter-modal linkages did not create for flexibility in the domestic transport needs. The various modes do not complement one another but work at cross purposes. Rather than work in cooperation they work in competition with each other. Although competition is necessary to produce efficient service delivery but lead to a situation where each mode function in isolation of the other.

Bamidele Badejo³¹ in Journal of Nigeria Transport History (JNTH), 2020, 15 Enumerates transport problems in Nigeria as follows:

- (a) The overconcentration on the north-south transport linkages which focused the direction of the nation's space economy outside;
- (b) The apparent neglect of intra-regional transportation networks; and
- (c) The indifferent attitude to the development of farm-to-market and rural to rural transport linkages

Since other modes of transport are not linked with the waterways (the roads are not linked with the rails nor the rails linked with the airports and seaports), passengers suffer the cost and inconvenience of moving and transferring their consignment from one mode to the other. There is no doubt that this contributes to the high cost of transport and affects the pace of development. This high cost of transportation contributes to the high cost of goods and services in Nigeria over the years. Since it was cheaper to maintain the waterways for moving goods than by railway and the roads, it follows that the railways and the roads could be linked with the waterways for a more co-efficient functioning of the modes. .

To corroborate Woodward's argument on paying equal attention to all modes, A.A. Senuga believe that the best option is for the Nigerian government to develop all modes of transportation since they are all important and should complement one another. He opined that;

The modes of transport in the country namely, roads, rail, water and air are important depending in the needs, choice and income of the consumer. Some people demand for a particular mode i.e water transport for its cheapness, others patronize the airways for its fastness, Some prefer the use of the motor vehicle because it can reach further places particularly in the hinterlands while *some travel by water because they live on the river side*³²

As a remedy to the lopsided transport development in Nigeria, Emmanuel Ege suggested that;

A proper study should be carried out concerning the possibility of linking the river stations on the Lower Niger River with the appropriate roads decision should be taken in such a way that the roads would feed the river stations and the river stations would in turn generate traffic for the roads. The Lower Niger should be dredged to enhance the movement of vessels on it taken into consideration the increasing volume of traffic and population of people in the country.³³

At present in Nigeria goods that are better carried by water are being carried by air and road at a high risk of motor accidents, damages and loss of lives and properties. City dwellers are restricted almost exclusively to the use of road as a major means of transport due to poor inter-modal development of the transport sector. All manner of motor vehicles are imported into Nigeria even when the technology to service these vehicles is lacking. Rural dwellers are lagging behind in economic development and their productive capacity retarded due to poor transport development.

Table 2: Budgetary allocation to Water Transport sub-sector 1958-81 (in percentage)

Year	
1958	0.57
1959	0.60
1960	0.67
1961	0.67
1962	0.62
1963	0.66
1964	0.69
1965	0.65
1966	0.49
1967	0.53
1968	0.67
1969	0.58
1970	0.54
1971	0.48
1972	0.45
1973	0.19
1974	0.15
1975	0.17
1976	0.21
1978	0.30
1979	0.35
1980	0.45
1981	0.60

Source: E.O. Adegbeyeni “An Overview of Transport Development in Nigeria.” in Ola Adegbeyeni, and O.J. Rapu (eds) *Transport and National Development in Nigeria*. Lagos: Published by the Federal Ministry of Transport, 1990, 142.

Table 2, above is self-explanatory and shows that from the year 1958 to 1981, not up to one percent of the Nigeria's national budget was devoted to the development of inland water transportation. This is an absolute neglect of this mode of transport

CONCLUSION

Nigeria needs to make a conscious effort at developing inland water transport as a necessary path toward creating a new Nigerian economy. Investment in the inland waterways would create employment opportunities for some of the 200 million people in Nigeria. It would also generate revenue for the government through regular payment of taxes and other tariffs. This paper concludes that there is so much politics concerning the development of inland water transportation in Nigeria. It is this same politics that has retard inland water transport development in Nigeria's since independence in 1960. This study has shown that Nigeria is fortunate to have over three hundred rivers and waterways drained its territory as natural waterways. Although, these natural waterway can be improved as transport infrastructure the federal government does not take inland water transportation seriously. The Nigerian inland waterways comprise the coastal creeks, the Lagoons, Lakes, and Rivers. These natural waterways run from Badagry in the extreme west to Calabar in the south-east of the country. Although, from the viewpoint of the colonial administration, Nigeria's transport network was efficient, it was quite inefficient in the context of the country's national economic integration. It is imperative for government to develop inland water transportation in Nigeria because it is cheaper, safer, enviromentally friendly, with less operating cost and Cargo handling capacity. In the opening years of the twentieth century the colonial government operated fleets of crafts on these inland waters. Unfortunately, since the 1970s, transportation on Nigeria's inland waterways has continued to decline to negligible proportion.

RECOMMENDATION

This paper recommends as follows:

First, all inland river terminals and ports in Nigeria be dredged and furnished by government with infrastructural facilities like boats, jetties, ferries, landing, loading, and unloading facilities.

Second, an intermodal transport system be put in place such that light railways and roads be constructed to link all state capitals in Nigeria and the major river ports to ease the movement of people and goods.

Third, Artificial canals would open up alternative passenger routes particularly in river side settlements.

Fourth, if inland water transport is properly planned and operated it can take as much as thirty percent of vehicles, trailers and trucks off Nigeria roads. Water transport has a high prospect of revenue yielding, and employment generation. Inland water ports can generate more income by increasing their usage.

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SECURITY, STATE INDUCED CRIMINALITY AND VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Security has traditionally been conceived as mainly a protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state from external military threats, which is the rationale behind national security with emphasis on the capability of the military and boosting of the size of the armoury. However, this paper examines security from the non-military sphere, taking cognizance of the deliberately or inadvertently ignored more encompassing human security in Nigeria and how Nigerian government has become a source of insecurity to the citizens. With respect to criminality in Nigeria, the paper examine the prevailing variables in Nigeria which encourage criminality and how government, its' institutions and agencies induced criminality which invariably rob off on the citizens, thus encouraging the phrase the 'end justifies the means'. Also, it examines the variance between what the people deserve to what they get. Where citizens are deprived genuine desires directly or indirectly consequence upon the structural nature of Nigerian society, the implication of dissatisfaction leads to annoyance expressed through violence directed against those held accountable or directly or indirectly connected to them.

INTRODUCTION

Security, State induced Criminality and Violence in Nigeria can best be understood when set against the background of the leadership and the foundation upon which the political entity called Nigeria is laid. Effective and efficient leadership is tantamount to good governance characterised by valued principles such as the rule of law, accountability, participation and transparency. Hobbes opines that a society without the hegemony to enforce order would be naturally unstable because any individual is capable of killing any other individual (Cox 2016:106). It is observed that the status of a state is reviewed as failed when it parades inability to fulfil the functions of a state such as security guarantor for its population among other things. Hence, there is a strong connection between the nature of governance and the state of security in a nation. Indeed, ensuring good governance for achieving peace and security rest with the leadership. The present situation in Nigeria has shown that the government has failed in its constitutional responsibility to provide a secured environment for lives, properties and the conduct of economic activities. This is evident in the escalating level of

insecurity whereby crime rates keep fuelling up, leaving a deteriorating consequence for the lives of the people. The erosion of internal security experienced in Nigeria is not unconnected with fundamental deficit in governance. The fall out can be explained from the nation's leadership experience from historical perspective, a history that laid a strong foundation for ethno-religious and politico-economic crisis which have metamorphosed into the current wave of crime, criminality and violence.

Security

In Nigeria today, it is rare in any discussion without reference being made to security issues such as, crime, criminality and violence. Kidnapping, killing, violence have become a recurrent decimal in the utterances of all Nigerians while newspaper columns have virtually been devoted to security matters. The question now is; what is security? The concept security is such a contested term which there seems not to be a general concession as to its meaning. Security means exactly what the subject matter at hand says it means. In essence, the term security is subjective. However, it has been traditionally looked at from the political sphere as a protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a country against external aggression. This is borne out of the realist theory of anarchical nature of the world which engendered self help among the global communities resulting in weapon acquisition by the nation-states. According to Hobbes, humans are relatively equal in ability to harm and injure one another. Though one could be a little stronger and quicker; despite this, the strongest man must sleep while the quickest woman must as a necessity stop to eat and drink. This in essence makes all humans vulnerable to attack by another human, thus, the preponderance of arms accumulation at the expense of human security (**Cox, 2016:23**). However, Cox stressed that the new generation of writers have criticised the statist traditional approach to security which focus on the security of state and its capacity to resist destruction, resulting in greater emphasis on state's military capabilities. To them, it is individual human beings that make up the population, as such, they should be the real object of security and not state. Cases abound where State in the course of maintaining its grip on power as a foremost priority becomes a source of insecurity. In doing this, arbitrary detention, material suffering and state capacity for oppression becomes a greater threat to the well-being of the citizens which eventually engender violence.

Another argument against making state the sole object of security is the inappropriateness of prioritising the well-being of the few elites in positions of power. That is exactly the Nigeria situation where the elites and the political leaders surround themselves with security agencies everywhere they go. Unfortunately, their case these days is like a soap opera titled; 'the rich also cry.' The insecurity in Nigeria nowadays makes everyone vulnerable irrespective of one's socio-political and economic status. The bandits, kidnappers and herdsmen have made Nigerian roads impassable. It was so bad that the Governor of Borno State, Professor Babagana Zulum in company of his security details comprising the military, police and DSS was attacked on two occasions

by Boko Haram. One can imagine the boldness of the Boko Haram to have carried out these attacks. In a similar vein, the Governor of Benue State, George Ortom in company of his security details was equally attacked by the herdsmen. Traditional rulers were either kidnapped or killed by the bandits. It is so bad that the bandits went to the residence of Emir of Kajuru in Kaduna State and kidnapped him alongside members of his family. It shows the level at which security situation has degenerated in Nigeria. The Federal, State and Local governments have lost their grip over the security situation in Nigeria. This is not unconnected with the fact that the political leaders and the elites were instrumental to the present security challenge through the use of those who turned out to be bandits and kidnappers as political thugs at one time or the other. The thieving elites flaunt the stolen commonwealths, without any charges of corruption from the government; hence, this has discouraged legitimate means of making money to some extent. The philosophy in the society now is 'the end justifies the means.' The multiplier effect of this is that those who do not have access to pilfer the commonwealth resort to kidnapping and banditry to make money. Meanwhile, beside efforts to expand the concept of security to contain non-military threats, greater emphasis becomes imperative on the individual as the vital object of security. Having realised how germane the security of individuals which constitute the population is to the security of a nation, the question now is what is human security? The concept human security has been a subject of controversy as a result of various sections attempt at redefining and broadening the meaning. Despite the controversies or differences, it is realised that security should not be limited to defending the territorial integrity of a nation against external aggression, but other concerns and challenges should be considered as well. Here, human security is seen as issued by the United Nations Development Programme from the publication by Human Development Report of 1994 to contain seven scopes as defined thus:(Baylis et al, 2014:448)

Economic Security: an assured basic income for individuals, usually for productive and remunerative work.

Food Security: ensuring that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food.

Health Security: guaranteeing a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyle.

Environment Security: protecting people from the short-term and long-term ravages of nature, man-made threats on nature and deterioration of natural environment.

Personal Security: protecting people from physical violence whether from the state or external states, from violent individuals or sub-state factors, from domestic abuse and from predatory adults.

Community Security: protecting people from the loss of traditional relations and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence.

Political Security: ensuring that people live in a society that honours their basic human rights and ensuring the freedom of individuals and groups from government attempts to exercise control over ideas and information.

Application: using the United Nations Development Programme as published by the Human Development Report to analyse Human Security in Nigeria.

The arguments against the perspective at which states look at security and the United Nations Development Programmes scopes of human security provide the lens for analysis of the human security situation in Nigeria.

Economic Security: The Nigerian government both at the Federal, State and Local government levels continue to impoverish the citizens. In some local governments, the civil servants are owed salaries for several months. Some State governments underpay the civil servants while the Federal government through the IPPIS reduce the Federal civil servants' salaries to a meagre amount after several deductions. The multiplier effects of this on the society and individual economic status is that people have indirectly been turned to beggars; and equally failing in their responsibilities at the home front while those in self-employments are badly affected with respect to patronage. Unemployment and under-employment pervade the society. Pensioners are deprived their entitlements resulting in untimely death of some of them who could not feed well and more so on medications. The situation in Nigeria is that parents above 60 years of age still struggle daily to cater for their children who are either unemployed or under-employed. Young people look older than their ages all in the struggle to make a living. The implication is reduction of the life span of Nigerians. The unfortunate thing is that the Nigerian elites and the political leaders live luxuriously on the commonwealth of the country. Economic security in Nigeria is just like anarchical nature of the global community which warrants self-help. That is the reason why some civil servants while in government service embezzle money, receive bride and perpetrate every form of criminality to safeguard the life after retirement. While those who do not have access to public funds either take to kidnapping, banditry, thuggery, robbery and cybercrime

Food Security: The issue of food security is a mirage. Agricultural implements and subsidized fertilizers are given to political party members who in turn sell to the end users at exorbitant prices. Most farmers neither have access to farming implements that could boost large scale farming nor enough money to purchase the required fertilizer for the crops. Agricultural loan facilities are outside their reach. Most times, the loan facilities are equally given to political party members as a kind of compensation for party supports; who in turn diverted such funds to luxurious lifestyles. This invariably

affects food production. The Buhari's administration policy on self-sufficiency in food production which was instrumental to the ban on foreign rice has not really addressed the issue. The Anchor Borrowing Programme, to facilitate loan disbursement to the farmers has generated criticism on how the loan is disbursed to those who are not farmers. Loan facilities are given to friends, political associates who have no farms and diverted the fund to luxurious lifestyles, collateral not being met by farmers. It is assumed that with local production of rice, the price would be such that all and sundry could afford. Contrary is the case; the price keeps increasing at astronomical rate. The costs of foodstuff are beyond the reach of common citizens. Those who have access to public fund still hijacked the free flow of rice into the market. They buy directly from the farmers; create artificial scarcity through hoarding in order to inflate the price. Without mincing words, hunger is seen on the faces of Nigerian citizens. A hungry man is an angry man; that is the reason agitators easily get followers. When citizens barely have something to eat and the political leaders and elites are living large, they become followers to whoever could meet their needs.

Health Security: The healthcare system in Nigeria is in a deplorable state. It is so bad that even the Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari and his predecessors most times look for medical attention outside the country. This is not to say that there are no qualified and experienced medical personnel in Nigeria, but the hospitals are ill equipped. For instance; Aso Rock Clinic which billions of naira are budgeted for every year, the wife of the president Aisha Buhari several times raised alarm that the clinic was ill equipped despite the huge amount. With this, the fate of the teaching and government hospitals is best imagined. The high cost of health care for ordinary citizens made them resort to patronising quacks and this is responsible for the proliferation of unregistered healthcare centres with unqualified medical personnel providing medical services. Covid-19 would have wiped away Nigerians if it had started in Africa, especially in Nigeria. Covid-19 further exposed the unpreparedness of Nigeria healthcare system to combat diseases. People live in slums and the government pay little or no attention. Meanwhile, during the electioneering campaign, the politicians visit such slums to canvass for votes. But immediately they win elections, they detach themselves from such areas. Basic infrastructure such as pipe borne water is lacking in most communities, even in some areas in the state capitals; people have to source for water. People are prone to water-borne diseases for consuming untreated water. Community Health officers nowadays confine their activities to their offices instead of the usual movement round the communities to assess the sanitary condition of inhabited areas. Thus, if going by World Health Organisation definition of health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity" (<http://www.who.int/suggestions/fag/en>) the state of healthcare system in Nigeria is far from being secured.

Environment Security: the degradation of Niger Delta environment forms the basis for militancy.

Personal Security: Obviously, personal security has become a thing of the past in Nigeria. People now live with fear. Ritual killings, robbery and kidnapping become the order of the day. Hardly would a day pass without a report of kidnapping, missing person(s) and discovery of dead mutilated bodies ascribed to ritual killing. Those who by providence escaped from the ritualists' dens narrated how people are butchered like cows and human parts sold. It was so bad that one of those rescued from the ritual den in an area called Soka in Ibadan, Oyo State capital narrated how one day while still in the ritualists' den, he saw the Police vehicle driving into the den, he had a sigh of relief thinking deliverance had come for the captives; not knowing that the Police were there to sell the innocent Nigerians arrested and tagged wanderers to the ritualists. Hence, even the security agents that are expected to protect the people are accomplice in perpetrating insecurity in various guises. Apart from this, citizens are harassed and molested by security agents as well as the political thugs at will without penalty for such actions. Government institutions put in place to address issues of human rights most times operate on how connected and how one is able to bribe one's way, thus ordinary citizens remain vulnerable to personal insecurity.

Community Security: this is obvious with the problem of Fulani Herdsmen, Kidnapping, Banditry, harassment from the law enforcement agents and general insecurity.

Political Security: Repression of political opponents, use of political thugs to disrupt elections and assassination has become the order of the day in Nigeria political terrain. Also, arbitrary detention of opposing voices coupled with disregard for court orders. Elections are not free and fair while in some cases, citizens are deprived the opportunity of contesting elections because of the volatile nature of Nigeria politics. Government machineries are deployed to intimidate electorates and rig elections for the incumbent government. The government result to draconian laws to gag the citizens and the press, thus curtailing the fundamental human rights of the people.

State Induced Criminality

As observed earlier, state most times serve as a source of insecurity. Nigeria is a nation where the political office holders are above the law. The system of governance in Nigeria is basically government of man and not government of law. In essence, there is no adherence to the rule of law in the real sense of it. The practice in Nigeria is such that once you hold position of power, you are above the law. The inherent moral injustice of those at the helms of affairs and the institutions of government has inadvertently encouraged and induce criminality in the country. For instance, the

Special Anti-Robbery Squad killed the citizens at will and with impunity. It was so bad that once youths were seen with iPhone, or drive good cars, they were automatically tagged Internet fraudsters or criminals. The SARS inability to extort those who genuinely have legitimate source of income to get those luxuries among the youths resulted into being killed. Many innocent souls have been wasted and the government did not do anything about this. An African proverbial saying said that, “when a thief is pursued into the jungle full of thorns and dangerous animals that could endanger his life, he becomes extra-ordinary brave and develops a strong resistance against his pursuers.” The magnitude of the extra-judicial killings by the Squad triggered the mobilisation of end SARS protests in Nigeria. These extra-judicial killings made some people whose family members have been murdered by the SARS operatives resulted to criminal reprisal killing of any SARS operative that comes their way at any slightest opportunity. For instance, one SARS officer, Michael Maji, popularly known as Michael SARS in the area was gruesomely killed in his in-law’s community, Khana in Rivers States few days after his wedding. His gruesome murder was attributed to allegation of extortion, high-handedness and extra-judicial acts by the SARS operatives.(THE GRAPHIC, June 6-June 12, 2018:3) Nigerians came out on the streets creating a blockade of vehicular movements protesting the incessant killing of innocent citizens. This was more pronounced in Lagos with the occupation of Lekki Toll Gate. End SARS now become a template to condemn every unjust policies and actions of the government institutions. Recently, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Abba Kyari , the suspended head of the Inspector General of Police Intelligence Response Team was indicted by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation over his relationship with a popular fraudster, Ramon Abbas, known as Hushpuppi. The indictment by the FBI triggered lots of revelations on the complicity of the Police with criminals; criminals using the police personnel to witch hunt other criminals and equally cover up their criminal activities as long as money is involved.

Another example of state induced criminality was the peaceful protest of the Christian Association of Nigeria over the killing of about three hundred innocent citizens by the Fulani herdsmen in Jos. The insensitivity of the then Governor, Simon Lalong while the protesters arrived the gate of the Government House, Ray field, Jos coupled with being barred by the security agents at the gate infuriated the CAN who has always remained an embodiment of peace to the point of scaling the fence of the Government House and equally chased the security men away. This is an extent to which the political leaders take the electorate for granted. The inference here is that when the electorates are pressed to the wall, the resultant effect becomes disastrous, thus, invariably inducing and triggering criminality in the society.

Shortly after the announcement of the Kogi State governorship election results of the elections held on November 16, 2019, the People Democratic Party women leader, Mrs Salome Abuh was burnt alive in her home at Ochadamu, Kogi State, on November 18,

2019 by All Peoples Congress thugs. More worrisome was the statement by the Kogi Police command that it was a reprisal attack by suspected thugs. This is a clear murder case, hence, for the police to have utter such statement; it further shows the complicity of the police with the state government in perpetrating violent and criminality. Though, the police eventually claimed to have arrested six persons connected with the burning of the woman and taken to court, yet the lesser the jail term of seven years for a murder case is an indication of state induced criminality as long as it is for the benefit of those in government. Meanwhile, the judgement could be viewed from two perspectives; it is either the criminal or murderer complete his jail term or be given pardon by the government he worked for after a while and thus walk back into the society. He thereafter becomes precedent for others to emulate as long as they have the support of the government at the helms of affair. A similar case was that of Bayo Ajia and Olayinka Are, both arch political thugs of late Governor Mohammed Lawal. Both of them were instrumental to the killing of Abdul Yekini Gobir and Abdul Ganiyu Hussein back then in June 30, 2002 at Deens Motel, Ilorin but were shielded from arrest and prosecution throughout the period of Governor Lawal administration in Kwara State. It was during Bukola Saraki administration in Kwara State that they were arrested and charged for criminal conspiracy and culpable homicide that led to the death of Gobir and Hussein and sentenced to death by High Court, Ilorin. Their arrest and prosecution was simply because they were with the opposing party. If they had been with Saraki's ruling party, they would not have been arrested. However, during Bukola Saraki second term as the Governor of Kwara State; he granted them amnesty and they were welcome back to Ilorin amidst fanfare and ceremonies. These are just few instances of how government and its institutions induced criminality and violence in Nigeria.

Of recent, as a result of the global pandemic Covid-19 that paralysed socio-economic activities worldwide, lots of Nigerians lost their means of livelihood. Those employed lost their jobs while those who were self-employed as well as artisans who made their livings on daily basis were equally affected. Lots of people were subjected to untold hardship, especially with respects to feeding. In view of this, several donors donated foodstuff to the Federal Government of Nigeria which were shared among the States to be distributed to the people so as to alleviate the suffering. However, the political leaders hoard these foodstuffs and the basic necessities while people died in hundreds. Nothing can be more criminal on the part of the government than allowing the citizens to die of hunger. The political leaders were not moved by the fact that the poor masses who did not have access to the government money to stockpile food items and basic necessities were dying of hunger. More worrisome was the fact that those food items, such as Indomie Noodles, Spaghetti, Garri, Beans, Rice, Maize, Guinea Corn were donated by philanthropists to cushion the effect of the devastative impacts of the epidemic and supposed to be distributed to the citizens. But these were hoarded by the State governments and their cohorts. The question now is, what was the rationale for the State governments actions? Were their actions motivated by the desire to use those

food items for the next electioneering campaign? No matter what, it is immoral and criminally inhuman to subject the citizen to untold hardship and hunger by hoarding food items meant to salvage their lives in the face of Covid-19 and the lockdown. Meanwhile, a hungry man is an angry man. It was against this background that the masses defied the lock down order and broke into warehouses where those food items were hoarded and carted them away. It was so disheartening that some of those food items were already getting bad as a result of long duration of hoarding. The political leaders at the helms of affair preferred the food item to get bad than to distribute them to hungry masses. This shows their level of wickedness. Unfortunately, the State Government action indirectly affected the legitimate business owners whose business premises were equally broken into and their wares carted away. The Government through their actions forced the innocent and law-abiding citizens to daylight criminality. The citizens action was borne out of the desire to survive. Their action thus, became self-help strategy. According to Kaldor, security is bound up with political legitimacy. We feel safe if we trust our institutions, and we trust our institutions if we see them acting actively....Human security depends on the existence of legitimate institutions that gain the trust of the population....(**Kador: 186-7**). Nigerian political leaders appear criminally minded and this equally robs off on the citizens that do not see any evil in criminality nowadays as long as their survival is guaranteed. Giving credence to Kaldor assertion, Nigerian citizens have lost confidence in the political leadership of the country. Their case is like the realist theory of self help.

Violence

This aspect adopts Frustration-Aggression framework which some theorists in trying to elucidate aggression, points to the variance between what people want or deserve to what they actually get, that is the “want-get-ratio”(Feierabends, 1969:256-7) and difference between “expected need satisfaction” and “actual need satisfaction” (Davies, 1962:6). Where attainment is short of expectation, the tendency is there for the people to confront those they hold responsible for frustrating their ambitions. Giving credence to this, Ted Robert Gurr’s(1970:24) relative deprivation theory asserts that “the greater the discrepancy, however marginal, between what is sought and what seem attainable, the greater will be the chances that anger and violence will result.” The main thrust of frustration-aggression is that aggression is not just undertaken as a natural reaction or instinct as insinuated by theorists and biological theorists, rather, a product of frustration. In view of this, a situation where an individual is deprived a genuine desire, either directly or indirectly consequence upon the structural nature of the society, the implication of dissatisfaction may lead to expressing his annoyance through violence directed against those held accountable or those directly or indirectly connected to them.

Suitability of Frustration-Aggression Theory

Taking cognisance of the suitability of Frustration-Aggression theory to this study, three areas of restiveness in Nigeria are considered. First, the Niger Delta region; the crude oil exploration in the Niger Delta region with concomitant human and environmental degradation, has subjected the people to abject poverty as well as complete disregard to the people's welfare. Hence, the intricate trap of poverty and underdevelopment in the region provide a formula for frustration and potential aggression. This engendered violent resistance directed at those accountable (Federal Government) and those directly or indirectly connected. (Oil and Multi-national Companies) Going by the theory, that frustration precedes aggression, the rapidly increase in population of unemployed youths becomes easy targets for those seeking to turn umbrage and despondency to their own purpose which included politicians seeking for political power as well as those who have received training in the ways of militancy. The reaction to perceived injustice by the Federal Government and the Multinational Companies, created in the minds of the militants due to government insensitivity and the violent behaviours expressed are the result of individual frustration and potential aggression. Political conflict makes people look for ways to explain and solve the problems they are facing. If the problem is deeply rooted, as seen in human and environmental degradation, abject poverty and disregard to the Niger Delta people's welfare; and the current ideology proves unable to deal with the problems, such as mere violent resistance under the aegis of the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), an Ijaw ethnic militia group, led by Major Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro, people begin to turn to other ideologies. Perhaps, the basis for militancy, manifesting in pipeline vandalism, hostage-taking, piracy, kidnapping, and shedding of innocent blood etc. These are aberrations to Izon culture, hence, the need for cultural and value re-orientation for attitudinal change in the management of crisis in the Niger Delta.

In a similar vein, the current agitation for the Biafra Republic by the Ibos might not be unconnected with the divisive leadership style of the current President of Nigeria, Muhammed Buhari. After the Civil war, various strategies were designed to bind one Nigeria together; such as an insistence on rule of federal character intended to balance employment and appointment for persons of different ethnic groups. However, it was not until civilian administration of President Obasanjo that the Igbo were considered for senior positions. Obasanjo's economy team was majorly Igbo while he appointed a man of Igbo extract, Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi as Minister of Defence. He equally promoted Air Marshal Paul Dike as Chief of Air Staff while late President Yar'Adua made him Chief of Defence Staff two years later. The picture of the reintegration of the Igbo ended when Goodluck Jonathan made Lieutenant General Azuburike Ihejirika the Chief of Army Staff. (Richard: 2015:253-257). In his inaugural speech on assumption of office in May 29, 2015, Muhammed Buhari said, "I belong to everyone and I belong to nobody". The statement could infer that he was a President for all Nigerians and not

for one section of the ethnic composition of the country. However, his actions, appointments and policy-decisions have shown that he belongs to only one section of the Nigerian ethnic groups. Unfortunately, the most affected and marginalized ethnic group is the Ibo and this forms the basis for the agitation for the new Republic of Biafra, spearheaded by Nnamdi Kanu. Ibos were and are repressively attacked and killed by the Federal government troops under the watch of Muhammed Buhari. Kanu's home was attacked, destroyed and people killed.

Similarly, the agitation for Oduduwa Republic is borne out of the insensitivity and lackadaisical attitude of the Federal and Oyo State government to the plight of insecurity posed to the region by the Fulani herdsmen. Killing, maiming, banditry, kidnapping and ransom-taking become the order of the day by the Fulani herdsmen. Houses, hundreds of shops, cars, and petrol stations burnt. Farmers are killed while women and girls raped. The failure of the government to address this was instrumental to the action of the Yoruba activist Sunday Igboho who mobilized against the Fulani herdsmen. In like manner with Nnamdi Kanu, Sunday Igboho's house was attacked by the combination of Department of State Security and the Military. His properties were destroyed, people killed and some arrested. The Fulani herdsmen are of the extract with Muhammadu Buhari, so they perpetrate criminality with impunity. The action of the Fulani herdsmen and silence of the government engendered the agitation for Oduduwa Republic. Bandits and Boko Haram arrested were given amnesty simply because they are from the northern Nigeria while agitators from other ethnic groups; Yoruba and Ibo are repressively attacked by the Muhammed Buhari administration. In the words of Nelson Mandela, "Government violence can do only one thing that is to breed counter-violence." (Meredith Martins, 2011:114). It is evident that as long as it is government of man and not government of law practiced (Aliu, 2016:83-95) by Muhammed Buhari; coupled with the current spate of State and government institutions induced criminality, injustice and tribalism which engendered violent agitations by Ibo and Yoruba ethnic groups, Nigeria under Muhammadu Buhari would remain more divided than it was before he became the president of Nigeria.

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BROADCAST MEDIA'S COVID-19 MESSAGES, AND ITS IMPACT ON RESIDENTS IN ILORIN METROPOLIS: A STUDY OF NTA & CHANNELS TELEVISION

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ABSTRACT

The upsurge in spread of Corona Virus Disease, popularly known as COVID-19 across the globe; Nigeria inclusive, coupled with the media's persistent dissemination of information on this viral disease has led credence to the spread of panic among the populace. This is generally drawn from the fact that, the mass media as part of its statutory responsibilities is meant to perform surveillance role in the society, and to report any activities that are detrimental to the growth of the society. Thus, this study is geared towards examining the impact of broadcast media's COVID-19 messages on residents in Ilorin metropolis, and is anchored on the Agenda-Setting theory of the media as justification. The study further adopted the mixed method research design, by combining survey with in-depth interview. Findings through responses from the field revealed that the broadcast media; particularly NTA and Channels television have no doubt create massive awareness of the virus, but have not successfully douse the tension and panic created through their news reports. However, the study proffers strategies to reduce the fair and tension caused by media's news reports on COVID-19 among

residents in Ilorin. It was recommended among others that the media should strive towards striking a balance in their news reportage on the pandemic and other general issues of public interest, so as to avoid creating unnecessary tension where there is not.

Keywords: Broadcast Media, COVID 19, Impact, Messages, Metropolis

Introduction

A popular cliché says; ‘A healthy nation is a wealthy nation’. This underscores the importance of health in the overall development of any nation, as “it takes a healthy array of workforce to function effectively, by attending to issues, tasks, assignments, duties, and obligations in every society” (Odorume, 2015). Through this aforementioned, a Nations wealth and overall success in terms development may be pronounced. The mass media remains a major factor, as well as an important medium in the campaign towards sustainability of a Nation in the health sector. This is so because, through constant communication and massive awareness on health-related issues like; pandemic, outbreak of diseases, and other health risks, the mass media is laying importance and very much concern about our health development as a Nation.

The mass media are often regarded as the ‘fourth estate of the realm’ because of the enormous power it wields as well as its ability to exercise oversight function. The media’s pivotal role in societal development has been in recognition since the late 17th century, and remains a major basis of modern day development. The media can promote development and among other things, inform people, raise prior alarm systems on dangers, promote unity and tolerance among various societal groups, and ensure that people at the helms of affairs are put on their toes by assessing the various policies being pursued if not in the interest of the citizens (Lawal, 2019). Altschull, cited in Gupta and Sharma (2017) emphasizes that various media platforms are largely present in our daily life, and their impact on us is unquantifiable. These media plays crucial role as political and social gladiators, and they possesses certain powers needed to influence various aspect of human lives in a big way. Of course; health is a major aspect among these. By providing the needed information to people on major health problems like; pandemic, outbreak of diseases and others, the media is helping to creates attitudinal changes among people in the society. These changes may be related to change in their perception about a habit, unhealthy lifestyle, or preoccupied attitudes aimed at reinforcing existing beliefs. Daramola (2016) maintained that, the mass media possesses wider coverage and ability to influence millions of audiences, scattered in different geographical locations across the globe. With this capability, the mass media can be intensively engaged in health awareness programmes. Also, researches have proven that, the mass media, through the right use of messages, have the potential to influence

behavioral changes in the people (audience). The mass media can also act as an agent of change by positively influencing people's attitude towards their health.

Gupta and Sharma (2017) opines that mass media provides enlightenment on health information that is necessary for our daily life; thus, creating an enabling platform for people to make appropriate decisions about their lives, especially when it has to do with health. Also, evidences suggest that, mass media plays crucial role in providing information, and education about important events or happenings across the globe, this is an attestation to the fact that; media connects it audience to the world beyond their immediate reach. However, television as a sublet of the mass media has the potential to influence people's life in a big way. It possessed the ability to influence or shape our perception, beliefs, culture, and even affect our thinking and attitudes towards issues that emanates from our encounter with the reality of life (Gupta, 2006). Thus, television plays a vital role in creating awareness about certain issues affecting the populace. The information needs of the people warranted the sole purpose of establishing the media. Through the agenda-setting role of mass media, television has been able to analyse critical issues of public concern. This is done through programme analysis, debates, public opinion among others.

Problem Statement

There is no gainsaying that, Corona Virus disease otherwise called *COVID 19* is a pandemic that has affected almost all sectors of the economy across the globe. Notable countries with strong economic base are shutting down their countries, entry points and borders, and restricting internal movements and trading within their territory, in order to checkmate the spread of this ravaging virus. This has further dampened the economy of these countries with adverse effects on their GDP (WHO, 2020). Concomitantly, *COVID 19* pandemic is a challenging global health issue of recent time. Obviously, the spate at which the virus travels is without border, and it continues to challenge the health systems (public & private) of about 200 countries. No doubt, this new virus (COVID-19) posed a great challenge to governments globally. Nigeria recorded it first case of this virus on 27th February, 2020. As a highly contagious virus, the number of new *COVID 19* cases discovered in Nigeria keeps skyrocketing on daily basis, causing government across the three levels to implement different strategies to stop the spread of the virus and limit the mortality rate resulting from the disease.

However, the mass media's expertise has come to bear in this current outbreak. The mass media is an important agent of the society through which people make their lives meaningful, as well as improve social activities within the society. People regularly watch television and listen to radio for their information news, as well as visit the newspaper stands for the same purpose. Even, where information circulates around; no iota of credibility will be ascribed to it unless the media confirmed such. Over many decades now, the mass media especially television, radio, newspaper and magazines

have been the main source of information dissemination such that it pivotal role as 'fourth estate of the realm' is undisputable (Daramola, 2016). No doubt that, media's role in every society is to provide education, information and enlightenment, and it is assumed that, if these aforementioned roles are effectively carried out, people in the society will live freely and without fear.

Today, in Nigeria, several outbreaks of diseases have been witnessed, but the question begging for an answer is; how has the mass media provide information and enlightenment on dangers and risks of these outbreaks? How come that media's awareness has little or no effect in terms of public's compliance? Has the broadcast media not commensurate to other media systems elsewhere? These among other pertinent questions are what this study seeks to identify. Similarly, fewer researches have been carried out till date on broadcast media and health reportage (Gunther, 1992; Eveland & Shah, 2003; Kovacic, et al 2010; Golan & Baker, 2012; Odoemelam, 2015; and Ademosu, 2017), but none of these researches explored the area of broadcast media *COVID 19* messages impact, since *COVID 19* itself is a novel issue. It is against the aforementioned that this study evaluates impact of broadcast media's *COVID-19* messages on residents in Ilorin metropolis, using NTA and Channels television as case studies.

Objectives of the Study

The study's main objective is to examine how broadcast media disseminates *COVID 19* information and messages among residents in Ilorin metropolis. The specific objectives were as follows:

- i. To ascertain the extent to which the residents in Ilorin metropolis have been exposed to news and information on *COVID 19* through the television.
- ii. To establish the extent to which residents in Ilorin metropolis are influenced with messages and information on *COVID 19* through the television.
- iii. To find out the level of credibility of *COVID 19* information on television compared to other medium of information dissemination.

Research Questions

The statement of the problem and the objectives inform the following research questions for this study:

- i. To what extent have residents in Ilorin metropolis been exposed to news and information on *COVID 19* through the television?
- ii. To what extent are residents in Ilorin metropolis been influenced with messages and information on *COVID 19* through the television?
- iii. How credible are *COVID 19* information on the television compared to other medium of information dissemination?

Overview of COVID 19 Pandemic in Nigeria

The *COVID-19* pandemic is a challenging global health issue of recent time. The outbreak was first discovered in Wuhan, China, around December 2019, and was declared to be a public health emergency of global concern a month thereafter. It was further given international recognition as a pandemic by the World Health Organization (WHO, 2020) on 11th March 2020. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), this global pandemic firstly known to emerged from a novel *coronavirus*. Within a short period, COVID-19 has metamorphosed from a small outbreak to a pandemic, propelling the World Health Organization to see it as a public health emergency of international concern, and a socioeconomic crisis affecting lives. Indeed, the spate at which this virus travels is without border, and it continues to pose a major threat to the various health systems (public & private) of several countries across the world, thereby making governance all over the world a herculean task.

However, Nigeria recorded her first case of this virus on 27th February, 2020, when an Italian national based in Lagos tested positive for the virus. Thereafter, almost all states in the country have recorded their cases too, as the number of new cases discovered keeps skyrocketing every day, and this has forced government across the three levels to implement various strategies aimed at stopping the spread of the virus and limit the mortality rate resulting from it. Furthermore, government's approach in tackling this pandemic and the effectiveness of these approaches seems to significantly vary. Although the answer is relatively yet unknown and this may change in the future. Such differences demand deep reflections, because the spread of this virus worldwide poses additional challenge not just to the health sector, but also to the economy at large.

Roles of Television in Disseminating Information in the Society

The media of mass communication is divided into both broadcast (electronic) and print media. The print media involves mainly newspapers, magazines and other printable platforms; they are informers which provide information that can be retrievable, researched, in-depth and interpretative about an event. The broadcast media comprises of the radio and television, and is being considered because of its dual mode of combining audio with visuals, as well as actuality. Many people (viewers) regularly stay glued to their television set and radio set for information on daily basis and likewise surrounds the magazine and newspaper stands in order to have access to information. This attests to the fact that, television news can be said to be most widely sourced, especially due to the nature of television as an audio-visual medium of communication, and ability to blend motion with pictures, thus; creating a means where viewers can both hear, and at the same time see whatever is being disseminated.

Hassan and Daniyan (2013, p. 16) opines that “television is the most powerful medium which affects through its content i.e., infotainment”. This implies that, television should inform and at the same time; entertain the audience (viewers). In a situation where information or news is being spread around in a particular society; it may not carry any iota of credibility or truth, until such information is confirmed by the media. For some decades, the fact cannot be denied or undermined that mass media especially television, radio, newspaper and magazines have been a major source of information dissemination, as the fourth estate of the realm, and also performing watchdog role in the society at large.

Mass Media (Television) and Behavioural Change

There is no gainsaying that, the media acts as instrument for reinforcing the existing health beliefs and behaviors. In short, the media is instrumental towards instilling behavioural change about knowledge, attitudes about health, and healthy behaviors. Collins, Elliot & Berry (2003) maintains that, media plays the role of change agent in the society. They also influence the behavior of people for the sake of better and improve health, by adapting to preventive measures that can curtail the spread of diseases i.e. use of condom to stop HIV/AIDS. Thus, the media helps to promote healthy lifestyle and positive behavioral changes among the people, by creating awareness, mobilizing, providing necessary information and educating them about various health issues.

Theoretical Justification

Agenda-Setting Theory

The agenda-setting theory as propounded by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972/1973 proposes that, facts which people know about public issues tend to be those which the mass media presents to them. The theory rests on the basic assumption that the mass media sets agenda for public discussion, as they may not always determine what we think, but what we think about. The theory also hinged on the following assumptions:

- i. The mass media do not reflect social reality because news is filtered, chosen and shaped by newsroom staff or broadcasters.
- ii. People get their news from limited sources due to the fact that they do not pay attention to all outlets; thus they rely solely on the mass media.
- iii. Few media agenda, which were chosen by professional gatekeepers, lead people to perceive given issues as important.

As observed by Wimmer and Dominick (2000) cited in Asemah, Nwammuo and Nkwam-Uwaoma- (2017), the theory on agenda setting by the media proposes that, the public agenda or the kind of things people discuss, think and worry about is powerfully shaped and directed by what the media choose to publicise. This means that, if the news

media (television) choose to give the most of it time and space to covering *COVID 19* pandemic, this issue will become the most important item on the mind of the audience. The foregoing implies that “the media play drums, and when they play their drums; we begin to dance to the tune of their music”.

However, the relevance of agenda-setting theory to the study under review is that, television as a sublet of the media has successfully created fear in minds of the audience through various *COVID 19* information that are disseminated from time to time. Most of this information (messages) as observed on NTA and Channels television centers on numbers of people the pandemic affects number of casualties that are dead, and how the virus can easily spread among people.

Methodology

To achieve its set objectives, the study employed mixed method research design which involves combination of survey with in-depth interview, as residents in Ilorin metropolis made up the population of the study. However, Ilorin metropolis comprises of Ilorin East, West, South and Asa local government areas, also, the 2006 Population Census put the population figure of these 4 LGAs at 906,602 (www.npcwara.com/2006NationalPopulationCensus).

Also, the sample size was calculated from the total population figure of 906,602, using the Krechie and Morgan formula, and this gave a result of 384 respondents selected for the study. The Krechie and Morgan table indicates that; “for a population above 50,000. Three hundred and eighty-four (384) is the minimum sample size”. Moreover, purposive sampling technique was adopted to select the 384 respondents in major strategic locations within the 4 LGAs. Respondents were purposively picked in areas like; Tanke/Oke-Odo, Taiwo Road, Iyana Afon, Fufu, Post Office/Challenge, Unity Area, Eiyenkorin, Garin-Alimi/Asa Dam Road, Sango and Sawmill Area respectively. While 10 participants were selected among registered medical practitioners that are specialists in public health within Kwara State for the in-depth interview, through snowball sampling. Their records were obtained from the official documents of the Nigerian Medical Association (Kwara State Chapter). The questionnaire and interview guide were the two main instruments used to collect data from the respondents. The data obtained were further analyzed with descriptive analysis using simple and percentage distribution table. Interviews were analysed thematically.

Data Analysis/ Discussion of Findings

Data Analysis

The quantitative aspect of the data analysis was interpreted with the use of percentage score and statistical description, while the qualitative aspect was thematically analysed through themes and patterns. A total of 384 copies of questionnaire were distributed to

respondents who are residents in Ilorin metropolis, while 10 participants participated in the in-depth interview. Out of 384 copies of questionnaire distributed, 370 copies were correctly filled and returned. Therefore, the data analysis was based on the 370 questionnaires that were returned.

Quantitative Data

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Age		
21-29	32	9.2%
30-39	92	25.0%
40-49	152	41.2%
50-59	65	18.0%
60 and above	29	7.6%
Total	370	100%
Educational Qualification		
First School Leaving Cert	22	5.7%
SSCE	55	15.0%
OND/NCE	82	22.4%
HND/B.Sc	173	46.8%
M.Sc & Above	38	10.1%
Total	370	100%
Occupation		
Farmer	12	3.4%
Trader	99	26.8%
Artisan	123	33.1%
Civil Servant	76	20.6%
Private Employee	43	11.5%
Unemployed	17	4.6%
Total	370	100%
Gender		
Male	203	55.0%
Female	167	45.0%
Total	370	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 2: Respondents' frequency of exposure to television

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Very Often	104	28.0%
Often	198	53.7%
Sparingly	46	12.3%
Occasional	22	6.0%
Total	370	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 3: Respondents' responses on extent which they are exposed to *COVID 19* news and information on television

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Very High	84	22.6%
High	176	47.5%
Moderate	63	17.2%
Low	35	9.6%
Very Low	12	3.1%
Total	370	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 4: Respondents' responses on the influence of *COVID 19* messages and information on the television

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Very High	90	24.4%
High	186	50.3%
Moderate	42	11.3%
Low	33	9%
Very Low	19	5%
Total	370	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 5: Respondents' views on the credibility of *COVID 19* messages on the television, compared to other medium of information dissemination

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Highly Credible	88	23.8%
Credible	227	61.6%
Fair	43	11.4%
Not Credible	12	3.2%
Total	370	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 6: Respondents' opinion of television *COVID 19* messages

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Awareness Creation	92	25.0%
Educative	67	18.0%
Fear Inducement	145	39.1%
Knowledge Update	24	6.7%
Others	41	11.2%
Total	370	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Qualitative Data

Theme 1: Background, Position and Experience of Participants

The participants are mostly educated and versed in their various areas of health specialisations. Majority of them are experts in the area of public health, and possessed clear understanding of the risks associated with pandemic diseases. Also, 4 out of the 10 participants are regular analysts on television.

Participant 1: A medical and public health practitioner, male, married, works in an NGO, and practices Islam religion.

Participant 2: A medical consultant and public health expert, female, married with two children, works in a government establishment, and a Christian by religion.

Participant 3: A virologist and medical consultant, public health expert, male, married, works in a government parastatal, and practices Islam.

Participant 4: A medical practitioner with specialization in public health, male, single, works in a private facility, and a practicing Muslim.

Participant 5: A clinical health practitioner, public health advocate, female, married, works in a government establishment, and a Muslim by religion.

Participant 6: A medical laboratory scientist, public health analyst, male, married works in a private medical facility, practices Christianity.

Participant 7: A senior nursing practitioner, public health advocate, female, married, and a Christian by religion.

Participant 8: A medical consultant and reproductive health expert, single, male, a Muslim by religion, and a public health analyst.

Participant 9: A medical health practitioner, consultant on public health expert with over 27 years of practice, male, married with two children, works in a government establishment, and a Christian by religion.

Participant 10: A health educationist, public health analyst, married, operates an NGO, and practices Christianity.

Theme 2: *Credibility of television messages on COVID 19*

Majority of the respondents rated the various COVID 19 messages on television (NTA and Channels) high; in terms of credibility of information. But were of concern on what the media were reporting, rather than what they ought to report. However, participant 5 observed that the media should have focused its attention on how the spread of the virus can be mitigated, and how best to avoid its mass transmission. Also, participant 9 stressed that “the media aside from giving the updates on numbers of casualties; should have enlighten the masses more on how the virus spreads”. However, participants 2 and 10 were of contrary opinion that; “the two selected media have done their best by providing the masses with the necessary information needed to avoid contracting COVID 19 disease”.

Theme 3: *Public’s level of awareness on COVID 19*

The respondents’ opinion on the level of awareness from the media to the public on COVID 19 is too low. They maintained that the selected media (NTA and Channels) should have reduced their programme activities and schedule, and give more attention to news and activities on COVID 19. Participant 3, 5 and 9 were of the opinion that news content on COVID 19 that were provided to the public are not informative enough, and this has resulted into fear, panic and unrest among the public. Furthermore, participant 1 and 7 emphasized that the media initially provides the public with necessary information on COVID 19, but get tired along the line. Also, participant 2 and 10 buttressed this statement by saying that the selected media have to back down as a result of the devastating effects it will have on their stations if not reviewed, these effects include mass retrenchment, dwindling revenue, loss of advertisers among other things.

Theme 4: *Influence of television’s COVID 19 messages on the public*

The respondents’ opinion on the above theme varies and differs. Some were of the belief that the COVID 19 messages on the selected media have been able to influence the public by complying with the social distancing protocols and other restrictive policies from government through the presidential taskforce on COVID 19. Participants 1, 2, 3, and 5 opined that in fairness to the two selected media; they have tried their best in terms of giving out information, but the rate of compliance with protocols by members of the public is low. These according to them have led to persistent rise in the number of cases on daily basis, as evident in the NCDC daily COVID 19 infection statistics.

Discussion of Findings

The quantitative aspect of the research in which survey method was used, ascertained that 370 respondents participated in the study, out of which 203 (55.0%) were males and 167 (45.0%) were females. The result also indicated that 32 (9.2%) of the respondents were within the age bracket of 21-29 years; 92 (25.0%) were within the age of 30-39 years; 152 (41.2%) were within the age of 40-49 years; 65 (18.0%) were within the age of 50-59 years; while 29 (7.6%) were of age 60 years and above. In the categories of occupations covered, 12 (3.4%) respondents were Farmers; 99 (26.8%) respondents were Traders; 123 (33.1%) respondents were into Artisan; 76 (20.6%) respondents were Civil servants; 43 (11.5%) respondents were Private employees; while 17 (4.6%) unemployed. Furthermore, the findings revealed that respondents' frequency of exposure to television is persistent, as well as their exposure to COVID 19 news and information on television is high as shown in table 3. However, the selected media were not able to use the COVID 19 information to create necessary awareness and update the knowledge of the public on the virus, but were unconsciously inducing fear in the minds of the people. The study also revealed that television; through the selected media have influenced the respondents to take necessary actions on COVID 19. This findings is in tandem with the assertion of Odorume (2015) that; "the mass media remain a key component and veritable tool in the campaign towards sustainable health in Nigeria. This is so because, through adequate health communication and campaigns on health issues; the mass media have proven to be much concern about our health development".

In the qualitative aspect of the study, which entails the use of in-depth interview to elicit responses from 10 selected participants; who are experts in public health. They affirmed that the two media been reviewed have done well in terms of credibility of information. But did not focus their coverage on how best to curtail the continuous spread of the virus, and how to avoid community transmission, rather; they were reporting figures as well as numbers of casualties. These, they believe have created fear and panic in the minds of the public. Also, the participants opined that the selected media should have streamlined their programme schedule, by giving more attention to COVID 19 reports. Majority of them were of the view that news content provided to the public on the virus is not informative enough.

CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

The role of mass media in development; especially in area of sustainable health throughout the world is very vital. Without the mass media, government, health promoters, public health experts and stakeholders might find it difficult to communicate health information, as well as coordinate health activities in various countries of the world. In this study, effort was made to examine the impact of broadcast media's COVID 19 messages on residents in Ilorin metropolis. It was evident from the study that, the media (television) have done their best by making information on the virus available in due time; through the facts and figures of casualties affected by the virus.

But, have not successfully provided full information on how to mitigate the spread of the virus, and how best to comply with the social distancing and other restrictive protocols issued by concerned stakeholders. Although, it was established in the study that television is still the most effective medium for health communication, because of its unique advantage of appealing to two senses of human being (eyes & ears).

Based on critical examination and review of the previous literature, position of the theories, and findings in the study, the following are therefore recommended;

- i. The mass media (radio, television & others) should at often time review their contents on health issues, so as to checkmate whether such content is yielding the needed results by positively influencing the public to take necessary action.
- ii. Government as a matter of necessity should include media practitioners and public health experts in the Presidential Taskforce on COVID 19, and other future engagements in the health sector. This will ensure adequate and necessary information is given to members of the public in due time.
- iii. Medical experts and critical stakeholders in the health sector should put the media on their toes by featuring prominently on various programmes and activities initiated by the media on public health matters.
- iv. The media should strive towards striking a balance in their news reportage on the pandemic (COVID 19) and other public health issues, so as to avoid creating unnecessary tension where there is not.

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DISCONTENT: DOMESTIC SATIRE IN HAUSA WOMEN'S ORAL PERFORMANCE

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Abstract

The study of satire has been conducted from different perspectives but imagery in domestic satire has been overlooked, especially in the study of Hausa women's performances. This paper thus examines domestic satire sung by Hausa women who are unable to publicly express their displeasure about some domestic situations in their polygamous homes. Resorting to satire, the women are able to speak their truth, criticize incidents of unfair treatments and express their dissatisfaction about circumstances they cannot change. Using Sigmund Freud's concept of Ego, the paper investigates the women's conscious desire to express their pent-up emotions and their unconscious need to lament against social norms. The study finds that the women create images in their songs using similes, metaphors and subliminal messages; expressions which afford them limited culpability as they express dissenting views about societal expectations of polygamy.

Keywords: Satire, domestic satire, Hausa women's performances, subliminal messages.

INTRODUCTION

The need to correct bad behaviour is intrinsic in man and as Adeoti (2000) says, so is the desire to mock and exaggerate human excesses, for correction and for amusement. While the powerful can do it explicitly, the powerless do it implicitly, thus opening up the need for satire, a genre described by LeBoeuf (2007), as a "powerful art form which has the ability to point out the deficiencies in certain human behaviours and the social issues which result from them in such a way that they become absurd, even hilarious..." and by Hodgart (2010), as having origins in a state of mind which is critical and aggressive, usually one of irritation, at the latest examples of human absurdity, inefficiency or wickedness.

Satire is also defined as "the literary art of diminishing or derogating a subject by making it ridiculous and evoking toward it attitudes of amusement, contempt, scorn, or

indignation (Abrams 1999). It can be Horatian - a type of satire where one criticizes individuals or social vices using gentle, mild, and light-hearted humour, rather than attacking the vice or individual directly, Juvenalian - a harsh form of satire, where targets are scorned, criticised and portrayed as evil and monstrous or Menippean - the oldest type of satire which is characterised by a mixture of seriousness and mockery of individuals.

Satire is not necessarily targeted at an individual as Wa Thing'o (1972) points out. He says it "takes for its province, a whole society and for its purpose, criticism. Tejumola Olaniyan (1988) further explains that:

"satire focuses its lens on our failings as a community of people, and magnifies one or several of such sores for critical inspection, using as its surgical tools such sharp weapons as scorn, derision, ridicule, bitter irony and laughter.

Studies have been conducted on the definition of and nature of satire (Akpah 2018) its structure and functions (Akingbe 2014), on children's satire (Olusola n.d), satire in gospel songs (Adedeji 2003), on political satire (Akanmade 2016) and on satire in contemporary pops songs (Yastanti, and Safitri 2016). While Akpah focuses on aesthetics of humour, satire and parody in women's poetry by Nigerian female poets and explores the linguistic manipulation or deployment of satire, humour, and parody as textual acrobatics in reflecting and countering the displacement of women in Nigeria's socio-cultural milieu, Akingbe examines the works of contemporary Nigerian poets to emphasise their roles as conduits for the concerns of the Nigerian Society and Olusola collected, analysed and identified the forms and relevance of the musical genre of children's satirical songs in the Yoruba society and found that children lampooned deviant behaviour in other the children for their self-entertainment as well for correction,

In addition, Adedeji looks into the satirical presentations of gospel messages in Nigerian gospel music performances, Akanmode examines socio-political satire by focusing on some identifiable traditional aesthetics that are deployed as a means of satirizing Nigerian Leaders in Femi Osofisan's 'Many Colours Make the Thunder-King', as a means of solving the social-political and economic problems of Nigeria and Yastanti and Safitri analysed 3 of Alicia Keys' songs, in order to study how imagery is used to explain women's lives and their experiences.

Despite all the scholarly attention given to satire, little has been paid to domestic satire especially in the studies of Hausa women's performances. As a matter of fact, Knight (2004) believes that "satire is not on the whole, private and domestic. It tends to be concerned with public issues and with public examples of those issues". This study

intends to show that domestic satire exists in the private domain and that it deals with private, domestic issues. The songs for the study were collected during telephone and personal interviews with 4 women - Magaji, Bala, Gambo and Mohammad, in Donga and Jalingo Local government areas of Taraba State, in April, May and June, 2020. 10 extracts from 10 of these satirical songs will be examined.

Domestic satire occurs where women as individuals, not as representatives of their gender, sing songs to criticise cases of cultural and patriarchal dominance and to lament against marginalisation, loss of position and power, in order to seek redress. Most women fantasise about and believe in the institution of marriage which promises them respect, safety and care but as it often turns out, this same social institution which is created to solve their issues, often creates more problems than solutions. When Hausa women discover lapses, discriminatory practices and unfair representation of cultural laws within their marriage therefore, they find comical ways to deal with the paradox and create an awareness. Hence, they attack their oppressors using satire which Hodgart (2010, *ibid.* p. 37) says offers them the opportunity to express their rebellions figuratively, in funny, memorable and hurtful ways. It also affords them the chance to paint “real men and women, often in lurid colours, but always with unforgettable clarity” (Highet 1962).

To achieve clarity and avoid culpability, the Hausa women in this study use metaphors, similes and hyperbole. They realise that they cannot correct or change the individual or custom oppressing them, physically, so they use words to create images with which their oppressor is easily recognizable. The fun they derive in mocking their oppressors, Hodgart (2010, *ibid.* p. 12) calls an ‘abstraction’ – the tension/bitterness evoked by unpleasant personal relationships, transmitted into delight at the creation of a beautifully absurd figure which is both like and unlike the subject. So, while they are trying to point out the follies in their oppressors, the women also find amusement in making fun of their targets. According to Keller (2009), language can be used not only to “subvert authoritative language” but also as a tool to indicate an individual’s desire to point out and change unfair social and economic practices.

Sigmund Freud (as translated by Riviere 1960) states that “in each individual, there is a coherent organization of mental processes; and we call this his ego”. He adds that “consciousness is attached to this ego, which controls the approaches to motility”. Riviere (*ibid.*, p. 19) explains that the ego is subject to the influence of instincts and perception and represents reason and common sense. This means therefore, that the ego is the rational part of the mind which recognises antagonism and dictates the individual’s reaction to such. It also controls an individual’s subconscious need for gratification, especially when the individual’s sense of morality is upset. The concept of the ego’s drive which takes care of voluntary movements will guide the current study on the Hausa women’s conscious need to seek redress and their unconscious desire to lament against oppressive societal norms.

Contextual circumstances of Hausa women's Satire

Hausa women's satirical songs occur within the private sphere of their husbands' compounds where they sing extemporaneously, usually as they perform their chores. The effectiveness of their satirical songs depends on a shared understanding between the singer and her audience, so that she is able to hit her target as intended. Therefore, the singer moves around as she sings, ensuring that her words are heard by her target and any other person who might be around to listen and enjoy the discomfort of her victim(s).

The songs are targeted at three people - their co-wives, their husbands and their mothers - in law, in that order. Co-wives are the main targets of Hausa women's domestic satire as their presence creates the most pain. Husbands bear the brunt of the verbal attacks next, for marrying more wives or for neglect and lastly, the husbands' mothers who expect blind devotion from their son's wives and acceptance of their imposition in their sons' houses. Most often than not, the oppressors do not care that they are causing pain so the women suffer in silence until they find the strength to vent their frustrations. The feelings generated by the anger which has accrued over time determines the force with which the women express their annoyance and the images they use to mock their target(s) so when her target is within earshot, the satirist speaks as herself or "from behind a mask" which does not really hide her identity as she states her complaints, gives instances of bad behaviour and ridicules her antagonists. (Highet 1962, *ibid.* p. 13).

In a manner which validates Griffin's (1994) claim that "satire proceeds by means of a clear reference to some moral standard or reference", the Hausa female satirist ridicules excessive communal laws, demonstrating the levels of her acceptance/ rejection of such laws. She recognizes that her oppressors (particularly her husband and his mother) are not beyond reproach and she shows in her songs, how heartless and blind they can be. The victims are thus whipped back into conformity, regardless of their standing in society, for the maintenance of social order (Adeoti 2008, *ibid.* p. 160).

In many of the satiric songs in this study, the women tell stories of their lives and experiences, making their songs monologic narratives - the method of delivery is a combination of observation and misrepresentation of the oppressors' figure in a way that draws their listeners in as they try to make him understand how they feel. (Wa Thiong'o *ibid.*) explains this need when he says that the satirist "invites us to assume his standards and share the moral indignation which moves him to pour derision and ridicule on society's failings". Although the listener is often dismayed that an esteemed individual or norm is being criticized, (Akpah, *ibid.* p. 34) avers that "h/she is consoled by the humour which often provokes laughter in the mockery of the perpetrators of the particular vices".

Imagery in Hausa Domestic Satire

Married women in Africa contend with patriarchal dominance and Hausa Muslim women have had to accept and live with Islamic injunctions which proscribe multiple marriages, in addition to patriarchal hegemony. The women are expected to live in cultural silence, submission and acquiescence to husbands and in-laws, so much so that the “subordination is internalized and becomes integral to individualized, subordinated identities” (Meyers 2002). Despite their acceptance though, Hausa women find circumspect ways to vent, introducing imagery into their satire.

According to Abrams (ibid. p. 121), Imagery signifies “all the objects and qualities of sense perception referred to in a poem or other work of literature, whether by literal description, by *allusion*, or in the vehicle (the secondary references) of its similes and metaphors”. (Baldick 2001) adds that imagery is a “rather vague critical term, those uses of language in a literary work that evoke sense-impressions by literal or figurative reference to perceptible or ‘concrete’ objects, scenes, actions, or states, as distinct from the language of abstract argument or exposition”.

In some cases, the satirist’s intended message is directly stated but sometimes, the women use metaphors that present their target’s incongruities in ways which requires the listener to unravel their intended message. This way, they express their truth in order to find ease in their suffering while also covertly attacking the cause(s) of their pain. The circuitous manner which the women attack their oppressors is a form of protest, a way of venting their frustrations as well as “an avenue for passing comments on various social attitudes and how much such affect the life of people on a private level or within a public sphere” (Rotimi 2018).

Stating their laments in an indirect manner does not always protect the Hausa women satirists from retribution though, because as (Knight, ibid. p. 3) says,

“The element of play that usually marks the attack may make matters worse, insofar as, from the victim’s point of view, being mocked may seem more distressing than merely being disagreed with, however strongly or publicly, or it may, to the audience, make the attack more tolerable by making it entertaining”.

One of my sources (I. Gambo) told me about a mother - in- law who pressurised her son into divorcing his first wife when she (his mother) overheard the first wife singing a song in which she criticised her husband, his other wife and his mother.

Satirical descriptions of women oppressing women

Majority of Hausa women's satirical songs as already stated, are targeted at other women who cause them pain. The most common being their co-wives and their mothers – in –law. In these songs, the singers make caricatures of their oppressors, ridiculing them in attempts to force redress (in the case of a mother-in-law) and to demean and deflate (in the case of a co-wife).

Satires about co-wives.

1. Hausa

Kishiya wutar kirya,
Dariya a baka, duk na kowa ne

Maganar ciki sai da rayi na
Ki na son shi, ni ina son shi
Sai ki kawo wuka mu tsaga shi
Ashe kishiya irin na ki,
Allah kar ya bai wa yar'uwa na.

Ba ta yi kamar mata ba mai kama
da shirwa cikin kada
Kishiya wutar kirya
Ban yi da ke ba, kin ansa ni
Da na yi da ke, ki yanka ni.

Ban yi da ke ba kin ansa ni,
Da na yi da ke ki sheme ni.

English

Co-wife, slow burning fire
Laughing with the mouth, everyone's
friend

Only my soul feels what is hidden
You love him, I love him
So bring a knife so we can slice him
Your kind of co-wife,
May God not give my sister

She does not look like a woman, she looks
like a hawk in a cage
Co-wife, slow burning fire
I was not talking to you, you replied me
If I was talking to you, you would have
slaughtered me
I was not talking to you, you replied me
If I was talking to you, you would have
hit me

The singer begins by using a metaphor of a piece of wood which burns slowly. She compares her co-wife to that piece of wood because she sees the other woman pretending to be nice to everyone else while she “burns” her (the co-wife) slowly in the house. The singer introduces ambiguity in her lament when she says “maganar ciki, sai da rayi na” (only my soul feels what is hidden). Ciki” in Hausa, is stomach or inside, depending on the pronunciation of the word, but both can be used to represent something hidden. In her song, she explains how she is the only one who knows the depth of her torment by using “ciki” (stomach) and “rai” (life/Soul) to express how deeply affected she is by her co-wife's insidious nature.

In the next lines, she tells her co-wife that she also has a claim on their husband and the other woman should get used to that fact. She also points out how wicked the other woman is, adding that she would not wish the other woman's brand of wickedness on another woman.

Her abject voice changes to mockery when she tells the other woman that she does not look like a woman and goes on to compare her to a hawk in a cage. The image created by this simile is of a wild bird incarcerated and inhibited from acting on its instincts. In essence, she is pointing out to the other woman, how the law proscribing polygamy prevents her (the singer) from being sent out of the house.

Toward the end of the excerpt, the metaphor of the slow burning wood is repeated to emphasise the co-wife's deceptive nature and the excerpt ends with a description of how aggressive she is.

The next song is one in which the satirist criticises co-wives who influence their husbands by fetish means.

2. Hausa

English

Da Allah ka ba ni kishiya mai jego
as a co-wife

Kafun ta yaye, na ci duniya

Idan sunan uban ki Sarkin tsafi

Sunan uba na Karya tambaya

Idan sunan uban ki sarkin tsafi

Sunan uba na Karya tambaya

Lalayya mata ma su duniya

Arayye, nanaye iye lalayya

Lalayya mata ma su duniya

Da badun Karya tambaya da

na sha ba, da na yi nisa da duniya

Da fadi ba tambaye ki ba, na gidan mu

kurna mai yawan zuba

Please God give me a nursing mother

Before the child is weaned off, I have
enjoyed myself.

If your father's name is King of fetishes

My father's name is Break questions

If your father's name is King of fetishes

My father's name is Break questions

Lalayya, women who own the world

Arayye, nanaye iye lalayya

Lalayya, women who own the world

If I had not drunk Break questions,

I would have left the world far behind

She who speaks without being asked

the one in our house, the kurna that
drops incessantly.

The singer starts by praying for a co-wife who gives birth a lot, indicating her acceptance of the inevitability of sharing her husband with another wife. Her prayer for a specific type of woman stems from the Hausa custom of lactating mothers not having intercourse with their husbands until the child is weaned off. (a child spacing technique). So the singer, prays that whoever her husband marries, is able to procreate so that she (the singer) would enjoy her husband while the other woman is breastfeeding her child.

Next, the singer brags about her father's ability to protect her, naming him "karya tambaya" (break questions) while in the same breath, insulting her co-wife's father by calling him "Sarkin Tsafi" (King of fetishes), contrasting the different kinds of

parenting. The repetition occurs for emphasis so that the co-wife would know the singer is not afraid of her.

The phrase “mata ma su duniya” sounds like praise but it is actually an insult, a condescending epithet given to women who are concerned about worldly things and who may have gotten wealth or fame through fetish means.

The satirist uses a descriptive clause “fadi ba tambaye ki ba” (speak without being asked) to refer to her co-wife, creating the image of a verbose gossip; an image that is amplified by the use of a metaphor of the kurna, a fruit from a tree which when ripe, drops on the ground even without the tree being shaken. The singer thus, finds a way to insult a co-wife who had been strutting around the house showing off her pregnancy and bragging about her ability to control their husband.

The next song is another lament about a supercilious, fetish co-wife. In it, the satirist uses metaphors to compare the other woman’s growth to food items in a way that would ridicule and deflate her ego.

3. Hausa

English

Bismillahi, Rabbana, zan fara.

In the name of God, the great one, I will start.

Wakan shegiyar kasa.

The song of the useless soil

Girman karkashi, girman lalo

Growing like Beniseed, growing like Jute

Girman biredi, babu hankali.

Growing like bread, senseless

Ni ba kishiya na ke tsoro ba,

I am not afraid of a co-wife

Wata kishiya kudi, wata jari

Some co-wives are riches, some, investments

Ni na wa kam ba abun da ta yi mini.

Mine did not do anything for me

Ni ba kishiya na ke tsoro ba,

I am not afraid of a co-wife

Kishi da ballagaza, chikon gari

Sharing a husband with a loose one, a town filler.

Girman karkashi da girman lalo.

Growing like Beniseed and growing like Jute.

This satirist announces her intention to start something, an action which she explains in her next verse – a song about a “useless soil”. The metaphor becomes clearer to the listener when she continues with the similes “girman karkashi, girman lalo, girman biredi, babu hankali” (Growing like Beniseed, growing like Jute, growing like bread, senseless). The similes and the metaphor are combined to create a picture of a buffoon, a woman who grew up rapidly without learning manners. The singer also compares her co-wife to bread, referring to the way it rises, indicating that the other woman is full of air and thus, senseless.

In order not to appear too anxious and give the other woman an edge, the singer quickly explains that she is not afraid of having a co-wife, because some co-wives bring affluence. (This is alluding to the fact that some husbands appease the first wife with gifts of cash and clothes when they are marrying another wife). She goes on though, to point out that her co-wife did not bring any good fortune her way and in the next lines, she gives more reasons for being wary about co-wives as she continues with:

Hausa

Kishi da ‘yar maye na ke gudu
Girman biredi babu hankali
Ni ba kishiya na ke tsoro ba
Kishi da yar mallam na ke gudu

English

Sharing a husband with a wizard’s
daughter is what I’m trying to avoid
Rising like bread, senseless
I’m not afraid of a co-wife
Sharing a husband with a soothsayer’s
daughter is what I’m trying to avoid

She points out that she is afraid of sharing her husband with a wizard’s daughter or a soothsayer’s daughter, and not necessarily afraid of another woman taking her place in her husband’s heart. The images she creates in her song are meant to debase the other woman and show that the attention she is getting from their husband is unnatural.

4. Hausa

Sukutun sukutun ta wuce ni
Mai kama da katankon kubewa
Mai kama da gini babu yabe.
Dada ringi karin magana ne

English

Sukutun sukutun, she walked passed me
She who resembles an Okro pod
She who resembles an un-plastered house
Dada Ringi is a proverb

In the excerpt above, the singer uses the onomatopoeiac “sukutun sukutun” to describe her co-wife’s way of walking; a choice of words which create an image of a fat, clumsy person in motion. She then compares the other woman to an Okro pod and an un-plastered house - two things which make the listener picture someone coarse and ugly in a way designed to generate laughter and hurt the co-wife.

In the next excerpt, the satirist exhibits a sign of haughtiness as she chooses to praise herself in order to oppress and caution her co- wife against testing her mettle.

5. Hausa

Aye gambashi, Aye gambasa
ƙashin wayewa ƙashin ganewa
Gama gama gama gama cikin dubu

English

Aye gambashi, Aye gambasa
The bones of awareness, the bones
of understanding,
compare, compare, compare among
A thousand

Ba bu mai kyau ba	There is no good one.
Wayyo ni Allah, ruwa ba sa'an kwando ba	Oh by Allah, water is not mates with the basket
A gan mu a raina a taba mu a sha wiya	Look at us and take us for granted, touch us and suffer
Gajere gajere gajeren dabino	The short, short, short Date tree
Zaki ya hana girma	The lion has prevented growth.
Wayyo ni Allah, ruwa ba sa'an Kwando ba	Oh by Allah, water is not mates with the basket.
Ina wanen mu, su gajeren dabino	Where are those of us, the short date tree?
Ina wanen mu, su kyau na diga	Where are those of us, the very pretty ones.
A gan ku a raina, a taba ku a sha wiya	Look at you and take you for granted, touch you and suffer
Wayyo ni Allah, ruwa ba sa'an Kwando ba.	Oh by Allah, water is not mates with the basket.

The satirist begins by taunting the other woman with “kashin wayewa, kashin ganewa”, implying that only an intelligent, knowledgeable person could understand and unravel her metaphoric expressions. She uses a hyperbolic phrase “cikin dubu” to point out that the other woman has no good qualities.

The singer compares herself to water, in order to show strength, when she sings “ruwa ba sa'an Kwando ba” (water is not mates with the basket), implying that she as water, cannot be contained by the co-wife, who is compared to a basket. More metaphors occur in “gajeren dabino” (the short Date tree) and in the clause “Zaki ya hana girma” (The lion has prevented growth) where, the satirist compares herself to a Lion which has stopped the Date tree from growing. The alliteration which occurs in “Gajere gajere gajeren dabino” and the repetition of the verses “Wayyo ni Allah, ruwa ba sa'an kwando ba (Oh by Allah, water is not mates with the basket) are used for emphasis as well as for artistic aesthetics.

In the next verses, the satirist continues to pit herself against her co-wife, calling herself “Kyau na diga” (the very pretty one) and referring to the other woman as “gajeren Dabino” (the short Date tree), again showing that the co-wife is unexceptional and thus, not able to oppress her (the satirist). Finally, the satirist paints a picture of herself as the tougher one, by warning “a taba ku, a sha wiya”, (touch you and suffer), using the second person pronoun ‘you’ to inflate her own image, so her co-wife would be wary and not be deceived into antagonising her.

Satires about mothers-in-law

Stories about meddlesome, controlling mothers-in-law abound among women and it is common among the Hausa to find an oppressive mother-in-law. They are therefore, targets for satirical songs. The woman singing the next song laments about a mother-in-law who controls the distribution of food in her son's household and yet expects to be given a large share of the food when it is cooked.

In the next excerpt, the images used compare one woman's love with another woman's.

6. Hausa

Sannu ke kuwa uwar miji na
Na so ki ke uwa ta na kai na,
Kamar ke ki ka haife ni, uwa ta

Sai ki ka dauke ni kamar ni ba 'yar ki ba
I was not your daughter
Sai ki na mi ni dibi a kofa

Idan dan ki ya mi ni dibi a kofa

Ni kuma zan mi ki kore a kwano

Ni kuma zan yi ma ta dibi a kofa

Toh Uwar miji ta baza doro a hantsi
hunch back in the evening
Wai ta na jiran sauran dumame
Toh ki na jiran sauran dumame

Dan ki bai yi mi ni dibi yawa ba

English

Well done, you, my mother-in-law
I loved you like my own mother
As if you were the one who gave
birth to me
But you treated me as if

Then you were fetching (food stuff)
for me in a calabash
If your son fetches (food stuff) for
me in a calabash
Then, I will do yellow for you, in a
bowl
Then I will also fetch (food stuff)
for her in a calabash
Ok, mother-in-law, spread her

That she is waiting for the left over
So, you are waiting for the left
over,
Your son did not fetch plenty
(food stuff) for me.

The singer begins by disdainfully addressing her mother-in-law with "ke" (you), an indicator of her disrespect for the woman who has been suppressing her. She goes on to talk about the older woman's control of the foodstuff in her son's house and to express her annoyance over the matter, she describes the supercilious manner her mother-in-law sits by saying "Toh Uwar miji ta baza doro a hantsi". The words she uses make a caricature of her mother-in-law, in a way which expresses her displeasure and is likely to incite laughter in whoever hears the song, and anger in her mother-in-law. "Baza doro" creates an image of a haughty posture and describes the proud demeanour of a person who is in control but it also conveys the daughter-in-law's derision. Some satirists ridicule only an individual's inadequacies and not his person but this satirist

chooses to attack her mother-in-law directly; an act which points to the possibility that she may have suffered her injustices for a long time.

The satirist uses the colour yellow as a metaphor for emptiness when she says “Ni kuma zan mi ki kore a kwano” (then, I will do yellow for you, in a bowl). The bowls used for eating in the late 70s and early 80s, in northern Nigeria, were yellow so by referring to a yellow bowl, she is threatening to give her mother-in-law an empty bowl, if her son continues to give her a little quantity of food to cook.

The next satirist who also wants her suffering to end, does not just to ridicule her mother-in-law, she prays for her death.

7. Hausa

Allah ya kar ta mu sha gumba
Iye raye Rimi ya fadi
Iye raye Rimi ya fadi
Rimi ya fadi ko an ture shi?
pushed?
Ba mu ba ne mu ka ture shi
Manyan mu ne su ka ture shi
Manyan mu ne manyan yanzu
Ba za su goya maraya ba
Sai dai marayan dan kaza
In ya girma su yanka shi.

English

May God kill her so we can drink gumba
Iye raye, the Silk-cotton tree has fallen
Iye raye, the Silk-cotton tree has fallen
The Silk-cotton tree has fallen or it was
pushed?
We weren't the ones who pushed it.
Our elders pushed it.
It is our elders, elders of today.
They will not look after an orphan.
Unless it is an orphaned chicken
Which they will slaughter when it grows

In the excerpt above, the satirist uses Rimi (Silk-cotton tree) to represent propriety. “Manyan mu” means “our elders”. It is also used as a slur on elders who are considered useless. So, its appearance here is a tongue-in-cheek reference to older women who have failed the younger ones. She says that the Silk-cotton tree has fallen, insinuating that the youth no longer have any respect for the elders because they have failed them, by not doing what was expected of them. The accuracy of description of the mother-in-law's ‘fall’ is achieved with the repetition of “Rimi ya fadi” (The silk-cotton tree has fallen) which calls to the reader's mind and paints an indelible picture. The singer ends the song with another slur on the ‘elder’ by pointing out how selfish and untrustworthy she is, explaining that she cannot be trusted to take care of anyone unless she benefits from it.

Satirical descriptions of men

Gold (1997), observes that when women address songs to their husbands, “the central demands are for demonstrations and tokens of love – readily summed up as presence and presents”. This is evident in the excerpts below:

8. Hausa

English

Ya saya ma na dutsen nika
shekaran jiya
Na kode na wa.
Ka fasa ma na aya a baki.
Mata yayin shudi su ke yi
Sai ka yi mun bautan ciki na.
Dan cikin gida, dan yaya bubba
Ni ban ce ka saya mi ni zani ba
Ban ce ka saya mini Kacalla ba,
Ni ka saya mun turmin atamfa.

He bought a grinding stone for us
day before yesterday
I have worn mine out.
You broke Tigernuts in our mouths
Women habitually change
So just slave for my belly
Son of the house, Big Sister's son
I did not ask you to buy a wrapper for me
I did not ask you to buy Kacalla for me
Just buy a full wrapper for me.

This short song moves from the realms of love, appreciation and boastfulness to scorn and self-interest. The satirist begins by describing an ideal situation where her husband pays attention to her, indicating his presence in her life, then veers off to deride him by pointing out idiomatically, “ka fasa ma na aya a baki” (You broke Tigernuts in our mouths). The Tigernut (Aya) is a nut that is milky and sweet on the inside. The idiom “fasa aya a baki” means to make a promise. Her reminder of a pact made between her husband and his wives points to the fact that the man made a promise which he didn’t keep. She then demands that he shower her with gifts, when she sings “sai ka yi mun bautan ciki na”, (So just slave for my belly), indicating that she no longer expects love from him because he keeps marrying other women. She reveals a moment of weakness when she insists “Ni ban ce ka saya mun Kachalla ba”, (I did not ask you to buy Kachalla for me) [Kachalla is an expensive wrapper worn in the 70s by northern women], making a demand for a lesser gift by telling him “Ni ka saya mun turmin atamfa” (Just buy a full wrapper for me). Her appreciation for the presents he used to give her becomes an expectation of his duty so she resorts to demanding for physical offerings and not emotional ones.

9. Hausa

Gishirin goma, daddawan goma
Me zai sa in bata rai na?
Wurin arziki a ke kishi
Ba dai wurin miyata ba.

English

Ten Naira salt, ten Naira locust bean
What will make me get angry?
A place of riches is where there is jealousy
Not a place of poverty

In the extract above, the singer ridicules her husband by pointing out how poor he is, mentioning his lack of wealth and his inability to provide food security in his household and wonders out loud why she was expected to be jealous that he had married another wife when it was obvious that the other woman would come and share her unfortunate fate.

10. Hausa

Uwar miji, sakainar Kuka
In kin fashe, wata za ni basgara
Da kyakkawar miji a ke wa kishi
Ba kai ba mai baya ya wa Guza

Da kyakkawar miji a ke wa kishi
Ba kai ba mai dawa a tagiya
Me ki ka dāura me za ni dāura?
tie?
In an haɗo mu dukan mu gida ɗaya

Ki shafa wa kan ki ruwa ta arziki
Ki kauce wa gidan miji
Wallahi ni ma ban kwashi kashin ba

English

Mother-in-law, the broken Baobab pod
If you break, I will make another
One gets jealous over a handsome husband
Not you whose back is like that of
an Agama Lizard
One gets jealous over a handsome husband
Not you who has Guineacorn in his cap.
What (wrapper) did you tie, what will I

If we are brought together, we are all the
same
Beware
And avoid the matrimonial home
I swear, I didn't pack any share

This song ended a woman's marriage (refer to page 7). In it, the singer ridicules her husband, her co-wife and mother - in- law. The singer's husband had been encouraged by his mother to marry her (his mother's) niece - his cousin - as a second wife and his mother made sure the second wife got more attention than the first wife, who got fed up one day and mocked all three to their hearing.

Using animal and plant imagery, the singer first mocks her mother-in-law, comparing her to the pod of the Baobab and informing her that if she "breaks", she (the singer) will get another mother-in-law. This verse alludes to her mother-in-law's anger. She is indirectly pointing out to the listener, her mother-in-law, "ta kumbura kaman za ta fashe (She has swollen up as if she will break). The singer's choice of words is deliberate, informing her mother-in-law that she could always marry another man if her mother-in-law has her way and sends her out of her son's house.

The next verses are directed at her husband; a man who has allowed his mother to manipulate him into neglecting her as his first wife. She mocks him by comparing him to an Agama lizard and sings that she is not jealous of the attention he is paying to another woman, because he is ugly and poor. She draws attention to his ugliness to indicate who her target is, as most satirists "draw attention to what they are attacking rather than creating situations and characters" (Adekunle 2014). She continues to ridicule him by referring to "dawa a tagiya" (Guineacorn in a cap), creating an image of a man who is too poor to own a store and who brings foodstuff from the market, in his cap instead of a bag, like affluent men do.

CONCLUSIONS

Hausa women live under traditional and religious laws which proscribe their living conditions. There are also unstated rules about acceptance of overbearing in-laws which the women are also expected to accept. Often times, the women's pain are unheard and unnoticed in this patriarchal system, until they give vent to their emotions, finding ways to lament the cases of oppression in satirical songs which they find immensely satisfying.

In the satiric songs studied, the butt of the women's satirical songs were their husbands, their co-wives and their mothers-in-law. It was discovered in the study, that the women attack their oppressors directly and indirectly, using figurative expressions to create denigrating visual images, in order to demonstrate their condemnation of the cases of filial oppression. These images include animal and plant imagery, which the women create by manipulating familiar cultural concepts and deliver them in acidic tones to express disdain, pain and astonishment. This, the study found was evidence that having a shared knowledge of their customs is very important in the creation and delivery of the songs in order for the satirical songs to be impactful. Although the words they use are derisive, the women use them to comment on issues that affect them personally in order to generate empathy, laughter or anger in their listener.

The study concludes that the women are aware of their personal identities and give in to their unconscious needs to lament against oppressive societal norms and their conscious desire to seek gratification.

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TRAINING AND MENTORING AS A VERITABLE TOOL FOR LEADERSHIP SUCCESSION PLANNING IN ENUGU STATE, NIGERIA: A SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES SUSTAINABILITY PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

Leadership succession planning (LSP) is an essential issue within organisations, particularly among Small and Medium Enterprise (SMEs). Empirical literature portray that although most of the SMEs in Nigeria are run by their proprietors or a small management team, very little is observed in relation to proper leadership succession planning as a strategy for sustainability. Consequently, not many of them survive the litmus test of a generational transfer of leadership. This study broadly investigated leadership succession planning and sustainability of SMEs in Enugu State, Nigeria but specifically sought to: assess the relationship between mentoring and SMEs sustainability, and evaluate how training affects SMEs sustainability. The study adopted a survey design and used Census sampling technique to derive the sample size. Data were obtained from 267 owners of SMES in Enugu State through structured questionnaire based on Likert's 5-Point Scale. Out of the 267 copies of questionnaire distributed, 248 were returned valid while 19 were not returned or not properly filled. Five industry and academic experts validated the content of the instrument. Spearman's Rank Order Correlation Coefficient of 0.92 was derived after a reliability test using a test-retest method. Data were analyzed with percentages, frequencies, linear regression, Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient and ANOVA. The findings reveal that: there is a significant positive relationship between mentoring and SMEs sustainability and training has a significant positive effect on SMEs sustainability. The study concludes that a sound leadership succession plan leads to sustainability of SMEs and recommends that owners of SMEs should introduce successors for their businesses early enough, then design and promote robust policies and long-term strategies of

developing and empowering them to improve their competence and commitment that will enhance sustainability of the firms.

Keywords: Leadership succession planning, training, mentoring, small and medium enterprises, sustainability.

INTRODUCTION

Promoting leadership succession planning (LSP) to ensuring the performance and sustainability of small and medium scale enterprises is hinged on the provision or availability of efficient training and mentoring of the employees. Leadership succession planning is a continuous, systematic effort to guarantee leadership continuity, protect an organisation's intellectual capital and promote individual development (Hassan & Nasibollah, 2016). Rothwell (2010) describes succession planning as a detailed and structured approach to developing a pool of leadership and expertise to ensure that existing and future leadership needs are addressed in such a way that stability is ensured. The practice provides the enterprise with a competitive edge by ensuring that a motivated and capable group of employees are ready to move the organisation forward (Akinyele, Ogbari, Akinyele & Dibia, 2015).

Effective leadership succession plans are vital for the sustainability of business assets which include its ethics, values, culture and vision (Van der Merwe, Venter & Farrington, 2012; Visser & Chiloane-Tsoka, 2014; Hjorth, 2016). Leadership succession failure is usually devastating if a successor is suddenly required, and none had been nurtured, mentored and trained. As Perrenoud & Sullivan (2016) noted, a sudden change in leadership can cause turmoil, both financially and operationally, unless minimised through careful succession planning. Leadership succession planning comprises of training and mentorship. Training and mentoring enable employees or individuals to be rooted in the culture and ideals of the business enterprise and help ensure long-term continuity of the business assets. A pragmatic succession plan is the premise upon which business sustainability is based. Business sustainability is a strategy that prioritizes the long-term survival of a business and the preservation of business assets (Mar, 2013). SMEs owners-managers must possess the ability to meet present needs without jeopardizing the business. The benefits of business sustainability exceed any direct, quantifiable financial benefits. Besides its capability to enhance innovation, facilitate growth in market share and preserve owner's legacies, it also assists in building customer's loyalty (Conway, 2014).

Due to the nature of formation, operations and ownership style of SMEs, they rarely develop plans for succession. Survey studies of Visser & Chiloane-Tsoka, (2014) and Christian Organization Research and Advisory Trust of Africa, (2010) indicate that an

insignificant attention was given to succession plan by owners-managers of SMEs. As a result, most SMEs have failed to maintain the legacies of their founders (Visser & Chiloane-Tsoka, 2014). According to Burns, (2014) nearly 50% of SMEs do not outlive the first generation, about 10% to 15% outlast the third generation while only 3% of firms survive when they transit to the fourth generation due to ineffective transition process from one generation to the other.

The inability of SMEs owners-managers to plan for succession has mainly been blamed on a wide range of emotion-laden concerns, particularly, on the owner's unwillingness to relinquish power (which presents a particular form of rigidity), the fear of family conflicts on the ownership or stake-holding issue and the fear of acknowledging one 's mortality (Nworah, 2011). Traditionally, aged owners-managers of small businesses hardly discuss issues of succession because they perceive that such thoughts are synonymous with wishing them an early death. Barclay, Foskey & Reeve (2007) also posit that some business founders (especially polygamous ones) do not entertain the thought in the sense that it brings them face to face with the reality of the problem of equality in treatment of their children. Thus, aged business owners-managers would instead leave the issue of succession unattended to, and allow any family member to take over the assets of their firms at their demise (Beaulieu, 2018; Onuoha (2012).

Previous studies have examined leadership succession planning from the perspectives of incumbent owners' attitudes, decisions, and business characteristics (Musa & Semasinghe 2014; Aderonke, 2014; Appiah, 2015; Nikmaram & Latifi, 2014), family-owned businesses (Njigua, 2014; Ogbechie & Anetor, 2015), determinants of succession (Joseph, 2014; Gulzar & Durrani, 2014; Lorna, 2011; Bocatto, Gispert, & Rialp, 2010; Dachapalli, 2016), succession model (De Massis, Chua & Chrisman, 2008; Prior, 2012) and gender influence on succession (Ojeka, Adetula, Mukoro, & Kpokpo, 2017; Adewale, Abolaji & Kolade, 2011; Akinyele, et al, 2015; Oseni, 2015; and Maguta, 2016). In spite of the plethora of studies on leadership succession planning, there is a dearth of studies on leadership succession planning focusing on mentoring and training and its relationship with SMEs sustainability. This indicates there is need for study that focus on the impact of training and mentoring on SMEs sustainability in Nigeria. Hence, the author(s) proceeded to examine the effect of mentoring and training on SMEs sustainability in Enugu State, Nigeria.

In the light of the forgoing, this research was structured into four sections: below we the literature review and followed by theoretical review, thereafter we have methodology, followed discussion of result findings, and finally, policy recommendations.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

The Need for Sustainable SMEs

In recent times, more criteria have turned up to define the small and medium business, such as ownership percentage, voting power, power over strategic direction, the involvement of multiple generations, and active management by family members (SMEDAN, 2012). Most of these enterprises in developing nations are run by a single individual, few family members, friends or business partners, who take most of the decisions and usually make no distinction between private and business assets. Research suggests that this is the dominant approach to doing business in Nigeria (Adelaja, 2006).

There is the need for SMEs to be sustainable due to their immense contributions to the economic growth and development of nations. Their enormous roles to national economies can be readily felt in areas such as employment generation, innovation and manpower development (Kadiri, 2012). Studies have shown that SMEs contribute to 10% of Nigeria's total manufacturing output and 70% of her industrial employment (Aina, 2007). Moreover, SMEs can easily be established in rural areas due to their ability to survive on basic industrial infrastructure, thus, facilitating industrial dispersal, aiding rural development and mitigating rural-urban migration. As Oduntan (2014) avers, SMEs create products that serve as intermediate or semi-processed goods for large scale firms thereby fostering mutual industrial linkages between local producers of raw materials and large industrial concerns. Therefore, for SMEs to be sustainable, they must elect to conduct themselves ethically, continue to contribute to economic development, improve the quality of life of their employees and act in ways that will not imperil their existence.

Succession Planning and Sustainability of Small and Medium Enterprises

One of the most compelling subjects in the study of SMEs is the succession of the firm's leadership and ownership from one generation to another (Njigwa, 2014). LSP stems from the reality that leaders come and go, an indication that every organisation will inevitably pass through a change of leadership at one point of its life cycle. However, the inability to manage the emotional aspects of succession processes has been one of the primary causes for the high failure rate among first- and second-generation family businesses mainly in the presence of conflict or indecision (Van der Merwe, Venter & Ellis, 2009). For instance, fractured successions could arise when a founder desires his child to succeed him but the child is not interested in the job or where there is only one job available, and two siblings desire to be the next head of the enterprise. Additional issues are likely to arise if more than one child of the owner-manager works for the business or if siblings who do not work for the business will gain shares without having invested time and energy in the business. Further critical

inhibitors to succession include pressures from incumbents on their heirs to inherit the business, unwillingness by business owners to relinquish control of the business, decision to choose an outsider or an insider as a successor, fear of family conflicts on the ownership, internal disagreements that may occur between incumbent and successor, fear of acknowledging one's mortality and inheritance culture (Filser, Kraus and Mark, 2013; Duh *et al.*, 2009; Kets de Vries, 2007). Given the evidence of the difficulties and failure rates of succession events, harmonious successions are supposedly the exception.

While SMEs on the whole often fail after the departure of their first leadership team, Gowthami (2012), advocates strong personal commitment and support from top management and recognition of employees in order to enable the successful implementation of a succession plan. Also, Larson (2016) advises that where a group of managers or partners own a small business, they should plan its transition with emphasis on managing a partner's exit from a business and valuing of shares for purpose of a sale.

Kellermanns & Eddleston (2006) observed that the high mortality rate of small-scale businesses is a consequence of their inability to adopt succession planning. Fayol was one of the first writers to recognise the organisational need for succession planning and stressed that if not implemented, organizations will most likely fill critical positions with people who are ill-prepared or ill-equipped (Rothwell, 2015). The outcome can be disastrous for an enterprise whose sustainability rests on its crop of employees who are ill-prepared or ill-equipped to do the job. In line with Fayol's position, Wellins & Byham, (2001) concur that succession is crucial to an organisation's sustainability. This is because succession planning provides continuity of leadership which is essential for organisations to survive as leadership positions become vacant due to retirement or other factors.

Organizations are realizing the ever-changing landscape of the present business world. Part of the challenges of many organisations today is how to manage the unending pursuit by millennial employees for careers that satisfy them and the many seasoned executives and baby boomer generation of leaders who unavoidably approach retirement age to avoid loss of talent and prevent gap in the leadership pipeline. Some businesses are countering this challenge by offering incentives such as mentoring and training programs to show employees they are willing to invest in their future career paths.

Mentoring in Small and Medium Enterprises

An essential part of being a leader is to mentor others in order to develop them. Mentoring, as defined by Eby (2010), is a developmentally-oriented interpersonal relationship that is naturally between a more experienced individual (the mentor) and a

less experienced individual (the protégé or mentee). It involves supporting, motivating, shaping, guiding and promoting the mentee or protégé to reach their potentials. Tjan (2017) illustrates what the best mentors do, namely developing a genuine, inter-collegial relationship with the mentee to reveal their strengths and to assist them to progress. At its basic level, the main focus of mentoring is to offer junior employee insight into more senior levels in the organisation which hopefully will stimulate ambition for development, growth and promotion.

Several authors accentuate the importance of mentoring (Murphy, 2018; Clark, 2017; Tjan, 2017) claiming that it is important that the mentor-mentee relationship should be rightly delivered (Hewlett et al. 2011). The foremost benefits of mentoring for the mentees are easily defined access to a more senior audience of leaders, opportunity to receive open and sincere feedback with an experienced leader, and prospects for greater profile roles that could pave way for promotion (Kirk, 2017). Similarly, Malota (2017) highlights intrinsic motivation as the prominent factor influencing a mentor's decision to mentor an individual. The outcome of the mentorship programme should help the mentor to develop coaching skills and techniques, give feedback without the potential conflict of interest they might have as a line manager, and be able to transfer their coaching skill sets to their other roles in the organization (Zikic, 2016, Melcher 2014). As observed, through mentoring, leaders derive feelings of empathy and emotional intelligence and become more credible and authentic leaders who inspire peers and junior employees (Farnell, 2017, Hieker & Rushby, 2017). Further, it offers a great opportunity to enhance one's network and create a learning environment which benefits both the individual and the organisation. Organisations benefit most from mentoring when trust is built and maintained between the parties, a clear objective for mentoring is established and a comprehensive mentoring programme is implemented depending on the defined talent development strategy (Chopra, 2017, Hieker & Rushby, 2016, Tjan 2017, Johnson & Smith 2018).

The import of mentorship in promoting leader development is overwhelming. Scholars agree that mentorship has a significant positive effect on employee retention, quality and performance (Ingersoll & Strong, 2011) and can generally lead to behavioural, attitudinal, and performance changes (Eby, Allen, Evans, Ng & DuBois, 2008). Through mentoring the mentee gains more exposure and visibility, acquires leadership competency and feels more committed to his or her organisation. Overall, mentoring assists in attracting and retaining talents and prepares the ground for smooth succession (Ojedokun, 2011). Rhodes & Fletcher (2013) also argue that mentoring serves as a practical leadership development approach that builds self-competence and has the potential to reduce the attrition rate of those in leadership positions. On the relationship between mentorship and leadership succession, Egwu (2012) emphasises that mentorship is the basis of self-efficacy and corporate citizenship in organisations. Mentors are always willing to devote their energy to produce their successors, and

subsequently, mentees, too, are willing to show loyalty towards their mentors. Consequently, organisations, gain through enhanced job satisfaction and performance. Egwu, (2012) further affirms that lack of mentoring is the cause of organisational failure and ill-fated leadership succession plan.

Similarly, Nwogwugwu (2012) assert that mentoring assists the protégés to aspire to equal, and in most cases, surpass the achievements of their mentors. Mentoring can uplift the skills, competencies and talents of mentees. Business mentoring allows the “*Desirables*” or “*Anointed*” to be isolated very early in their career and mentored into excellence thereby exploring capabilities, skills, capacities and other hidden potentials and adequately preparing and equipping them for competition in diverse spheres of life both locally and globally. In the opinion of Haggard, Dougherty, Turban & Wilbanks (2011), a mentoring relationship involves reciprocal benefits and mutual learning between mentor and mentee. Some scholars equally corroborate the position of Haggard, et al. (2011) that mentoring is conducive to the career development and psychosocial adjustment of mentees. Dave (2004) studied coaching and mentoring in small to medium sized enterprises in the UK to unravel factors that affect success and a possible solution. He revealed that the degree of coaching and mentoring that a starter receives have effect on the overall success of the enterprise. More importantly, they would have a better emotional adjustment and a stronger commitment to their careers and even the organization as a result of effective mentoring. Pollyn & Ajuru (2013) who investigated the effectiveness of mentoring and professional development strategy for sustainable entrepreneurial paradigm, concluded that business education mentoring process fostered transfer of entrepreneurial knowledge, values and skills, consequently resulting in lifelong entrepreneurship spirit and sustainable business development. Oshah, Othman & Mansor (2016), who studied the effect of mentoring on SMEs concluded that mentoring has a positive impact on small and medium enterprises. Clint (2017) opined that there is a correlation between formal mentorship and SMEs development. In addition, Kunaka & Moos (2019) evaluated mentoring outcomes from the perspectives of entrepreneurs, and small and medium business owners and discovered that there is relationship between mentoring and SMEs sustainability. They identified four outcomes: skill transfer outcome, knowledge outcome, entrepreneur resilience outcome and business outcome, all which were found to champion business sustainability. However, Ilieva-Koleva (2015) while examining the importance of mentoring programs in business, concluded that there is a weak relationship between mentoring and business sustainability due to poorly designed mentorship programs. Following from the above, therefore, this paper hypothesized that:

H₁: There is a relationship between mentoring and small and medium enterprises sustainability in Enugu State, Nigeria.

Training in Small and Medium Enterprises

A fundamental factor influencing leadership succession planning is the role of human resource development, which includes organisational development, career training and development of potential successors. Training is the formal and systematic modification of attitude, behaviour or knowledge through learning which occurs as a result of education, instruction, development and planned experience (Elnaga & Imran, 2013; Nassazi, 2013). It involves improving individual performance in their present roles and preparing them for greater responsibilities in the future (Jehanzeb & Bashir, 2013). Training refers to managing knowledge to develop the organisation's culture, enhance individual performance and strengthen the organisation's capability. Its purpose, in the work situation, is to develop the abilities of the individual and to satisfy current and future workforce needs of the organization (Nassazi, 2013).

Training is a significant factor in the creation of human capital, which determines the long-term productivity of an employee (Nassazi, 2013). Training focuses on the employee's current job, and also prepares the employee for future job requirements. The role played by staff training can no longer be over-emphasised. Scholars are unanimous in their view that the return on investment from training programmes are usually inestimable as improved productivity in organisations depends on adequate and practical training (Rodriguez & Walters, 2017; Amoah-Mensah & Darkwa, 2016). Lack of training, therefore, often creates problems of inefficiency and ineffectiveness in organisations. As Oribabor (2000) submits, training aims to develop a wide range of competencies in technical, human, conceptual and managerial aspects for the advancement of the individual and growth of the organisation. For instance, there is an agreement that the purpose of training is to raise productivity, improve skills, knowledge, understanding, attitudes and ultimately improve work quality, job satisfaction and the use of tools and machines in order to reduce wastes, accidents, turnover, lateness, absenteeism and other overhead costs (Treven, 2003; Oguntimehin, 2001).

Effective training programmes allow management to maintain a workforce that can sufficiently substitute employees who may leave an organisation or who move to other areas. Also, it enables employees to cope with recently developed technology and ensures that adequate human resources are available for expansion into new areas. Generally, the principal purpose of human resources training is to ensure that the right person is available for the right job at the right time. It involves formulating a forward-looking plan that ensures the necessary human effort that makes it possible for the survival and growth of the organisation. It becomes imperative to develop the successor for a smooth transition to the next generation. David & Terence (2003) have long identified the need for workforce planning to include assisting in identifying the available talents in an enterprise and associated training programmes that can be organised to develop them. Organisations that realise the importance of human

resources management recognise that through workforce planning, human resources can be readily available and optimally deployed, and this can assist in the stability of the organisations. Brined & Hambury (2013) found that training is a major catalyst for sustainable growth and development of SMEs. Their results show that SMEs can sustain themselves by adapting effective training programmes. In another study, Rodriguez & Walters (2017) established that training and development programs resulted in employee performance. They posited those employees who participated in training programmes were found to perform better in leadership position than those who sparingly receive training programmes. Similarly, Amoah-Mensah & Darkwa (2016) studied effect of training and development on employees' performance among "CHOP BAR" industry. Their findings uphold the preposition that effective training enhances employee performance, and equips them with requisite competencies in handling key leadership positions. Following from the above, therefore, this paper hypothesized that:

H₂: Training significantly affects small and medium enterprises sustainability in Enugu State, Nigeria.

THEORETICAL REVIEW

Relay Succession Planning Model

The Relay Succession Planning Model is the first model of leadership transition proposed by Santorin in 2004. In this model, Santorin argues that the incumbent business leader or the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) must, over a long period, hand over the baton to a successor. Santorin was clear in his presentation of the impact of this type of model on organisations that adopted it compared to the ones that did not have such a plan in place. He insisted that organisations that adopted relay succession plans performed better than their counterparts that did not because successors were better groomed and exposed to organisational challenges during the pre-succession phase (Santorin, 2004). By putting potential successors in charge of new projects, companies can accelerate change while also testing candidates' suitability for the top spot. Moreover, corporate challenges in the aftermath of the succession process were easily overcome by the successor because he would have experience speaking for him. Hence, organisations that execute the relay succession model tend to have superior achievements in the post-succession period as the model affords the organisation enough time for selection, training, assessment and grooming of the successor.

This work was anchored upon Santorin (2004) model because the model supports the early integration of the potential successors in the business through mentoring, training and other developmental activities in readiness for organizational challenges and also provides the successors with the opportunity to prove their leadership capabilities in the organization in real time while at the same time receiving training.

METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a survey design and employed random sampling technique to determine the sample size. Data were collated primarily from 267 owners of SMES in Enugu State through questionnaire structured on Likert's 5-point scale. Five industry and academic experts validated the content of the instrument whose reliability test indicated a Spearman's Rank Order Correlation Coefficient of 0.92. Out of the 267 copies of questionnaire distributed, 248 were returned valid while 19 were not returned and/or not properly filled. Data were analyzed with percentages, frequencies, linear regression, Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient and ANOVA.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Table 4.1 Mentoring and SMEs Sustainability

No	Questionnaire items	SA	A	UD	D	SD	Total
1	I coach my employees to prepare them for future opportunities	106 (42.7%)	117 (47%)	13 (5.3%)	10 (4%)	2 (1%)	248
2	I constantly delegate authority and responsibilities to foster employee's participation	114 (46%)	107 (43%)	15 (6%)	7 (3%)	5 (2%)	248
3	I encourage my employee to be innovative through participative decision making	116 (47%)	101 (40.9%)	17 (7.1%)	10 (3.2%)	4 (1.8%)	248
4	I teach my staff on how to take initiative and learn from mistakes	116 (46.8%)	122 (49.1%)	5 (2.1%)	3 (1.4%)	2 (0.6%)	248
	Grand Total	452 (45.6%)	446 (45%)	50 (5.0%)	30 (3.0%)	14 (1.4%)	992

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Four (4) questions were set out in the questionnaire to find out the relationship between mentoring and small and medium enterprises sustainability in Enugu State. The result of the analysis based on the cumulative response, as shown in table 4.1 reveals an expected response frequency of 992. The observed response rate of strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree and strongly disagree were 45.6%, 45%, 5.0%, 3.0% and 1.4% respectively. These responses show that 90.6% of the respondents' agreed that mentoring has a significant positive relationship with small and medium enterprises sustainability, 4.4% disagreed, while 5.0% were unresponsive.

Table 4.1.1 Descriptive statistics of the relationship between mentoring and SMEs sustainability

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Mentoring	2.3845	1.62150	248
SMEs Sustainability	2.2876	1.58721	248

Source: Field Survey, 2021/SPSS, v.20

Table 4.1.1 shows the descriptive statistics of the relationship between mentoring and SMEs Sustainability in Enugu State, with a mean response of 2.28 and standard deviation of 1.58 for SMEs sustainability and a mean response of 2.38 and standard deviation of 1.62 for mentoring. By careful observation of standard deviation values, it can be said that there is about the same variability of data points amongst the dependent and independent variables. The implication is that mentoring constitutes a higher percentage of variables that positively affect SMEs sustainability.

In testing H_1 , data presented in table 4.1.were tested using Pearson correlation.

Table 4.1.2 Correlation matrix on the relationship between mentoring and SMEs sustainability

		Mentoring	SMEs Sustainability
Mentoring	Pearson Correlation	1	.864**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	248	248
SMEs Sustainability	Pearson Correlation	.864**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	248	248

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

Source: SPSS, v.20

Table 4.1.2 is the Pearson correlation coefficient matrix of the relationship between mentoring and SMEs sustainability in Enugu State, showing the correlation coefficient, significant values, and the number of cases. The correlation coefficient shows a value of 0.86. This value indicates that correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2tailed) and implies that there is a relationship between mentoring and SMEs Sustainability ($r = .86$). However, the computed correlations coefficient is greater than the table value of $r = .195$ with 246 degrees of freedom ($df. = n-2$) at alpha level for a two-tailed test ($r =$

.86, $p = 0.000 < 0.05$). Since the computed $r = .86$, and greater than the table value of .195, we concluded that there is a positive relationship between mentoring and SMEs sustainability in Enugu State,

Table 4.2 Training and SMEs Sustainability

No	Questionnaire items	SA	A	UD	D	SD	TOTAL
1	I develop my employee to be productive and future oriented	119 (48%)	104 (42%)	11 (4.3%)	12 (4.7%)	2 (1%)	248
2	When I identify employees' ability, I motivate them through opportunity for growth and career advancement	114 (46%)	107 (43%)	15 (6%)	7 (3%)	5 (2%)	248
3	I encourage employee innovativeness through recognition and reward	127 (51%)	101 (41%)	7 (3%)	8 (3.2%)	5 (1.8%)	248
4	I promote the culture of continuous learning, through free leadership course	119 (47.8%)	119 (48.1%)	3 (1.4%)	5 (1.8%)	2 (0.9%)	248
	Grand Total	479 (48.3%)	431 (43.5%)	36 (3.6%)	32 (3.2%)	14 (1.4%)	992

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Four (4) questions were set out in the questionnaire to find out the effect of training and SMEs sustainability in Enugu State. The result of the analysis based on the cumulative response, as shown in table 4.2 reveals an expected response frequency of 992. The response rate of strongly agree 479 (48.3%), agree 431 (43.5%), undecided 36 (3.6%), disagree 32 (3.2%) and strongly disagree 14 (1.4%) were observed. These responses show that 91.8% of the respondents' agreed that training positively affect small and medium enterprises sustainability, 4.6% disagreed, while 3.6% remained indifferent.

Model 1: $SMEs = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T + \mu_1 (i)$

In testing H_2 , data presented in table 4.2. were tested using Simple Linear Regression. The results of the Regression on T and $SMEs$ are shown below:

Table 4.2.1a. Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted Square R	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.984 ^a	.895	.594	.3672	1.769

- a. Predictors: (constant), Training
 b. Dependent Variable: SMEs Sustainability
Source: SPSS, v.20

Table 4.2.1b. ANOVA^b

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	181.078	1	161.421	10.59	0.001 ^a
Residual	21.132	73	15.241		
Total	202.21	67			

- a. Predictor: (Constant) Training,
 b. Dependent Variable: SMEs Sustainability
Source: SPSS, v.20

Table 4.2.1c Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta	T	P
1 (Constant)	41.218	8.425		12.98	0.001
Training	36.175	3.271	.984	11.06	0.001

- a. Dependent Variable: SMEs Sustainability
Source: SPSS, v.20

Table 4.2.1a and 4.2.1b show that the analysis of variance of the fitted regression equation is significant with an F value of 10.59; this is an indication that the variation explained by the model is not by chance. Since the p-value (0.001) is less than 0.05, it shows a statistically significant positive effect between the variables at a 95 percent confidence level. Therefore, the hypothesis is of a significant effect. Thus, training has a significant positive effect on SMEs Sustainability. The R^2 statistics in table 4.2.1a indicates that the model as fitted explains 89.5 percent of the total variability in SMEs Sustainability. In other words, 89.5 percent of the total variability in SMEs Sustainability can be explained by Training. The value of $R^2 = 0.895$ shows that training is a good predictor of SMEs Sustainability. The standardised coefficients (Beta) value in table 4.2.1c reveals that the independent variable is statistically significant at 0.05.

The hypothesis is accepted. Thus, we conclude that Training has a significant positive effect on sustainability of SMEs in Enugu state.

FINDINGS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The findings from the analysis of the instrument indicated that 90.8% of the participants either strongly agreed or agreed that there is a significant correlation between mentoring and SMEs sustainability. This finding affirms the assumptions of the Relay Succession Planning Model by Santorin (2004) that early integration of the potential successors in the business through mentoring, training and other developmental activities endows them with the capabilities to face organizational challenges. Additionally, the study finding provides support for the assertion of Kunaka & Moos (2019) and Clint (2017) who opined that there is a correlation between formal mentorship and SMEs development.

Secondly, from the analysis of research instrument, 91.8% of the participants either strongly agreed or agreed that training positively affects small and medium enterprises sustainability. This finding re-enacts the previous research findings by Rodriguez & Walters (2017) and Brined & Hambury (2013) that training is a major catalyst for sustainable growth and development of SMEs. Their results show that SMEs can sustain themselves by adapting effective training programmes.

In the light of the findings of this study, we, therefore, recommend that regardless of their size, a well-developed leadership succession plan where mentoring, training and other developmental strategies are deeply entrenched leads to sustainability of small and medium businesses. Whether the owners desire to leave the business to their offspring or professional managers, it is imperative that they induct the potential successors into the enterprise on time in order to get them sufficiently prepared.

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EARNINGS MANAGEMENT: DOES MODE OF CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER SUCCESSION MATTERS? A THEORETICAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract

The study conceptually examines the relationship between mode of Chief Executive Officer (CEO) succession and earnings management. The study examines the effect of mode of CEO succession in family and non-family firms and earnings management. The methodological approach adopted is the library - based research, focusing on the review of extant literature and thereafter summarize the key arguments. The study observed that there is no consensus in literature on the relationship between mode of CEO succession and earnings management. The study also observed that earnings management being a top management decision could be influenced by the mode of succession adopted while appointing a new CEO in an organisation. Thus, this study concludes that without appeal to causal empiricism, that mode of CEO succession is a determinant of earnings management of a firm whether in family firms or non-family firms. The study recommends that there should be regulations to guide the procedures or standards in determining CEO succession as mode of CEO succession significantly impact on earnings management decisions.

Keywords: Earnings Management, Chief Executive Officer, Mode of Succession, Family Business and Non - Family Business.

Introduction

Corporate entities form an integral aspect of businesses that operates within the organised private sector in most economy of the world, a situation which could increase the need for closer monitoring of their activities irrespective of whether such economy is private sector driven or otherwise (Ashiq & Weining, 2015). Corporate organisations can be in the form of public, private or other lose form of registered businesses, and the management and management status of such entities is expected to also receive public attention particularly its drivers/managers. One of such management position that could be of interest to all stakeholders is the position of its Chief Executive Officer (CEO) based on the fact that the CEO plays a vital role in the day to day management of an

entity, as well as making of key decisions such as accounting, investing and financing decisions that could have effect on the entities' performance, hence the choice of CEO appointment, replacement and succession decision could be largely driven by different factors among entities (Ojeka, Adetula, Mukoro, & Kpokpo, 2017). Aronoff and Ward (1992) opined that the choice of Chief Executive Officer (CEO) is a strategic decision in corporate environment because of the critical nature of such a legitimate position and the influential role which the position is expected to have on the total activities of an organisation in terms of pursuant of organisational sets goals and objectives, protection of vagaries of interest, and overseeing of a wide gamut of organisational structure. This presupposes that the position of a CEO is a legitimate leadership position in which the occupant is expected to exercise *utter ego/primus interperes* in the management and taking of key decisions that falls within it ambit. The enormity of responsibilities attached to such office might make the decision of CEO succession very delicate, dicey, and strategic in corporate environment particularly when it comes to pursuing the going concern and sustainability objectives of an entity. Again, the quality, skills, educational background, family traits, and other attributes may be carefully considered while making choice of CEO succession.

Apart from the individual attributes that may be considered during succession decision, the choice of CEO decision may also have total impact on the organisation as a whole either in before, during, or after CEO succession in organisation. These impacts might be on organisational performance, earnings management/manipulations, fraudulent tendencies, or other accounting irregularities (Ishak, Ismail, & Abdullah, 2013). Earnings management is the extent to which management uses discretionary accruals to either inflate or deflate accounting figures depending on the intention and purpose, and the exercise of this option in the course of financial reporting is largely at the consent and discretion of the CEO, thus making him a catalyst in deciding on the direction earnings management should tend towards. The impact of CEO succession on organisation in total may differ depending on whether the organisation is a family business/private company, public companies, and other forms of business arrangement; hence the impact of parent-to-heirs CEO succession on earnings may arguably differ from conventional succession, insider succession, outsider succession, or pecking-order succession.

It is pertinent to note that the mode of departure of an outgoing CEO might also have psychological implications on the organisation and may affect accounting ethics and decisions making in the before, during, or after succession period; thus, the accounting decisions that surround a forced CEO turnover may differ from turnover occasioned by death, voluntary turnover, or retirement. Friedman and Olk (2004) identified varieties of CEO successions to include: (i.) horse race, (ii.) crown heir, (iii.) coup d'etat, or (iv.) comprehensive search, and opined that there is dynamism and creativity associated with CEO succession process; and that success or failure could be the ability/inability to be

able to distinguish between the processes in the course of CEOs appointment, which could be a function of different factors. CEO succession could have some uniqueness different from the other form of succession in terms of accounting decisions like earnings management. The likely reason for this is that there is a possibility that the successor CEO accounting judgments could be beclouded by sentiment in terms of treatment of certain accounting principles based on his relationship with his predecessor, hence the likelihood to engage in cover-up practices of earnings management (if any) perpetrated by his predecessor and possibly sustained such practices at the detriment of the organization (Choi, Kwak, & Choe, 2014).

The non-uniform account of CEO departure and succession decision choices across different companies in Nigeria justifies the inconsistencies associated with CEO succession decision across different firms, a development that may have ripple effect on organisations' decision-making process including accounting/financial decision. However, determining whether the mode of CEO succession will have impact on earnings management is quite debatable and significant enough to spur up fundamental academic research in accounting profession.

This study aims to look at the relationship between mode of CEO successions and earnings management within the context of family and non-family firms in Nigeria. Prior studies on CEO succession in Nigeria have scarcely related the modes of CEO succession to earnings/accounting manipulation. Secondly, there is disconnect between developed countries and Nigeria in terms of corporate identity in defining what makes up family and non-family firms. In the developed economy, quoted companies' identities are known in terms of whether they are family business or non-family business, with the reverse being the case in Nigeria. Thirdly, there is also a mixture of concept between modes of CEO succession and succession attributes. According to the Nigerian Code of Corporate Governance (2018) current trend of CEO succession is suggestive of the fact that there is no standard regulation guiding the choice of CEO succession decision, hence organisation exerts discretion in making the strategic decision. However, a clear understanding of the impact of the different mode of CEO succession on earnings management might be useful in making vital decisions on the dynamics of CEO succession. The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section two examines the literature review, section three examines the arguments and section four is the conclusion and recommendation.

Literature Review

This section is on review of conceptual issues and prior studies. The section provides an explanation on issues of CEO succession decisions in relation to earnings management.

Conceptual Review

This section is on review of the concepts of earnings management, family business, non-family business and CEO succession

Concept of Earnings Management

Earnings management is purposeful intervention in the external financial reporting process, with the intent of obtaining some private gain as opposed to, say, merely facilitating the neutral operation of the process (Schipper, 1989). According to Dechow and Skinner (2000) earnings management is the intentional, deliberate, misstatement or omission of material facts, or accounting data, which is misleading and, when considered with all the information made available, would cause the reader to change or alter his or her judgment or decision. Discretionary accrual is the key indicator for measuring earnings management in accounting. The purpose for which organisation manages earnings may be a function of the information need and largely depends on the kind of message they wish to convey to users of accounting information.

According to Levitt (1998) the desire by corporations to meet investors' earnings expectations was resulting in erosion in the quality of financial reporting. He expressed concern that the motivation to achieve consensus earnings estimates prompted many corporate managers to engage in earnings manipulation in order to project a pattern of smooth corporate earnings. Mr. Levitt who was the chairman of SEC had expressed frustration on the part of the SEC regarding areas where integrity in financial reporting was losing out to illusion, where gray areas in accounting were being abused for corporate gain, and where corporate earnings reports reflect the hopes of management rather than the underlying performance of the company. There are a number of approaches corporations have engaged in to manipulate their reported earnings. Levitt identified four areas of abusive earnings management to include: restructuring costs, miscellaneous reserves, materiality, and manipulation of revenue recognition.

There are incentives of earnings management which includes incentives related to executives, incentives associated with the company and incentives linked to investors and financial analysts. According to Ashiq and Weining (2015) new managers increase the result to improve their ability in the market, within the context of incentives related to company executives, hence the motivation to manipulate the result may be influenced by factors related to manager himself. Indeed, the company can experience hardships when it is weak in its performance. Having planned and announced incomes different from those anticipated, managers can choose to manage their results upward to save their reputations, jobs and may even receive a premium and increase their chances in the job market.

In terms of incentives related to the company, Mard (2003) outlined four main objectives that can incite to manage earnings. Firstly, it is used to avoid losses: managers performing a negative result or a result close to zero, seek to avoid these losses by using earnings management. Indeed, a result equal to zero or slightly positive

will be better appreciated than a slight loss. Secondly, is also used to avoid declines of the result: the desire to present a boost result is an incentive to executives to manage the result. Thirdly, earnings management is used to achieve earnings forecasts: this goal is an incentive for executives to manage earnings to correct forecasting errors.

Concept of Family Business/Company

Chua, Chrisman and Sharma (1999) define family business as that governed and/or managed by dominant coalition controlled by members of the same family or small family with the intent of pursuing set goals and visions in a manner that is sustainable across generations of the family or families. It can also be defined as collection of business interests held by a family which seeks to operate as an economic unit across generations (Zellweger, Norton, & Nordqvist, 2011). Meanwhile, Ward (1997) opined that the need for creating theories for family business is premised on the fact that family business researchers are of the view that family businesses is quite distinct from nonfamily business. The interaction within a family is said to be one of the reasons for this distinction between family and non-family business; hence unconsciously to the business system (Danes & Olson, 2003).

According to Dannhaeuser (1993) a family business should have certain features such that it must be owned and governed by a minimum of two or more members of the same family, serving as a major source of family income, and having not more than fifty (50) employees. Handler (1992) listed four ways researchers can define family business: (a) degree of management by family members', (b) degree of ownership by family members, (c) degree of family involvement and (d) potential for generational transfer. In another definition Winter et al. (1998) opined that family business is one that have the following features: the owner was in business for at least a year, worked at least 6 hours per week in the business, was involved in day-to-day management, and resided with another family member. Chua et al. (1999) noted that there are two preconditions under which a business could be classified as a family business: (a) the dominant coalition with control over instituting change is family members, and (b) the vision for the business continues to operate as a means for achieving a desired future state of the family.

Concept of Non-Family Business/Company

Westhead (1997) defines non-family firms as firms that do not perceive themselves as family firms, and in which a family does not own the majority of the shares. The definition contradicts those of family firms and they are not governed and/or managed by dominant coalition controlled by members. It can therefore be inferred that any firm that doesn't qualify as family firm fall under this category. The legal status of business definition in Nigeria is silent on what constitutes family business, hence no clear distinction between family and non-family business. This is a presupposition that all

forms of business classification in Nigeria, irrespective of its legal status can be taken to be non-family business. The omnibus law governing business activities in Nigeria is the Companies and Allied Matters Act (CAMA) 2004 as amended to date, while corporate affairs commission (CAC) is the commission establish by law for the regulation of corporate activities in Nigeria.

A business in Nigeria could be in the form of sole proprietorship, partnership or corporation. Sole proprietorship is usually registered as a business name with the Corporate Affairs Commission, and it is only an individual resident in Nigeria that can register it. The sole proprietor bears unlimited liabilities of the business. Partnership is also registered as a business name with the Corporate Affairs Commission. Partnership is usually owned by two or more persons who pool resources together to create a business entity. They also bear the risk and liabilities of the company equally, as well as share the profit of the business among themselves in an agreed sharing ratio. Partnership can be further classified as limited or general partnership. General partnership involves situation where all profit and loss are shared equally among the partners in an agreed ration, but in limited partnership, only one partner is active in the control of the operations of the business while the other partner(s) contributes money in return for profits. Corporation has a separate legal personality from its owners and provides limited liability to its investors with its legal rights to own a company. It can sue, be sued, can own properties and pay tax.

Concept of CEO Succession/Mode of Succession

Santora, Clemens, and Sarros (1997) define CEO succession as the process which plans an organisation's transference of ultimate executive authority from one to another; and the outcome which implements the process. In the same vein Santora et al. (1997) opined that an insider successor is an individual who is currently employed by the organisation and thus promoted into this position of ultimate authority, while an outsider successor is an individual who has not had any direct executive experience with the organisation. The process of CEO succession could be made public by way of paid advertisement for internal and internal/external application. In family business, it could be advert, perking order, heirship while in non-family business it could be done through advert for internal/external succession and perking order in the case of internal succession depending on the succession policy in place in an organisation.

Succession is considered to be one of the most important and critical issue in the family business. A proper succession planning process provides the family business with the opportunity to select the effective leaders who are able to take the business to a new level (Ibrahim, McGuire, & Dumas, 1999). Aronoff and Ward (1992) stated that succession is a life-long process that encompasses everything aimed at ensuring the continuity of the business through the generations and succession planning process

includes all the actions, events, and organisational mechanism by which leadership of the business and ownership is transferred. Sharma, Chrisman, Pablo, and Chua (2001) argued that succession is not a once off event, but a process that requires planning in a way that prevents unpleasant surprise and involves a series of strategies implemented over time. This view was also shared by (Nuthall, 2001).

Succession refers to a series of identifiable steps that take place over time, with the expectation of ensuring the readiness of the successor to take over the difficult task of leadership when required (Ibrahim, Soufani, Poutzious, & Lam, 2004; Venter, 2003). Succession is one of the most important challenges that family firms face (Daspit, Holt, Chrisman, & Long, 2016; Handler, 1994; Mussolino & Calabrò 2014). Poza (2004) described succession as simultaneously passing the managerial baton, the torch of family leadership and the control of ownership to the next generation. Succession can be understood as the transmission of both the ownership and the control of the organisation between two generations. In the case of family firms, the transmission of the family leadership from the incumbent to the next generation successor occurs through succession (Chittoor & Das, 2007; Michel & Kammerlander, 2015; Sharma, 2004; Steiner & Miller, 2010). In summary, the main mode CEO successions are internal succession; which involve appointing old staff of an organisation to succeed as CEO, and external succession; which involves appointing external candidate as CEO into a company he is currently not a staff, while the subsidiary modes of succession could be taken as heirship/anointed, advert/comprehensive search, perking order, coup d'état and horse race.

Corporate Governance Codes on CEO Succession

The provisions of different Corporate Governance Codes are not explicit on the mode of CEO succession that should be adopted in companies in Nigeria and even among Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member nation, a development that tends to create ambiguity on what constitutes the best approach that should be adopted. The relevant corporate governance codes are consistent with the fact that the choice of CEO succession is the exclusive reserve of the board of directors (particularly the independent directors). The silence of the relevant codes on the actual succession modes to be adopted in different companies leaves the choice of CEO succession modes at the discretion of the supposed king makers. Below is a review of extract of different corporate governance codes:

The Nigerian Code of Corporate Governance 2018

The relevant section of the Nigerian Code of Corporate Governance 2018 under Part A. (Board of Directors and Officers of the Board) spelt out the different procedures for succession: Section 1.5 prescribes that the board should ensure the establishment and implementation of a succession plan, appointment process, training mechanism and remuneration structure for both the board and senior management of the company;

Section 11.2.5.7 provides that the board committee responsible for nomination and governance should ensure that the Company has a succession policy and plan in place for the Chairman of the Board, the MD/CEO and all other Executive Directors (EDs), Non-Executive Directors (NEDs) and senior management positions to ensure leadership continuity. The code recommends that succession planning be reviewed periodically, with provision made for succession in emergency situations as well as long-term vacancies; and section 12.9 stipulates the procedures for appointment to the board and that the tenure for the MD/CEO and the EDs should be determined by the Board and that in determining the tenure of an ED, the Board should take into account his performance, the existing succession planning mechanism, continuity of the Board and the need for continuous refreshing of the Board.

Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) 2018 Code of Corporate Governance for Finance Companies

Section 2.1.8 of CBN 2018 Code of Corporate Governance provides that the responsibility of the board of directors shall ensure that a succession plan is in place for the MD/CEO, executive directors and management staff of the Finance Companies (FC), thus making succession decision of CEO the responsibility of the board.

Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) Principles of Corporate Governance

Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, OECD (2015) stated clearly that in most two tier board systems the supervisory board is saddled with the responsibility of appointing the management board which comprises of the key executives including the CEO. Furthermore the OECD (2015) code of corporate governance also provides that the independent board members can contribute significantly to the decision making of the board by objectively appraising management performance, evaluation and manage situations where management interest is inconsistent with that of its shareholders on matters relating to succession planning, executive remuneration, take-over defences, changes of corporate control, large acquisitions and the audit function.

The provisions of corporate governance summarised above are consistent with the fact that the board of directors are vested with the exclusive mandate for CEO succession decision in firms. In order to avoid corporate friction in the case of two-tier board systems, the OECD (2015) code of corporate governance is also emphatic on the fact that the supervisory board has superior powers in the case of CEO succession decision. However, the positions of the different codes of corporate governance; despite conferring powers of CEO succession choices on boards of companies, did not specify which mode of succession is best suited for corporations hence leaving the CEO succession decision choices largely a product of discretion, a development which may

be shaped by what the board of directors want to achieve or the objectives of such board members. The ripple effect of these discretionary choices of CEO succession could be felt differently by organisations in terms of accounting information and decisions.

Empirical Review

Guan, Wright, and Leikam (2005) examined the nexus between earnings management and force CEO dismissal in the United States of America (U.S.A). Data of one hundred and seventy two (172) firms that experienced non-routine executive turnover were gathered from the Wall Street Journal (WSJ) Index and the Wall Street Journal (WSJ) Index article. From the given sample of 172 firms, eight (8) firms had multiple CEO changes within a three years period, while they included only the first change in their analyses. The 172 sample size were further divided into two groups for firms that had forced dismissal (94 firms) and those that had other reasons of CEO dismissal (78 firms). A group of matched control firms that didn't experience CEO turnover were identified through a process that match each of the sample firm with a control firm based on four-digit SIC code, prior to final year total assets and fiscal year. In carrying out data estimation, the cross-sectional modified Jones model was used as a measure of discretionary accounting manipulations, in addition to regression models. The result of the estimation shows that forced CEOs dismissal lead to income-increasing earnings management in the year preceding his dismissal. However, from an examination of Murphy and Zimmerman's (1993) argument, which argued that CEO turnover and accounting manipulation are functions of poor organisational performance, it was revealed that organisational performance and other confounding attributes cannot explain observed discretionary accruals in entity prior to termination of CEO appointment, while it was also revealed that incoming CEO engages in earnings management in transition year.

Choi, Kwak, and Choe (2014) investigated earnings management surrounding CEO turnover in Korea. The study used a sample of three hundred and seventeen (317) firms that experienced CEO turnover and six hundred and thirty four (634) without CEO turnover for the period of eight years covering 2001-2008. CEO turnover was operationalised as peaceful departure, forced departure, whether the incoming CEO is elevated from within, or outside recruitment, while discretionary accruals and real activities management were used as proxies for earnings management. Heckman's two-stage approach was used to control for the potential endogeneity of CEO turnover, following control for financial performance and corporate governance, and result of the estimation shows that force CEO and an insider successor exhibited upward earnings management. However, it was also found that the new CEO with the aid of discretionary accrual and real activities management. For a peaceful departure and external succession, the study also found evidence of upward discretionary accruals.

Finally, there was insignificance of earnings management in all other form of CEO turnover.

Stahl and Appelkvist (2014) examined the nexus between CEO succession and big bath accounting in Sweden. The study used data of sixty-eight (68) companies quoted on the Stockholm Stock Exchange for the period 1998-2012. Modified Jones Model was used as a proxy for big bath accounting, while multiple regression analyses and man U-Whitney test was used for data estimation. The results shows that newly appointed CEOs in the first year are likely to use negative discretionary accruals to earnings, while positive discretionary accruals are used in subsequent years, an indication that big bath accounting is connected with CEO succession particularly when succession occurs in later time in the fiscal year. In estimating the relationship between CEO compensation as it relates to earnings and big bath accounting, it was found that CEO engages in income-decreasing discretionary accrual to increase their chances of receiving bonus subsequently, hence a situation suggestive of the fact that compensation plans increase the prospect of big bath accounting.

Bornemann, Kick, Pfungsten, and Schertler (2015) examined the use of income-decreasing discretionary accruals in the time of CEO turnovers in Germany banking sector, using a sample of selected German Banks for twenty years period covering 1993-2012. The study found out that incoming CEOs increase discretionary expenses, in other word perpetrates big bath accounting, in his first year, outsider CEOs successor engages in larger earnings bath than insiders, and that the incoming CEOs engages in low level of earnings bath when the succession was preceded by CEOs retirement than when the outgoing CEO leave for other reasons. Riyadi, Utami, and Nugroho (2018) examined potential big bath accounting practice among quoted manufacturing firms in Indonesia Stock Exchange within the context of routine and non-routine CEO changes. The study used purposive sampling size of fourteen (14) companies that experienced non-routine CEO change and thirty-four (34) companies that experienced routine CEO change respectively for the period 2004-2014, while pair sample test was conducted on the data with the aid of SPSS. The estimation result shows that there is possibility of accounting manipulation in the course of CEO succession, while the study also shows no significant difference in earnings management in routine and non-routine CEO succession.

Geertsema, Lont, and Lu (2018) investigated the impact of Sarbanes-Oxley Act (SOX) on earnings management activities around CEO turnovers in New Zealand and Australia. Pre and post SOX data of a sample of 3,015 CEO-turnover events were gathered from Execucomp covering the period of 1993-2013; which comprises of ten years before and ten years after SOX. Panel regressions estimation shows that there is a strong deterrence effect for new CEOs, while the pressure effect dominates the deterrence effect for outgoing CEOs to engage in earnings management. It was also

revealed that Pre-SOX firms' new CEOs engaged in downward earnings management with the aid of both discretionary accrual (DA) and real earnings management (REM) particularly in firms with weak governance mechanism, while both forms of earnings bath diminishes in the post-SOX. On the contrary, post-SOX firms which engages in upward earnings management especially in the context of CEO turnover induced by performance.

Rivolta (2018) examined the importance of lead time within the context of planned and unplanned CEO turnover in the United State of America (USA). Dataset of CEO turnovers for the period 1999-2008 were used for analyses and subjected to multivariate regression estimation. The estimation results show that firm with planned CEO turnover incurs lower disruption costs, and more lead time as compared with firms without planned CEO turnover, maintaining that organisations on the average can save about \$136 million where succession is planned. The issue of lead time as mentioned in this study did not address what constitutes the optimum lead time vis-à-vis other issues that may arise in the course of succession planning such as earnings management and financial manipulation which could occur if there is delay in the course of making a succession decision.

Brockman, Krishnan, Lee, and Salas (2019) looked at the consequences of CEO succession origin, as well as in-house experience on audit pricing in the USA. Using a sample of 8,976 firm-year observations for the period covering 2004-2012 obtained from annual Compustat Xpressfeed files with fiscal year-ends of the firms ranging from 2003-2012. Estimation was done with the aid of regression analyses and the results shows that outside CEO succession is associated with an increase audit fees by a tune of 8% as against promoting internal staff to the position of CEO. There is a negative relationship between internal CEO succession and audit fee, as well as lower audit risk. The study was unable to distinguish between CEO successor origin in family and non-family firms, while it also focuses on the use of panel observation for generalisation.

Conclusively, empirical intuition is suggestive of the fact that successor CEO origin will affect earnings management differently either positively or negatively, a claim consistent with the submission of Ishak *et al.* (2013) who argues that there is mixed findings on the nexus between CEO successions and organisational performance. The mixed findings on the nexus between CEO succession and performance is also likely to have the same effect on earnings management decision of a firm since earnings management decision will have a ripple effect on the performance results disclosed by firms. In the same vein Choi *et al.* (2014) asserted that CEO turnover allow room for management of earnings as it involves bi-decision making by the departing CEO and successor CEO respectively, and their predisposition to earnings management might be a function of the nature of turnover. Choi *et al.* (2014) further submitted that in an attempt to mask poor performance, the departing CEO manages earnings upward in the

terminal year so as to increase their bonus and other departure incentives, while the successor CEO may choose to do otherwise in an attempt to expose the inefficiency of his predecessor. Consequently, it is plausible that the origin of CEO could influence earnings management decision in family and non-family firms respectively.

The importance of CEO succession decision is also evidence in the assertion of Ojeka *et al.* (2017) who opined that CEO succession is of paramount concern in ensuring organisational sustainability particularly in the choice of who succeeds as the CEO, and in evaluating the value-added by the leadership in the course of wealth creation, thus a driving force in deciding whether to appoint insider or outsider successor. Ishak *et al.* (2013) further opined that the post-succession effect of CEO succession differs in various respect in terms of its impact on firm's performance and other firms attributes; this impact may also be largely shaped by the mode of succession that led to the appointment of new CEO. In the same vein, the way and manner the CEO position is managed in an organisation largely determine where the firm is headed. Again the qualities needed for successful management required of a CEO in family firms and non-family firms may differ in all respect, thus underlining the importance of CEO succession decision.

Despite the numerous importance of CEO succession, CEO succession is not without challenges. Crocker (2019) identified the following as some of the challenges of CEO succession; CEO succession planning is seen as an HR process run by the HR department; Roles and responsibilities of the CEO are not clear between all the stakeholders; The CEO succession planning is seen by many Boards as a yearly exercise or one that is not done because the effort is seen as too much; Many senior leaders have learned not to expect every member of their team to have common succession planning goals and Board are not clear if their succession planning efforts are to focus on filling vacancies or fulfilling the company's strategic direction.

Arguments

The main issue arising from review of literature carried out in this paper is that of identity in terms of what constitute the various modes of CEO succession, thus making it difficult to understand the concepts. CEO succession as described in this paper are referred to as internal or external in terms of origin; that is where the incoming CEO is coming from, and in either case, succession strategy was seen to be by way of horse-race, comprehensive search, crown heir or coup d'état. However other issues discussed in this paper is the nature of departure of an outgoing CEO preceding the succession decision such as; death, retirement, forced dismissal, or peaceful departure as the case may be. In the context of this paper, the focus of mode succession is on the origin of the CEO that is whether the CEO was appointed from within or outside the organisation and how such appointment affects earnings management. This position is advanced in

the study based on the fact that CEO succession is likely to fall under any of these two categories irrespective of the actual processes that led to the appointment.

The empirical evidence on the nexus between CEO succession and earnings management is anecdotal in Nigeria scenario. However, from the review of literature, there is mixture, of concept in terms of CEO succession and their relationship with earnings management. Some studies looked at the nexus between mode of departure in relation to mode of succession and earnings management, while others looked at it from the point of view of family business or non-family business, hence making it difficult to make relevant comparison. The position of this study therefore is that mode of CEO succession could be address in the context of the origin of the successor CEO in terms of whether the CEO was appointed from within the firm (internal) or external succession.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The study examines the role of mode of CEO succession on earnings management with regard to the issues and thereafter summarizes the key arguments. There are cases of CEO successions in Nigeria that have semblance of being classified as family firms as the baton were passed from father-to-son thus qualifying the companies' CEO successions as internal succession, father-to-son succession, or crown-heir in terms of its description. The specificity of the mode of CEO succession decision in firms are currently not guided or regulated by any standard or procedures, but usually keenly contested and sought after in most firms and these modes of CEO succession process might have implication on choice of accounting decisions (including earnings management); such implication might be positive or negative. The position of this study without appeal to causal empiricism is that modes of CEO succession have a strong link with earnings management decisions of a firm whether family firms (where applicable) or non-family firms. The study recommends that there should be regulations to guide the procedures or standards in determining CEO succession as mode of CEO succession significantly impact on earnings management decisions.

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INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEM: A SURVEY OF TRADITIONAL COMMUNICATION SYSTEM IN PRE-COLONIAL YORUBALAND

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Abstract

The same principles apparently underline science and technology, be it modern or indigenous. What perhaps differs is the nature, forms and stage of development. In spite of the increasing advancements in science and technology today, there is still much to be found and cherished within the Indigenous Knowledge System (IKS). This study validates the fact that science and technology are inherently enmeshed in the existence of every society. Nigerians in general and the Yoruba in particular have a long history of science and technology which dates back to a very early period. Much of African cultural tradition, science, religion and other forms were plagiarized, stolen and adopted without due credit to the African inventors and originators. Hence, this paper surveys the traditional communication system and its functions in pre-colonial Yorubaland in order to retrieve waning and irresistible valuables and deeply reflect on the implications. Findings reveal that trends in modern science and technology owes its origin to the IKS due to the fact that the full knowledge of man in the present can only be approached through a scrutiny of the records of his past achievements and failures. The paper concludes/suggests a continuous and productive synergy between the IKS and modern innovations as the past is accordingly, the father of the present; and the past and present together provide the only basis for a prognosis of the future. The paper adopts a historical and phenomenological approach with a combination of primary and secondary sources of data gathering.

Keywords: Indigenous Knowledge System, Communication System, Pre-colonial, Yorubaland.

Introduction

The task in this paper is to demonstrate how the acquisition of indigenous skills and their practical demonstration can translate to, or at least enhance national development. This becomes necessary because, harnessing and repositioning Nigeria's numerous Indigenous Knowledge Systems in line with our realistic contemporary needs, will

ultimately contribute immensely to the national development drive. As a corollary, it is also emphasized that in order for any imported technology to truly respond to the practical needs of the Nigerian society, it must have some elements of local initiatives. Really, the past cannot be completely recovered, but the present is also not yet completely enacted and fully open to our view. This becomes necessary because no nation can grow beyond its science and technology. It is well established that science and technology started in Africa. However, European and American historians deprived 'blacks' of the knowledge of their early contributions to science by ignoring and misrepresenting the African identity of the ancient Egyptians. Some of the grossly misleading impressions about African science and technology include that African society was condemned to stagnation, marking time without any remarkable scientific and technological discoveries. Several European authors concluded that African societies had inferior faculty for science and technology.¹ Of a truth, sophisticated knowledge of the natural world is not confined to science since all human societies across the globe have developed rich sets of experiences and explanations relating to the environment they live in. As Uzoigwe observed:

There have been discontinuities and continuities in African institutions under both the colonial and post-colonial epochs of African history; it follows too, that studies of the African military in the twentieth century ought to benefit significantly from its pre-European antecedents.¹

These other knowledge systems which encompass the sophisticated arrays of information, understanding, and interpretations that guide human societies around the globe in their innumerable interactions with the natural milieu are referred to as traditional ecological knowledge (or indigenous/local/'folk'/'peoples' knowledge or 'traditional' wisdom or science).² The term 'indigenous knowledge' is thus used to describe the knowledge systems developed by a community as opposed to the scientific knowledge that is generally referred to as 'modern' knowledge.³ Indigenous knowledge is the basis for local-level decision-making in many rural communities. In achieving the objective of this study, the discussion is shall be made under the following themes: a brief description of Yorubaland; communication and communication processes; purpose and means of traditional communication in Yorubaland; Leap Frogging Development-How Many Miles Away? and the conclusion.

Brief Description of Yorubaland

The Yoruba, one of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria are predominantly located in the South-west of Nigeria-Ogun, Ekiti, Oyo, Ondo, Ogun and Lagos States. Atanda, however notes that pockets of the Yoruba are found in some other parts of Nigeria, such as in Kwara, Kogi and Edo States; likewise, in some West African countries such as Togo, Ghana, Republic of Benin and Sierra Leone as well as in the West Indies and South America, such as in Brazil and Cuba.⁴ The word, Yoruba refers to both the people

and the language they speak. Within and outside Africa, the Yoruba trace common descent to the renowned Oduduwa and their origin is popularly traced to Ifẹ where they believe the act of the creation began. Hence, the saying “*Ifẹ Oodaiye, Ilẹ Owurọ, ibi ti ojumọ ti i mọ wa* (meaning Ifẹ, the land of the most ancient days, where the dawn of the day was first experienced).⁵

Irrespective of the condition they find themselves either in time past or present, they have never had a doubt about the usefulness of their historical traditions and the necessity for individuals to know something on community/sub-group/tribe customs and origins. Among the Yoruba therefore, such who show ‘gross ignorance of community traditions or customs is described as a bastard (a son who did not get to know his father). Humanity has recorded its history and transmitted its culture from one generation to another through communication, be it verbal or non-verbal communication systems. The Yoruba have of course, expressed their feelings and beliefs concerning the relevance of a consciousness of the past in the present in their verbal and non-verbal means of communication. It is therefore, necessary to x-ray some of these indigenous knowledge systems, re-establish them and stamp our authority on what is our own in order to avoid cultural alienation.

Communication and the Communication Processes

Like the popular Yoruba aphorism, *ọrọ nii yọ obi l’ápò, ọrọ naa si loun yọ ida l’ápó* (words softly spoken make peace, that aggressively expressed lead to violence); communication is indispensable and its sensitive role in national development or national disaster cannot be underestimated. Olatunji attests that

Communication lies at the heart of all social existence and can be regarded as an essential feature of community life. Its impact on the mind has become so great in modern societies that, whether or not the fact is acknowledged, it tends to influence the attitudes adopted and even the actions taken by the peoples and governments all over the world...Since, where communication is lacking, ignorance of others takes root-a source of mistrust and ultimately of tension and conflict. And solving this problem could make all mankind more aware of its solidarity, and so spare it the tensions that have so often, in the course of history, sparked off serious conflicts and destruction on a vast scale.⁶

Therefore, communication is a vital aspect of all human interactions and organizations through language. It is a combination of human and material resources as well. The administration of any society, organization and either large or small scale companies

depends largely on effective and efficient communication. If communication is “the transfer of information from the sender to the receiver with information being understood by the receiver”,⁷ communication is therefore, a process between the informant (sender) and the recipient, be it an individual or group of peoples.

From age long, speech has been the most convenient vehicle for the expression of thought. Human thought usually precedes speech and in concentrating one’s thought on a particular person or thing, one’s will can be projected mentally and consequently transformed into action. To understand how the process works, we begin with by describing its elements: participants (who), messages (what), context (when), channels (how), presence or absence of noise (distractions) and feedback (reaction).⁸ It can be deduced that it is only when these elements of communication are taken into cognizance and synchronized by the messenger/actor via a synergy of verbal delivery and elements of non-verbal communication that we can talk of effective communication between the encoder and the decoder.

As indicated in the adapted diagram (Figure 1), traditional or modern, five main processes of communication model abound as follows:

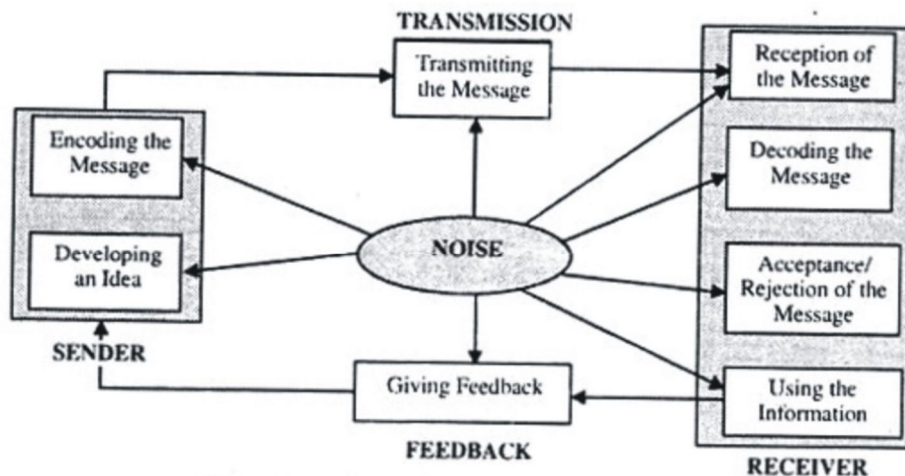


Figure 1 The Communication Process

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Source: Surbhi, Rawat. “5 Main Processes of Communication (With Diagram)”. *SurbhiRawat*.28 August 2021. Web: https://www.businessmanagementideas.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/clip_image004_thumb9.jpg

i. The Sender: Communication starts with the sender, who initiates the message and encodes it in a way (verbal and/or non-verbal) that can be comprehended by the receiver.

ii. Transmission: The sender's message is transmitted via a channel (an emissary, letter, telephone, television or computer) to the receiver. A channel connects the sender to the receiver.

iii. Noise: Noise is anything that has a disturbing influence on the message (i.e. ambiguous symbols that lead to faulty encoding or decoding, an inattentive receiver, gestures and postures that may distort the message, a poor network connection, and prejudices obstructing the poor understanding of a message). Noise hinders communication, and it may occur at the sender's end, during transmission, or at the receiver's end.

iv. The Receiver: The receiver is the person to whom the message is transmitted. Decoding is the process of translation of symbols encoded by the sender into ideas that can be understood for necessary action or reaction. Communication is considered effective only when both the sender and the receiver attach similar meanings to the symbols that compose the message.

v. Feedback: This is the message generated by the receiver in response to the sender's original message. This ensures that the message has been effectively encoded, transmitted and decoded.

Purpose and Means of Traditional Communication in Yorubaland

Like earlier mentioned, the same principles apparently underline science and technology, be it modern or indigenous. The knowledge of the fundamentals of communication is germane. Although the indigenous communication systems may be considered old (traditional), they remain what essentially sustain the information needs of the rural population till present. The aim of traditional communication system (informal or formal) is to primarily serve as a source of information, education and entertainment to the people at the grassroots. In other words, communication from time immemorial has been a veritable tool for exchange of ideas, information, experience, thoughts or opinions, from one person or group to another. Prior the colonial era that ushered in modern trends in the communication system; certain Yoruba concepts (via concept's label-term) abound in the mode and processes of indigenous communication system which need be clarified. Before what became known as *Ìwé Ìròyìn* (written/published news) were *Ìròyìn* (verbal communication/news) which could be either via human dialogue (*ibá ra ẹni sòrò*) or non-verbal/symbolic communication (*ibá ra ẹni sòròlái lo ohùn ẹnu*). The premium placed on authenticity/reliability of any news/information (*òkodo iròyìn/ojúlówó iròyìn*) is in the preference for an eye witness account which is captured in the Yoruba saying, *Ìròyìn kò tó àmójúbá, ẹni tó bá dé bẹ ló lè sọ* (seeing is believing). Oral news (though with every tendency to overtime fade away, get distorted or lose its originality) can be kept forever as history via oral tradition passed from one generation to the other. Hence, the concept of "*Bí ọmọdé kò bá bá itàn, ó maa bá àróbá*" (meaning oral tradition brings the past within the reach of the youth). Some other relevant terms that need be mentioned to describe the nature and

types of news include: *ìròyìn kàyéfi* (amazing news), *ìròyìn tó ka ni láiyà/ isẹlẹ ni yàjóyájó* (breaking news), *orọ tó ún lẹ* (current affairs), *íkéde* (announcements), *àbọ* (feedbacks/reports), *ìfọrọwéro* (dialogue), etc. Information (decisions, dissemination of news) therefore, became vital in the day-to-day, periodic and miscellaneous activities in the process or after every meeting (*ìpádé*), events (*ayẹyẹ*), anniversary/ceremonies (*àjòdún/òdún*), special programmes (*àkànse ètò*), hearings/judgement (*ìgbéjọ*), etc.¹⁰ Lucky and Frank attest that “in Nigerian traditional society, the means of disseminating information varied from one ethnic group to another. In whatever form, the traditional system is used to achieve its aim, it is undoubtedly a success factor in a developing society.”¹¹ In the traditional Yoruba society, information was disseminated at different centres or venues via recognized officials, recognizable sounds, signs and symbols.

In order to appreciate the level of initiatives of the ancient Yoruba societies; measure the level of modernity over the years and showcase the resilience of the indigenous knowledge; it is necessary to x-ray some of these indigenous communication systems so that the present and future generations would not get disconnected from genuine traditional knowledge. The concern of the study is more on the formal (organized) communication than the informal transference media (oral communication).¹² Many of them of course find placement in Wilson’s broad categorization of traditional forms of communication in different parts of Nigeria as follows: Idiophones; Membranophones; Aerophone; Symbolography; Signals; Signs; Objectives; Colour schemes; Music; Extra-mundane communication and Symbolic display.¹³

Town Criers: In the traditional Yoruba society, the town crier was regarded as the traditional information minister (news agent, correspondent, news reporter), regarded as the only credible source of information (still found in most rural societies today). The town crier (s) under the directive of the *Ọba* (king) and Council was officially deployed to disseminate information to all dwellers from street to street. At the beat/sound of his recognizable gong and audible projection of voice, villagers would gather to hear him or pay rapt attention from indoor to the message. Usually, he would go slowly and stop at intervals to clearly relay the information from the beginning of the town to the end of it. A repeat of same message was done at both the to and fro movements before he finally retired to the palace. The resonant bronze plate (gong) commonly called the *agogo* was struck with a mallet at specific counts first to catch the attention of the listeners that gathered or at indoor before the message was finally disseminated. The timing in most cases was usually at dawn before villagers set out for their routine works or in the evening time when majority would have returned. Relayed information could be categorized under directives, news/information, advertisement, public relations, entertainment and education.

Body Language (Gesticulations) and Signals: As actions speak louder than voice, a popular and effective means of traditional communication was via body language or

symbolic displays associated with attributes such as smiling, winking of the eyes, sticking out the tongues, conspicuous silence, assembly boycotts, etc towards the expressions of anger, disgust, fear, disappointment or happiness. Also evident and very effective were physical embodiments of the message in the form of fire (used by rescuing team usually group of brave hunters and volunteers in search of a lost victim or in cases of sudden attacks and disasters); gunshots (blasts of local gun to send signal of imminent danger or announce missing citizen, war, coronation, internments of great personalities); setting fire on bushes to suggest situation of emergencies or smoke (for the purpose of attracting attention of someone/group of people or a community); etc.

Signs and Symbols: Symbolic writing or representation (symbolography/colour symbolism) was a veritable means to convey a message which was understood within the context of a known social event and as an accompanying verbal message. This descriptive representational device was often adopted to convey symbols that usually carried along with them connotative meanings. Varied signs and symbols (including natural-rainbow, sun, moon) were often interpreted and decoded for necessary actions. For example, sign language was often adopted in dialogue with the deaf; organized nudity/showing of breast for the purpose of protests/agitations; the use of objects (such as flowers, dove, cowries, feather, white eggs, pigeons, kolanut, leafs, palm fronds, roasted yam, cattle egrets) and colour schemes (white, black, red) to convey different coded and symbolic messages. These were commonly used in times of inter-tribal and ethnic wars or invasion to convey non-verbal messages. For instance, palm frond usually strewn on roads could be an indication of danger or hung on houses/land to show that such is out of bounds or a vehicle carrying a corpse. While each item had its own meaning (i.e. kolanut to show hospitality, honey to connote sweetness and joy, salt for sweetness and abundance, palm wine for libation and friendship, colour white for peace or love, red for danger, black for evil); a combination of the items usually referred to as *àrokò* was a representation of a specific message to pass across or react to.

Àrokò: *Àrokò*, a diplomatic system of communication, fast going into oblivion involves the transmission of physical objects from one person or group of persons to another so as to convey a particular message. A case of such code of correspondence is found in Oyerinde's narration thus:

There was a certain Ijesa man who came to demand for payment of debt owed by him by Lorungbekun (Ogunlola's wife). She had no money to pay him, so the man refused to go away. Ogunlola was displeased by the actions of the man when he removed a poisonous ring from his back and struck the debtor in the face. The man fell down dead. Following this event, Ogunlola was tagged a murderer and was taken to Olugbon. Olugbon gave Ogunlola a sword with 2200 cowries to carry to the Alafin of Oyo (Ajabo).

Ogunlola on the advice of his friends, consulted Ifa oracle where the Ifa priest told him that the sword symbolizes death but it shall become a message of life. With the sword, the priest added the bark of *Ape* and *Ogbogbo* tree which symbolizes life. Hence, the king and any of his councilors could not decode the contrasting message until later events unraveled.¹⁴

The latter, Ogunlola ended up becoming the Soun of Ogbomoso after he helped Oyo to defeat the invisible and dreaded Elemosho.

Drums/Language of the Drum: One characteristic of traditional music is the use of musical instruments to reproduce human speech and convey signals. Jolayemi notes that “the various social events with which music is most usually associated include religious worship, war, therapy magic, work, children’s games, sports, installation of chiefs and kings, festivals and ceremonies pertaining to the life cycle (such as birth rites, infant rites, puberty rites, marriage and funeral rites).”¹⁵ Drums were used not only for entertainments but also as a means of communication among the people. It could be used to convey messages such as the death of a dignitary, arrival of a visiting or passing king/chiefs or used in times of wars. For instance, Ologundudu attests that

The talking drum can steer up an uprising among rival *Egungun* groups...Gbedu drum is a large drum played for the Alaafin of Oyo usually played on very important occasion like the coronation or announcing of the death of an Alaafin. Kósó drum is usually to wake the Alaafin up in the morning or greet him goodnight. Dundun is the talking drum.... Agogo Ifa is the bell played by the Babalawo when reciting *Iyẹrẹ* for Orunmila....Bata drums are special drums played for Sango.¹⁶

Fabunmi also attests that “*Peṛẹ Awo* drum is the drum used by Orunmila to announce the date of the festival to his followers... *Pere Awo* drum is always accompanied with the sound of a bell.”¹⁷ In Yorubaland, the talking drum is able to imitate all the tones and gibes in Yoruba speech. Yoruba drums perform both rhythmic and communicative functions. Yoruba drum may signal danger i.e. *kangun, kangun, kangun, ibi kan ni a kangun si* (meaning gradually, gradually, it will end or lead somewhere); mobilize people for manual or communal work (*Bawo loni o ti se? Oni a daa* meaning how will today be? It will be well); to caution or warn children against bad behaviour and imminent wreckage i.e. *kọlọmọ kilọ fọmọ rẹ, oni a ro* (meaning parents warn your children, it will be tough today); express solidarity and announce communal war i.e. “*Bole d’ogun ko d’ogun, bole dija ko dija* (meaning if it can turn to war, let it be, if it

can turn to battle, let it be); to abuse, encourage, entertain, etc.¹⁸ This confirms Omu's submission that "it is widely acknowledged that when some of the drums are expertly sounded, they are capable of conveying specific meaning."¹⁹

The language and beating of talking drum are also going into extinction. Like it is commonly said, '*eni to bamu kongo dani lo mo ede ayan* (it is the drummer and those versed in the skill of drumming that can interpret the language of the drummer). Only few people from the *Ayan* family can play and interpret the talking drum today because people are not interested in communicating in Yoruba language again let alone in the local dialect. It suffices to say that whoever does not understand Yoruba language can in any way understand or interpret the language of the drum. Though the importance of the music cannot be denied in Yoruba society, patronage given to the traditional music today is low as foreign music seems trending.

Power of the Spoken Words (Literal Conversation/Speeches): The unique language of man is the language of culture, which is a knowledge system developed within the context of experience thereby showing an experimental system at work. The Yoruba language is the key to the understanding of Yoruba culture. There is no doubt about the power of speech to mobilize strong feelings, prejudices, desires, fears and all the forces of public opinion. The power of the words in the process of communication has a vocative potency which can create or destroy. Many renowned orators, politicians and elder statesmen had used mere power of the spoken word (language) to inform, persuade and control behaviour, create and express social cohesion, transmit information or move the audience. The likes of Cicero, Pericles, Patrick Henry, Martin Luther King Jr, Woodrow Wilson, Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson, Adolf Hitler, Nelson Mandela, Barrack Obama, Alaafin Ajagbo of Oyo, Ògèdèngbé Agbógungbòrò of Ijeshaland, Fagbamila Ajagunla of Ila-Orangun, Aare Latoosa of Ibadan, Lagelu of Ibadan, Kurunmi of Ijaiye, Fabunmi of Okemesi, Afonja of Ilorin, Akintoye of Lagos, etc– successfully used propaganda and speeches to inform, persuade, arouse and mobilize at one time or the other.

Magical words: The magical power of the word was utilized by the ancient Greeks, Romans, Indians and other groups of people on the globe. The Indians for example, recited the "Mantras" to control the world around them.²⁰ In the same vein, aside the literal conversation, words to the Yoruba has a very powerful spiritual significance as it is believed that there is power in the spoken words. Ologundudu attests thus:

According to Yoruba oral tradition, the ancient people used to be able to talk to the other elements of nature. It has been told in many cultures that ancient people have been able to talk to the river to open for them to pass or provide more water for agriculture for the people. Many of the traditional Yoruba believe that knowledgeable people can use

invocation and incantations to change the nature of things like mood, feelings of people and different elements. They believe there are specific energies in most matters that can be invoked. Therefore, they can invoke the river water to have the properties of rainwater...turn ordinary water into stomach ache medicine. There are lists of ritual items that may be invoked in Yoruba. However, in order to properly invoke the Irunmaleṣ and these elements, one must use the Yoruba language.²¹

Proverbs (Òwe)- Proverb is the hallmark of communication among the Yoruba, as it is among other Africans. Aristotle describes proverbs as a ‘remnant from old philosophy preserved amid countless destruction by reason of its brevity and fitness for use’.²² Achebe in his renowned novel, *Things Fall Apart* describes proverbs as “the palm oil with which oil is eaten”.²³ Whatever successes the Yoruba record in the moral and religious sense was partly traceable to their emphasis on wisdom of life through the recurrent use of proverbs and philosophical sayings. Often used among the ancient Yoruba was the use of proverbs usually to drive home a point. Wise and knowledgeable people and leaders in Yoruba societies were/are expected to be versed in the use and understanding of proverbs. Proverbs are identified with the sage and so it was customary that any young that would use a proverb in the presence of the elders must first acknowledge symbolically his oral trespass into an area considered the exclusive preserve of the learned elders on seat (*O se bi owe eyin agba*). Oladele Taiwo does not only describe proverb as *Owe lesin oro, oro lesin owe, ti oro ba sonu, owe la o fi wa* (meaning proverbs are the horses that we use to find the words when the words get lost);²⁴ hein his earlier publication attests thus:

Proverbs are the stock in trade of old people who use them to convey precious moral lessons, warnings, and advice, since they make a great impact on the mind than ordinary words. The judicious use of proverbs is always regarded as a sign of wit.²⁵

Examples of proverbs often used to drive home a point include: *Ojo to nrọ lẹwọ ti ko da, a o lee sọ iye eniyan ti yio pa* (We cannot say how many people would a rain falling incessantly will beat); *Iwa laa fi nri ọmọ adugbo fẹ* (It is good character that can make us marry); *ti a ba ni bi ejo se gun to ni ao fi dana ti a o fi sun, a o sun ile nina* (If we want to make fire as long as the full length of a snake we have killed, we will burn the whole house); *Eniyan o tan ara ẹ bi iya ọlọmọ kan wọnni ọmọ rẹ nja nita, oni ewo ninu wọn?* (A self- deceiving person like a woman who has child, she was informed her child was fighting outside and she asked which one of them); etc.²⁶

Philosophical Words: Slightly different from proverbs, philosophical Yoruba sayings are wise statements used to convey common truism on the matters of life. The basic difference being that, while the presentation of proverb can be indirect and symbolic, the latter is usually a direct affirmation of wise statements, which serve as guiding principles to people. Hence, in the traditional Yoruba society, the maturity of a person was not solely determined by age but by wisdom acquired and displayed especially through effective and apt use of proverbs. These media of communication (proverbs, philosophical sayings) were useful vehicles for the transmission of ethical teachings against several vices and worldliness. For example, the Yoruba believe that a person's enemies might be found among his family. Hence, the philosophical saying, *ẹhinkule ni ota wa, ile ni aseni ngbe* (A witch outside one's family cannot successfully operate against a person without the cooperation of the witches in one's family). A typical example of philosophical sayings on the nature of human behaviour (falsehood, dishonesty, fraud, betrayal, distrust) include: *Ẹni ani o kini lẹhin o fẹgun sọwọ, ẹni ani o fẹni loju o fata senu, ẹni a ba fẹhin ti ka mu didun ọsan, kikan ni n funni mu. Ẹni aba finu han, o kuku jalarokiri ẹni* (He whom one asks to help scrub one's back hides a thorn in his hands, he whom one asks to blow out the dirt in one's eyes, puts pepper in his mouth. He whom one depends on for the sweetness of oranges, gives one the sour. He on whom one relies as confidant is indeed one's betrayal.²⁷ Atypical example to express the undependability of man is the saying, *Ọwọ epo laraye nba nila, wọn kii bani la teje* connoting that when a person is poor, most people especially the untrue friends dissociate but when a person is rich, he suddenly becomes attractive for opportunists. Usually, rich persons who suffer unfortunate reversals of their status witness gradual desertion by those who previously hung unto them or rather their wealth. The mark of true friendship in Yorubaland is consistency but on the final analysis, God remains the final succour for man and this is a major lesson for those who are rich not to build castles in the air with their wealth.²⁸

Ọfọ (Incantations): The fundamental performative roles of language in *Ọfọ*, the Yoruba incantations cannot be over-emphasized. *Ọfọ* is the generic term for all categories of Yoruba incantations ranging from *gèdè* or *ògèdè*, *àásán* (both usually for offensive purposes), *wúre* (that which brings goodluck), *madarikan* (that for self defence), *atúbi* (that which unties evil), *àsàpa* (that which is used to kill), *sọyè* (that which is used to activate memory), *àyájo* (narrative incantation often used in the well-being of man).²⁹ Words in the forms of spells or curses (like Alaafin Aole's curses on the Yoruba nation) are agents of power even though words and rites are usually combined. The traditional Yoruba society attached great importance to *Ọfọ* as a means of solving their social, political and (wealth) economic problems. *Ọfọ*, the verbal aspect of the traditional medicine involves the uttering of words arranged in a set pattern believed to have a magical power to control the world around it. For an *Ọfọ* to be effective, the reciter must utter the right words and sentences, often in a particular sequence. Ajayi submits that

For an *Ọfọ* to be effective, the word must be uttered correctly – any minor fault in rendition may make an *ọfọ* inefficacious. A change in the wording or wrong pronunciation or technique of reciting a particular *ọfọ* may diminish or nullify its power.³⁰

It should be emphasized however, that *ọfọ* may be used for both bad and good wishes across every sphere of human activities. For example, *ọfọ* may be used to combat evil forces, make a person become invisible in the face of imminent danger, cure various diseases, aid women in the labour processes during delivery, gain the favour of people, secure total well-being and so on. Once the user of *ọfọ* knows and calls the personal name(s) of the addressee three times (*Alagbaja* the son of ...), it is believed that such would respond instantly and accordingly to the call except the targeted himself has the knowledge of the secret names of death (*iku*) and/or diseases (*aarun*) to nullify the pronouncements. Fabunmi gives such counter recitals to ward off death and evil as follows:

A ki mọ orukọ iku ko pani; Aki mọ orukọ arun ko gbeni de;
Apenrenpete lorukọ a pe iku, Iku o ni pami ni rewerewe;
Olarinnako lorukọ a n pe arun. Arun oni sọmi lọjọ
(meaning One does not know the name of death for it to kill, one does not know the name of disease for it to hang one up. Aperentete is the name we call diseases, death will not kill me prematurely. Olarinnako is the name we call disease. Disease will not flourish in my life).³¹

Leap Frogging Development- How Many Miles Away?

Beyond Yorubaland, it is good to know whether the African situation is similar to the crocodile theory or not. The theory argues that genetically, a crocodile is a killer, and no matter how much training you give to it, it will kill whenever the opportunity arises. This is opposed to the situation of the elephant, which if well trained, and barring excess palm-wine, will remain submissive. We look at the African problem and ask whether we have a genetic problem or an environmental one? If our problem is genetic, we might as well forget it, but if it is an environmental or historical one, then we can develop new strategies to redefine the future of our people. ...considering the noble works of our ancestors in Egypt, Ghana, Mali and the likes that were for a long time the most prominent and dominant culture in the world, it becomes obvious that our problem is not genetic but a historical transgression. A close look at our history and culture reveals many qualities which we ought to be proud of. For example, our ability through history to maintain our humanism, resilience, spirituality and psychological atonement in the face of all the worst adversities.³²

In view of the increasing scientific and modern technological advances, the catch up game (by the third world countries) with the developed world seems to be practically unachievable especially in Africa where there is little or no recognition to indigenous initiatives whether then or now. For instance, in India, Gandhi said he was going to apply aspects of so called western science but not its tool and he started what he referred to as numeracy of ancient crafts and tools in India. The Indians used certain aspects of their 'western education' without using its tools. It is quite evident that the Indians, going by their level of development and self-reliance, have benefitted in large measure from this strategy and remain attached to their traditions. It is on this note that Akindiji Akinola, advised, "I am of the view that here in Africa, we have to look inwards to recognize the very positive part of our indigenous knowledge systems and utilize these elements in our development"³³

Our resilient history has ascertained our capabilities and what is needed is the emancipation of African mind. If the Brazilian government could introduce the compulsory study of African History and Yoruba into the primary and secondary school's curriculum,³⁴ should Yoruba Language and Culture be disdained by most Yoruba themselves in Yorubaland and elsewhere? "Language constitutes a basis of a people's personality while contributing to their creative genius... A people renouncing the use of its language are doomed to stagnation, and even to retrogression and to disappear completely as a people."³⁵

Consequently, in the face of the continuities and effectiveness of the indigenous knowledge system in Yorubaland and elsewhere, it is obvious that the two can go together or as an alternative option. For example, in place of today's ambulance, the fresh unfolding frond of the palm tree usually greenish yellow tied at the front and back of a vehicle indicates that the vehicle is carrying a corpse to his home town for burial. Similarly, as trade through the market system was one of the means that enhanced information dissemination in the traditional Yoruba, their markets still serve not only as centres of trade but also as principal agents of communication, information and recreation. The trading forum provides opportunities to meet friends and kinsmen from far and near distances during which the traders exchange news. While the use of modern communication facilities (radio, television, print media, cell phone, dailies, internet, etc) helps to carry non-indigenes along in rural governance; it does not promote the development of traditional systems of communication. As the indigenous knowledge system had its own challenges ranging from non-uniformity of language across, difficulty in understanding complexities in technical development, little or no technical input of learners outside the traditional environment; so also, the modern communication system has its own peculiar problems such as poor network facilities, distortions, exorbitant costs, etc. Therefore, the use of both media if properly integrated will increase effective communication and close the gap between traditional and modern means of communication.

Conclusion

The term, 'traditional' or 'indigenous' is considered by apologists of modernity as primitive and archaic. This paper examined the resilience of Indigenous Knowledge System: x-raying the traditional communication system in pre-colonial Yorubaland. In doing that, it first discussed communication as a vital aspect of human interactions and organizations through language (verbal and non-verbal) and then described the common communication processes, be it 'traditional' or modern. With specific references drawn from Yorubaland, the purpose and means of traditional communication were described alongside since communication or information dissemination are twin concepts that can be interchangeably used to describe the method of spreading news within a society or community. The submissions in the paper revealed that the varied means of disseminating information across the Nigerian traditional societies undoubtedly achieved the purposed aim and objectives as they did not only serve as a source of information, but also education and entertainment to the people at the grassroots.

Ultimately speaking, it is the dynamic interplay of environmental factors and human activities that accounts for the terrestrial process known as history. Because of the biological continuity of our species, coupled with mankind's unflagging inventiveness, each generation has been able to build upon the experiences and contributions of its predecessors - so that continuity and change in human affairs proceed together. This is in the case of indigenous knowledge system and modern science and technology not only in Yorubaland, but in general Nigeria. Even though indigenous system of communication is in the face of modernity considered outdated, primitive or mutually antagonistic to what is generally known as modern systems of communication, the fact remains that they remain what essentially sustain the information needs of the rural population. It can be summed up that traditional communication system was naturally believed with no modicum of doubt, the audience was familiar with the sources and the codes employed by the source; it was not expensive since it required little or no cost, it integrated different segments of society through their cultural and social gatherings, and its transactional nature made feedback immediate.

On the one hand, the author expressed optimism on the resilience of indigenous communication system since through globalization; indigenous communication system has crossed Nigeria's border and has been internationalized, thereby promoting Yoruba religion and culture globally. On the other hand, the author expressed pessimism considering the obvious reality that Yoruba heritage is presently a legacy misplaced in motion as it is obvious that the Yoruba nation like any other Nigerian group is mired in a crisis of development vis-à-vis modern science and technology. Lamentably, the country is failing to win the catch up game with the developed world as there seems to be no Nigerian nation that is in command of its destiny because indigenous values-

social, economic and technological abilities and breakthroughs and cultures were officially banned and substituted with foreign ones. Consequent on this observations and findings, the study provided the key to our quest to free ourselves in several ways from mental slavery as it is worrisome to note among others that “the standing tragedy of all Blacks and Africans wherever they may be is that their tongues have been pulled out and they must speak in strange tongues.”³⁶ Every form of communication has its language and symbol embedded in a cultural milieu. Traditional medium should, therefore, be used in conjunction with modern media which people are familiar with in order to make for participatory communication to enhance national development. It is hoped that the present and future generations will live to keep the traditional systems of communication alive as well as improve on it. In an attempt to emphasize or revamp the place of existing knowledge (indigenous knowledge) in sustainable development; government policies, sciences and technologies should be geared towards introducing new ideas through the existing ones.

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DIASPORA REMITTANCES: IMPLICATIONS FOR NIGERIA ECONOMY

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Abstract

This paper examined the impact of diasporan remittances on the economic development of their home country with Nigeria in focus. Some perspectives consider remittances as a quantitative metric for measuring the impact of the Nigerian in diaspora on Nigeria's economic development. The colossal loss of human capital due to brain drain has posed a challenge to the economic development of Nigeria. However, considering that travelling overseas by their wards for greener opportunities is a long-term goal of several families who invest in their education, it becomes necessary to analyze their impact on the Nigerian economy. The study was situated within the classical and neo-classical perspectives of migration theory while data were collected from secondary sources. The study found out that the Nigerians in the diaspora make significant quantitative (remittance and investment), and qualitative contributions (education, health, and non-governmental services) to Nigeria's economic development. The paper, therefore, recommends that the Nigerian government through the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development should initiate policies that will provide a more enabling environment for Nigerians in the Diaspora to contribute to the development of the country. Encourage more remittances by a deliberate reduction of the cost of overseas remittances by the Central Bank of Nigeria.

Key words: Diasporans, Diasporans remittances, Migration, Economic Development, Nigeria economy

Introduction

The United Nations as of 2017 estimated the number of Nigerians living in other parts of the world to be 1.24 million as cited in PwC (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2019). According to the Pew Research Center, the size of the Nigerian diaspora ranges from two million to fifteen million. This figure is believed to have increased exponentially over the past years. While there are speculations about the specific number of Nigerians living in other countries, there is no doubt that the Nigerians in the diaspora has grown with increased migration. Since the early 1990s, international migration has increased significantly and has become an integral part of globalization while boosting foreign capital inflow into the country.

More recently, there has been a surge in international migration trends of Nigerians to African, European, Asian, and American countries for varying reasons: education, business, and professional pursuits. International migration is thought to be facilitated by the differences in the level of development among countries, with many migrating from less developed to more developed countries with relatively high per capita income (Telli, 2014). Nigeria, largely involved in this phenomenon, is characterized by the high emigration of its citizens to more developed Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries. A commonly held view corroborating the difference in development levels as a cause of increased international migration is the Marxist-oriented perspective that assumes poverty and terrible social conditions are primary push factors for several Nigerians to exit the country. Yet, the highly skilled emigration rate from Nigeria is among the highest in the world to the OECD countries with a growing share of highly skilled migrants. This has led to the brain drain phenomenon where Nigerian migrants form a stock of highly skilled residents in other countries of the world.

The impact of brain drain from developing countries is a controversial issue on which two opposing paradigms are discussed. The first paradigm, which is the oldest and most widespread, posits that brain drain is detrimental to the economic development of the sending countries (Docquier, 2014). The argument is that the emigration of an individual with a higher than average level of education and income results in a decrease in the average level of income and education in Nigeria. Thus, Gross Domestic Product per capita is reduced and the average human capital that is needed for future growth is also reduced. Also, it results in a tax loss for Nigeria and a loss of externalities related to the education of the individual.

The second paradigm is more recent and challenges the first by putting forward two brain drain effects that could be beneficial to sending countries (David & John, 2010). The first effect is an incentive effect, which takes place before emigration, and leads families to invest in the education of their children in the perspective of future emigration. High income-OECD countries are home to the majority of the Diasporans

(at least the highly skilled ones) from developing countries, including Africa. The second effect of the second paradigm occurs after emigration and relates to the links that the Diaspora maintains with its original home country. These links include their financial transfers or their possible return home with acquired advanced skills and new ways of life that may be enriching to their homeland.

As a result, despite the widely held negative view of brain drain, Diasporans are significantly recognized as development partners due to the feeling of belonging which shapes their behaviour in exile and the willingness to participate in the political, economic and social development of the home countries (Brinkerhoff, 2011). This is exhibited by their participation in scientific, political, and business activities and endeavours. The networks so formed can potentially generate trade and capital flows and technology transfers. They can also contribute to the dissemination of social and institutional norms conducive to development in the home countries (Chacko & Gebre, 2012). Diaspora contributions boost the foreign capital of the Nigerian economy through remittances transferred; Pew Research Centre reports that Nigeria received its largest regional share of remittances from its diaspora (BUDIMAN & CONNOR, 2019). Remittances from the Nigerian diaspora make up approximately 6% of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (Alechenu, 2021).

Four significant development roles of the diaspora; provision of veritable migration information to prospective migrants, mobilization of prospective migrants' resources towards relocation, provision of an organizational structure that allows for easy relocation of prospective migrants and provision of economic support upon arrival of migrants in the destination country (Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity, 2010). In carrying out these functions, migrants are seen to provide financial and technical support to prospective migrants through remittances and the supply of first-hand information on destination countries.

The most glaring contribution of the Nigerian diaspora to the Nigerian economy is the value of remittances received annually. This has grown exponentially over the decade; remittances received by Nigeria grew from \$5.66 billion in 2010 to \$17.57 billion in 2019, revealing a 210% increase in remittances. As of 2019, remittances contributed 5.3% of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (African Development Bank, 2021). Lucas (LUCAS, 2004) noted that remittances have become a significant means of financing balance of payments for low-income countries, as documented remittances to developing countries have surpassed Official Development Aid received by these countries. His work reveals that the sending country's education costs on migrants are a form of investments that yield remittances that have provided short-run poverty relief for some individuals' resident in the receiving country.

The study found out that on a micro-economic scale diaspora contributed to greater national productivity. According to Iheki, Nigeria national output numerical values may

provide evident quantifiable contributions from the diaspora, it does not always translate to the physical and economic development of the country receiving such remittances. Rather, it is the employment of these remittances that determine the impact upon the development of a country (Iheke, 2012). Invariably, individuals are direct recipients of the benefit emanating from diasporas. Remittances are only considered a potential source of development with the government being primarily responsible for the economic development of the country. These positions necessitate an understanding of the concept of economic development.

Understanding the concept of economic development provides a framework within which its realization can be assessed when highlighting the contributions of the Nigerian diaspora. Economic development is the sustained increase in a country's productivity per individual or labourer which takes cognizance of income distribution as well as the quality of life through indicators such as life expectancy, crime statistics, and environmental quality. It is the improvement of the capacities and potential of individuals, firms, and communities towards providing a higher quality of life for a larger number of people by the responsible production of goods and services. This higher quality of life is achievable through sustained innovation, increased access to educational opportunities, good infrastructure, and low financial transaction costs due to responsible regulation (African Development Bank, 2010). Against this backdrop, we can safely conclude that any contribution of the diaspora that improves the quality of life of a larger number of people and makes them more productive, impacts economic development.

On a macroeconomic scale, remittances contribute to greater national productivity. Between 1980 and 2010, Nigeria's national output increased as remittances into the country soared (Osabuohien & Efobi, 2013). This is possible when the spending and investment decisions of direct recipients of remittances drive production within the country. Remittances are a dominant source of Nigeria's foreign exchange employed by the government to finance economic transactions between Nigeria and other countries. For example, the government under the leadership of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan drew targets toward the sale of open-ended financial instruments to the diaspora, to boost investments (Ogbu, 2011).

On a micro-scale, remittances aid poverty reduction in recipient communities within Nigeria (Ewubare & Okpoi, 2018). Such remittances have been a significant source of private financing for Nigerian households. Nigerian households expend remittances received on boosting their welfare. Food, education, physical and human capital, health care, and Information and Communication Technology (ICT) are the commonest expenditure items households purchased using remittances from relatives (Mashayekhi, 2013).

Beyond the Nigerian diaspora's financial remittances, programs led and organized by Nigerian diaspora returnees help abate poverty and boost development through the transfer of knowledge (Sharkdam, Akinkuotu, & Ibonye, 2014). While several definitions including that of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Organization for Migration (IOM) limit remittances to only financial resources sent to origin countries by migrants, Tewolde argues that remittances also include non-financial materials that the diaspora sends back to their households in their countries of origin (Tewolde, 2005). Holding on to this view classifies all activities of knowledge transfer and physical capital shipped from the diaspora as remittances. Whether or not this view is upheld, the knowledge transferred from the diaspora and goods received increase the capacity of recipients in the origin country to improve production. Consequently, non-financial remittances from the diaspora should also be considered.

Despite the potential of increasing financial remittances to impact Nigeria's economic development, several factors have impeded the proper utilization of such remittances for developmental projects in the country. Corruption, political unrest, lack of transparency, and excess focus on crude oil revenues, the ineffectiveness of the financial sector, and the absence of effective policies on remittance use are factors that have detracted from the potential gains of remittances (Tyburski, 2014). This is why beyond the value of remittances received by an economy; the government remains a critical actor in the collective action towards national development (Abdih, Chami, Dagher, & Montiel, 2012). Hence, the Nigerian government must deliberately partner with households, firms, and communities to improve the quality of life and create an enabling environment for the optimal use of remittances.

Given the above, therefore, financial and non-financial remittances from the Nigerian diaspora serve as viable forces capable of driving economic development. Nevertheless, these only serve as a means to an end - economic development. Hence, whether financial remittances are received, physical goods, equipment, or information, all these must be productively employed by pertinent actors. Financial remittances are usually at the disposal of the government, so the actions of the government greatly influence the level of impact such as remittances wield. Families and individuals who also receive financial and non-financial remittances ought to invest such in businesses and capital projects to foster development, rather than for immediate personal consumption. What therefore are the measurable impact of the contributions of Nigerians in the diasporas as opposed to the perception of brain drain impacting negatively on the Nigerian economy. What are the challenges or obstacles to process remittances by Nigerians in the diaspora? In addition to secondary sources, the paper adopted qualitative data that entailed in-depth interviews with key informants from Nigeria in Diaspora Organization (NIDO) and the Chartered Institute of Bankers to situate the study.

Theoretical Underpinning

The models of migration theory adopted for this study is situated within the classical and neo-classical perspectives.

Migration is generally referred to as the movements of people from a geographical location to another. While this may satisfy the generic definition of migration, Startup (1971) see migration from the sociological perspective as any instance of geographical movement of groups or persons that has a consequence for the group structure.

However, Douglas S, Joachin A, Graeme H, Ali K, Adeola P and Edward (2021) posited that the classical perspective of migration is premised on the micro-levels where decisions to migrate is reached at the individual and family levels. The decision to migrate at this micro-level is usually motivated by the desire to improve the income status of the individual or family at the home front. They also stated that the neo-classical perspective of migration is driven by geographic differences in the supply and demand for labour. According to them, countries characterized with high labour demand relative to capital have a propensity for paying high wages as opposed to countries with low labour demand relative to the low capital formation with attendant low wages. Labour from low wage countries is generally attracted to migrate to countries with high wage profiles.

Ravenstein in 1885, identified distance, urbanization and commerce as factors that drive migration in Britain's 19th century. He argued that the shorter the distance the greater the number of migrants especially if the destination is more urbanized with prospects of commerce and industrialization,

Lee (2009) examined and identified the Assimilation, Segmented and Spatial theoretical models to explain the processes of assimilation and adaptation of immigrants into the society using the United States as his example. The assimilation model explains the processes of bringing immigrants into mainstream society by making them imbibe the norms of their host society incrementally while the segmented model posits a deliberate diffusion of immigrants into several sectors of the society. The spatial assimilation model explains the movement of immigrant groups from their enclaves or neighborhood into areas that are occupied by the host society.

While the classical perspective of migration theory explains the emigration of low income and unskilled persons to the more developed organization for economic cooperation and development (OECD) countries, the neo-classical perspective explains the migration of the highly skilled to the more developed countries.

Analysis of the impact of brain drain on Nigeria's economic development.

Two opposing schools of thought inform the potential impact of brain drain on the economy: that brain drain has toxic effects on the Nigerian economy on one hand, and that brain drain is beneficial to the Nigerian economy as brain gain on the other hand.

Akinrinmade and Ogen (Akinrinade & Ogen, 2011) view brain drain syndrome as the loss of skilled manpower to developed nations. Brain drain is the mass exit of African intellectuals to Western nations which greatly precludes Africa's development due to increasing losses of the human capital necessary for its growth. Adefusika (Adefusika, 2010) posits that the toxic effects of brain drain come about when Nigerians fail to return; and argues that a social effect of brain drain is the establishment of a two-class society. In this stratified society, the top class comprises very wealthy individuals like those in political and government offices, and the bottom class comprises a large set of unemployed and poor individuals. Hence, the brain drain robs the Nigerian of the middle class that should be made up of professionals in varying spheres. A case in point is found in the study carried out by Oyowe (1996) posits that over 21,000 Nigerian Medical Doctors were practicing in the United States alone, yet Nigeria had not met the minimum World Health Organization standard of 20 Physicians per 100,000 people domestically. Consequently, brain drain remains a worrisome phenomenon when considering the consequences, it leaves on Nigerian locals.

Beyond the loss of human capital, brain drain results in the loss of public investment in education (Ojo, Ugochukwu, & Obinna, 2011). As of 2009, the estimated cost of training an average Nigerian student stood at \$15,000 and \$150,000 for medical students in Nigeria. Several educational institutions funded by the Nigerian government at state and federal levels have offered educational services to Nigerian emigrants at minimal costs. Hence, their permanent exodus from the country especially immediately after completion of their secondary or tertiary education in Nigeria yields zero returns to government investment in Nigerian education. However, family investment in education is considered to yield returns for the families of migrants. Families tend to diversify risks by having some members reside in the diaspora where prevailing conditions and adverse shocks in the destination country are relatively more bearable compared to those faced in the sending country (Lucas & Stark, 1985).

A survey carried out by (Ojo, Ugochukwu, & Obinna, 2011) further revealed the associated downsides of brain drain on the Nigerian economy. The decline in the number of working professionals in the country poses danger to the health and educational sectors. This has resulted in plummeted graduate enrollment rates, low literacy levels, and high mortality rates. Medical professionals who could have contributed positively to the health index of the country are situated in various hospitals in developed countries of the world. In 2005, a total of 1805 medical graduates from five leading tertiary institutions in Nigeria migrated to the United States of America.

This migration trend is equally rampant among academicians, and this depletes the pool of required teaching staff across all levels of Nigeria's educational sector, consequently watering down the quality of Nigeria's education. Therefore, brain drain is not only considered to be the physical exit of intellectuals, but also the escape of knowledge and information (Docquier & Rapoport, 2012). In addition to these, the Nigerian economy loses revenue that would have been generated from the taxable assets of Nigerians who have migrated to other countries.

The second school of thought considers brain drain as beneficial to the economic development of sending countries. The benefits of brain drain, commonly referred to as 'brain gain' play out when: (i) skilled professionals participate in training and research with African-based professionals; (ii) information, research findings and technology not readily available in the sending country are transferred to local institutions from the diaspora; (iii) business contacts, commercial and research projects are initiated between local professionals and those in the diaspora (Ite, 2002). Brain drain is seen as an alternative to economic growth for individuals (Docquier, 2014). This helps to reduce the pressure on already inadequate infrastructure in the origin country.

Brain drain serves as an incentive to increase skilled labour from sending countries (Kangasniemi, Winters, & Commander, 2007). Due to the high demand for skilled labour in destination countries, several Nigerian migrants are encouraged to further their education and develop relevant skills that would be equally useful for the development of Nigeria. The benefit of brain drain is seen where these trained emigrants return to Nigeria or provide services that would have cost the Nigerian economy more if expatriates were employed.

While brain drain is considered a stumbling block to Nigeria's economic development, Nigeria's underdevelopment has fueled this brain drain. A survey carried out by Nwajiuba (2005) found economic factors and education to be the most predominant reasons for migration from Nigeria: 80% of the respondents migrated from Nigeria for economic reasons while 16% of respondents migrated to further their education. Adefusika (2010) highlights the internal and external factors that simultaneously bring about brain drain in Nigeria. Internal factors such as unemployment, erratic electricity supply, low wages, unconducive working environment, corruption, political instability, and insecurity have been responsible for pushing Nigerians to seek better living conditions in developed countries. External factors such as increased employment prospects, higher competitive wages, economic and political stability, better working conditions, and higher living standards attract Nigerians to more developed countries. Multinational companies with onboarding programs also make relocation to developed countries easier for their employees.

Contributions of Nigerians in the Diasporas to Nigeria's economic development

The earliest members of the Nigerian diaspora - the late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Dr. Obafemi Awolowo, Akintola Williams, and Tafawa Balewa - are known to have made groundbreaking contributions to Nigerian's political economy. They comprised the first set of Nigerians to acquire foreign education, and they returned to Nigeria to galvanize the struggle for Nigeria's independence from British colonialism and the establishment of a Nigerian democratic government (Seriki, 2017). Over time, following the account of the formation and development of the Nigerian diaspora, the Nigerian government in conjunction with several diaspora organizations has set up projects and engaged in activities to contribute to Nigeria's economic development.

In 1999, the year that marked Nigeria's adoption of presidential democratic civilian rule, President Olusegun Obasanjo made significant efforts to involve the Nigerian diaspora in his leadership. He actively interacted on many occasions, with Nigerians living abroad and he took cognizance of the potential of the Nigerian diaspora as valuable stakeholders in Nigeria's development (Sharkdam, Akinkuotu, & Ibonye, 2014). According to Modupe (2018) President Olusegun Obasanjo is considered the first Nigerian president to initiate dialogues with the Nigerian diaspora in 2000 towards nation-building: the first dialogue was held in Atlanta in the United States of America while subsequent meetings took place in London and Abuja.

Consequently, the Nigerian National Volunteer Service (NNVS) was established as a pioneer diaspora organization. The Nigerian National Volunteer Services (NNVS) on the other hand, was established by Nigeria's Federal Executive Council and functions under the Secretariat of the Nigerian government. NNVS engenders engagements resulting in human capacity development between the Nigerian diaspora and citizens resident in Nigeria. Through sabbatical leaves, short-term visits for skill transfer and training and summer courses, NNVS invites Nigerians in the diaspora, thus helping to convert brain drain to national gain (Ogen & Akinrinade, 2011). In 2006, the NNVS organized the 2nd Science and Technology conference, where the Nigerian Diaspora Day was declared to be observed yearly on July 25, under the presidency of Olusegun Obasanjo (Marchand, Langley, & Siegel, 2015). Hence, the activities of NNVS paved the way for the establishment of a day dedicated to the Nigerian diaspora. Modupe (Modupe, 2018) noted that despite the activities of the Nigerian diaspora, their contributions through knowledge transfer could not be quantified through Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product, however, the establishment of the NNVS helps value and record the quality of such contributions.

According to Wapmuk, Akinkuotu, & Ibonye (2014), the regime of General Olusegun Obasanjo from 1976 to 1979 fostered bilateral trade relations with the United States of America and improved Nigeria's foreign policy, resulting in the successful organization of the Festival of Black Arts and Culture (FESTAC) in 1977. Subsequent dialogues

with the Presidency of General Olusegun Obasanjo and the Nigerian diaspora led to the establishment of the Nigerian in the Diaspora Organisation (NIDO) in 2001.

The Nigerian in the Diaspora Organisation (NIDO) Worldwide was established to strengthen and formalize the relationship between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and all its citizens resident abroad (Akiode, 2017). Singapore, Malaysia, Australia, South Africa, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire and almost all European countries are regions where NIDO has set up its branches in Nigerian embassies (De Haas, 2006). NIDO is saddled with the responsibility of managing developmental projects and meets regularly to discuss developmental projects to be handled by the Nigerian diaspora. Related contributions of NIDO have been explicitly mentioned by some authors. Babawale (Babawale, 2008) for example highlighted the role of a famous Nigerian clinical pharmacologist, Professor Peter Nwangwu, who relocated from the United States of America to Nigeria to assist Nigeria's Pharmaceutical industry with his expertise. Adisa (Adisa, 2010) also noted that approximately four hundred business professionals in the Nigerian diaspora visited Abuja in December 2010 to identify potential investment opportunities for the Nigerian diaspora, and to address brain drain.

Smaller diaspora organizations have in their own right made contributions to Nigeria's economic development in the past. An analytical study by Nwadiuko, James, Switzer, & Stern (2016) highlighted past contributions of US-based Nigerian physicians who were attendees of the 2011 annual convention of the Association of Nigerian Physicians in the Americas (ANPA). Of 156 of these physicians, 29% had donated \$1000 to Nigerian health care systems and 57% had embarked on medical trips to Nigeria in the last ten years. The authors also made mention of a respondent who gave annual pediatric lectures in his alma mater, and generally posited that contributions from the ANPA came in cash and kind. In 2010, academicians from Nigeria's diaspora collaborated with the Nigerian University Commission (NUC) and came up with best practices that could be employed in university management. This meeting led to the promotion of exchange-related study programs between Nigerian institutions and institutions in foreign countries (Asiyai, 2015). Nigerians in the Diaspora have also leveraged on Information and Communication Technology (ICT) to drive activism: this led to the establishment of Kudirat Radio later renamed Radio NADECO, that criticized the policies and programs of President Abacha's regime, thereby contributing to Nigeria's struggle for democracy (Mustapha, 1996). This political contribution had economic implications for Nigerian citizens due to increased freedom rights, including better employment wages.

There have also been organizations that have fostered Diaspora contributions to Nigeria's economic development. A quintessential example is the Industry Growth, Investment and Competitiveness in Africa (IGICA) Group, considered a response to the establishment of The Nigerian in the Diaspora Organisation. The primary goal of the group is to provide an environment that breeds partnerships for knowledge transfer and

commercialization in the Nigerian industry. Through IGICA, the relationship between Nigerians resident in developing and developed markets has been strengthened, as well as connections between the private and public sectors in African countries (Sunday, 2017). The Directorate of Technical Cooperation in Africa (DTCA) was established in 2001 to bridge the gap existing between African economies and those of developed countries, to boost Africa's scientific knowledge and to provide an enabling environment for Nigerians and other Africans to invest in African economies. In summary, several efforts of the Nigerian diaspora are cumulatively geared towards the development of the country in the area of investments, education, politics, and societal welfare.

Quantitative Contributions

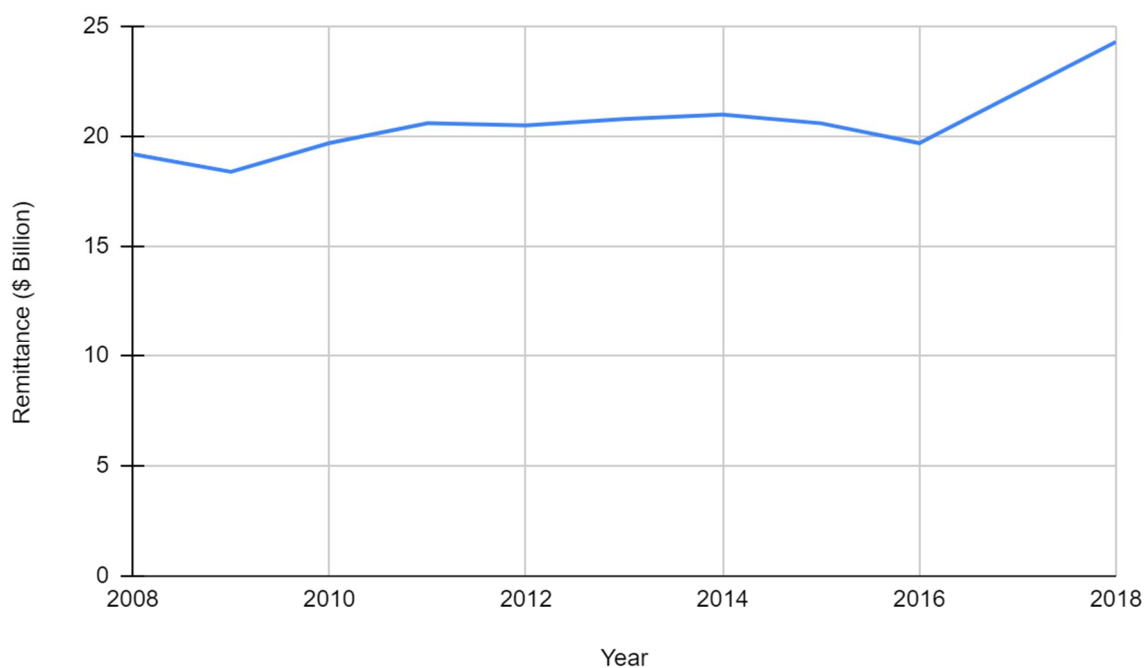
1. Remittances

Remittances to Nigeria constitutes an increasing and major source of income to Nigeria's economy and the foreign exchange reserve. Several members of the diaspora send money to their relatives and communities for varying purposes. According to a respondent, Alhaji Ibrahim Shobande, of the office of the chairman in the Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM), "The inflow of the diaspora remittances has been on the rise as more Nigerians who left the country in the quest for greener pastures abroad send foreign currencies to their families back home. Diaspora's remittances do not only represent a source of relief for households in meeting basic needs but also helps in facilitating the building of resources for increased human capital through both education and healthcare"

This implies that monies received from the diaspora by Nigerian households are channeled towards household consumption, which in turn drives production in the country. As beneficiaries of these remittances demand goods and services within the country, more production takes place thereby contributing to national productivity. Another respondent, Dele Omoshegbon, a professor of Economics in the United States of America and a member of Nigerians in the Diaspora Organisation (NIDO) noted that "remittances are used by relatives and recipients in Nigeria for personal, family, social and developmental needs". This finding on remittance use aligns with the contributions of Afaha (Afaha, 2013) and Oluwafemi & Ayandibu, (2014) who posit that remittances are used by households to alleviate poverty and finance family consumption on items such as food, health, and education.

Alhaji Ibrahim Shobande also highlighted that data from the National Bureau of Statistics record inflows of \$96.5 billion from the Nigerian diaspora between 2013 and 2018. Data from The World Bank shows that remittances into Nigeria remain on the rise, and predicts even more inflows in coming years. The graph below summarizes remittance inflow into Nigeria for over ten years:

Figure 1: Remittance Inflows into Nigeria (2008-2018)



Source: Author

Data Table Showing Remittances into Nigeria from 2008-2018

Year	Remittance (\$ Billion)
2008	19.2
2009	18.4
2010	19.7
2011	20.6
2012	20.5
2013	20.8
2014	21
2015	20.6

2016	19.7
2017	22
2018	24.3

Source: The World Bank (2020)

Figure 1 above shows the increasing trend in remittance inflows into Nigeria with a record-breaking value of 24.3 billion Dollars in 2018. Remittances grew by 26.6% between 2008 and 2018. We can also deduce from this data that the size of the Nigerian Diaspora is likely on the increase, with more Nigerians having access to foreign earnings which they could send back to relatives and friends in Nigeria.

Members of Association of Nigerian Physicians in the Americas (ANPA) donated a thousand dollars \$1000 to the development of Nigeria's health care system years to 2011

2. Investments

Members of the diaspora invest in businesses and corporate social responsibility of corporate bodies functional in Nigeria. This finding is exemplified by the historical contributions of some members of the Association of Nigerian Physicians in the Americas (ANPA) who made donations of at least a thousand dollars (\$1000) to the development of Nigeria's health care system during the years leading up to 2011 (Nwadiuko, James, Switzer, & Stern, 2016). A respondent, Mr. Adewale Joel Adebisi, a Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria (CIBN) noted that remittances pass through commercial banks when sent to relatives. Hence, commercial banks from service charges can generate revenue that contributes to banks' capital for investments. According to the Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission, Dr. Abraham Nwankwo, the Director-General of the Debt Management Office as of 2017, revealed that the first-ever Diaspora bond which was targeted towards Nigerian retail investors situated in the United States was oversubscribed to at 130% (Chima, Obinna (ThisDayLive);, 2017). Speaking on the Diaspora bond, Dr. Abraham Nwankwo further stated that:

“The diaspora bond has opened a new source of financing for the Federal Government of Nigeria for funding projects for the development of the country. This new window further enhances funding liquidity and flexibility of the Nigerian economy, which are necessary characteristics as the country gathers momentum towards the attainment of advanced economy status”

Hence, investments from the diaspora remain a potential source of funds towards developmental projects that the country seeks to embark on. United Capital Trustees Limited, a subsidiary of United Capital Plc (a leading financial services group in Africa)

launched the privately managed Diaspora Trust Fund in 2019 which enables individuals in the diaspora to invest both in Naira and Dollar values. Mr. Tokunbo Ajayi, Managing Director of United Capital Trustees Limited, in addressing the importance of the Trust fund explained:

"With an ever-increasing size of Nigerians in the Diaspora, spread across countries like UK, USA, Ireland, UAE and Canada the birth of the Nigerian Diaspora Trust, comes at a time when Nigerians living abroad want to invest and build legacies back home but are often faced with the fear of the credibility and reliability of friends and family to carry out their wishes". Our Nigerian Diaspora Trust is a professionally managed fund designed to generate competitive returns while alive and upon the demise of the individual. With confidentiality that is preserved, the trust will help carry the burden of being your representative where they are not physically present to oversee and execute their investment and home-coming plans" (Nwachukwu, 2019).

More financial institutions have begun to see the potential need that Diasporans have in investing in Nigeria. The Diaspora Trust makes it easier and more reliable for funds to be effectively employed in the development of the country.

Qualitative Contributions

Apart from remittances employed for consumption and investment purposes, the Nigerian diaspora makes great contributions to which monetary values cannot be attached. Alhaji Ibrahim Shobande, of the office of the chairman in the Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM), listed the following contributions that have been made and are being made under the auspices of NIDCOM;

(i). The Imo State Congress of America (**ISCA**) has brought together Imo diasporas worldwide as well as investors, entrepreneurs and prominent persons through the Imo Diaspora Day (**DDI**) held on the 28th of December 2017 in Owerri. The Imo day was aimed at repositioning Imo State for economic advancement and good governance.

(ii). The Association of Nigerian Physicians in America (**ANPA**) through the diaspora professional healthcare initiative aimed at improving healthcare delivery in the country. The Diaspora Professionals Healthcare Initiative (DPHI) is to among other things harness the abundant resources of highly skilled Nigerian diaspora healthcare practitioners and increase their participation in Nigeria to strengthen its health systems.

(iii). A total of 49 surgeries had been performed within the last five years during the open-heart missions for children in the National Hospital Abuja.

1. Education/Knowledge Transfer

Several Nigerians return to Nigeria, either temporarily or primarily to conduct training and improve the access of Nigerians to quality education and cutting-edge technical skills. The United Development Program (UNDP) organizes the Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Networks (TOKTEN) Program that creates a quintessential platform linking Nigerian professionals in the diaspora to foster the transfer of knowledge necessary for the development of the country. Other Organizations such as Nigerians in Diaspora Organisation Europe (NIDOE) and Central Association of Nigerians United Kingdom (CAN-UK) among others partner with the Nigerian government to foster education.

2. Health/Technical Services

The Association of Nigerian Physicians in America, in conjunction with Anambra State Association and Women and Calvary Torch International, treated about six thousand (6000) patients in six (6) communities in Anambra State during a Medical Mission in 2012. This finding reaffirms the active contributions that Nigeria Diaspora physicians are making to develop the health of citizens in the country.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Nigeria's economic development is undoubtedly hinged, to a significant extent, on the country's relationship with its diaspora. The contributions made by Nigerians in the diaspora, in both cash and kind, remain a viable channel and vital component for improving national living standards in the country. There remains a wide vacuum for the Nigerian government to fill for the contributions of the Nigerian diaspora to be effectively maximized. With greater collaborations among the Nigerian diaspora, the Nigerian government and resident Nigerian professionals, the speed of economic development would be heightened, and related impacts would become more evident.

The Federal Government of Nigeria has taken bold steps towards the inclusion of the Nigerian diaspora, from endorsing dual citizenship to earmarking a day in celebration of the Nigerian diaspora (Balogun, 2021). However, the Nigerian government needs to provide an enabling environment that makes the involvement of the Nigerian Diaspora in developing the country easier. Dr. Yakubu Bassi, Permanent Secretary of the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission, explained that exorbitant costs of sending remittances through financial institutions, and the instability of the Nigerian business climate discourage inflows from the Nigerian Diaspora. Furthermore, the deployment of remittances lies in the hands of the government, especially when remittances come from the sale of government bonds.

Consequently, to ensure that remittances - a major benefit derived from the Nigerian diaspora - translate to economic development in the country, the Nigeria central bank

and the Federal ministry of finance should: (i) Reduce remittance sending costs as an incentive to encourage more inflows from the Nigerian diaspora; (ii) Allow government diaspora funds to be managed by private financial institutions with greater transparency and results-oriented investments. For example, the Diaspora Trust Fund managed by United Capital Ltd has encouraged more members of the diaspora to invest in the country; and (iii) Ensure that development projects are more inclusive. Remittance funds should be channeled towards establishing more reliable road networks between rural and urban areas

While it is not a new call to the government, for the nation to be made more conducive for businesses to thrive, it remains a priority goal for Nigeria's economic development (The World Bank, 2019). Insecurity and terrorism could destroy in minutes, what the government, citizens and the diaspora have built over time. It, therefore, behooves the Nigerian government to provide greater support and security for businesses in the country. This would boost investor confidence of Nigerians in the diaspora and would maximize the productivity of professional's resident in the country. Besides, superfluous protocols associated with collaborating with the government make it difficult for members of the diaspora to complete projects or get viable project proposals approved. Consequently, the government should take measures to simplify processes in interacting and collaborating with the diaspora on development projects. In fostering more effective communication and collaboration with the diaspora, new technologies should be leveraged on as this would save the costs of transporting professionals from the diaspora to Nigeria to meet over development projects and diaspora relations. It would also ease communication and dissolve delays associated with bureaucratic processes.(Tebeje, 2005).

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THEORETICAL IMPERATIVES OF THE EXISTENCE AND RELEVANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

In this work, we analyzed the theoretical imperatives for the existence and relevance of local government system in Nigeria. Using three major schools of thought on the functional relevance of the local government in Nigeria and adopting the democratic participatory school, the efficient-service school and the development school altogether, we explored and analyzed some of the factors that constitute fundamental challenges to the performance of the expected development roles by the local government in Nigeria's Federal system of government. We identified inadequate finance, poor political leadership and lack of autonomy as exemplified in the Nigerian federal system of government and we recommended devolution and decentralization of power, qualified staff to local governments to enhance development

Key words: Local Government, governmental system, development, existence, relevance

Introduction

Throughout the world, the dominant strategy of governance by most governmental systems at the grass root level is the local government. No doubt, almost all forms of government appear to have found the practice of local government as an effective and relevant method for ensuring grassroots development Ani, et al (2013). Similarly, Scholars too have, developed theories as heuristic devices to explain the nature, structure, relevance and operation of local government. Some of these theories include the locality theory, the elite theory, the group theory, the public choice theory and the state marxist theory (Tony, 2011) in Chukwuemeka (2014). However in this study as

will be followed shortly, the interest is on the models of local government rather than on these theories. This is because the models tend to capture more on the imperatives of local government in a governmental system than the theories themselves do. Indeed, the theories are, in the main, mere applications of traditional frameworks of analysis of political institutions to the study of local government as highlighted by (Tony, 2011 in Chukwuemeka 2014).

Models of Local Government

The models of local government include:

1. The Democratic participatory model,
2. The efficient service model and
3. The development model

These models, from different viewpoints, strive to underscore the need for the establishment or existence of local governments. The models are, in some cases, discussed as schools of thought that have ventured into the theoretical area of what functional responsibilities the local governments are supposed to perform Tony,(2011; Ola, 1984; Adeyemo, 2011, chukwuemeka 2014). Therefore, we shall, in this work, discuss the models respectively as;

Democratic Participatory school: Central to this school of thought is the concept and practice of democracy. This school holds that local governments exist to bring about democracy and to afford the citizens the opportunities for political participation, training in the art of self-government and for political education and socialization (Adeyemo, 2011; Ola, 1984). Chukwuemeka (2014) also stated that the concept of local government involves a philosophical commitment to democratic participation in the politics and governing process at the grassroots level. Adeyemo (2011) goes to point out further that there usually exists the opportunity in democracies, for politicians especially parliamentarians, to move from local politics to state or national politics. In Britain, for instance, the study carried out in 1964 by David Butler, after the year's general election, showed that 53% of labour members of parliament and 45% of defeated labour party parliamentary candidates had been local government politicians and political office holders (Chukwuemeka 2014). In Nigeria too, most local government based politicians, target higher political roles using the local government as spring board (Tony, 2011). In essence, local government does not only offer opportunities for political participation but constitutes a training base for state or national political participation. Emphasizing too the importance of local government in the democratic process, John and Rupak (2008) contend that the proper practice of democracy is maximized when people at the grassroots are empowered to elect their own representatives and are able to hold them accountable. They further note that the degree of democratization of local government invariably affects the prospects of enhanced state or national democratic governance.

Horste et al (2008) contends in this direction that democracy needs to begin at the local government level and if democratic structures and values are not established at this level, they would be missed elsewhere too. Again, accountability, transparency and effective representation as basic attributes of democracy are realizable, in greater measures, at the local government level. Indeed, the fundamental need for the creation of local government emanates from the desire to express distinctive identities through smaller, directly accountable self-political units able to give expression to the immediate local needs of people (John and Rupak, 2008). Nico (2008:20) too expresses this imperative clearly thus: “ local self-governance plays critical role in enhancing democracy , it brings government closer to the people through both representative and participatory democracy and allows for the deepening of democracy by facilitating the participation of minorities and disadvantaged groups In essence, local government allows for autonomous self-governance of smaller constituent units of government directly and democratically responsible for their own electorates”. Indeed, to a very large extent, the proximity of the citizens to the elected representatives as it obtains in local government makes it easier for the former to call the latter to account for their stewardship. Equally, participatory democracy is more readily put into practice in local areas thereby allowing the community to identify more with its political institutions and fostering a sense of ownership over common resources. Oviasuyi and Dada (2010) contend in this direction that participation of the citizens in governance particularly those at the rural and grassroots areas is more readily affected within the framework of the local government. For instance, in Nigeria political activities around the local government that include the chairmanship positions, the councillorship positions, the supervisory positions, the personal and political assistants to the chairman, the position of the secretary all provide and widen the spectrum of political participation for the local and grassroots people. Political education and mobilization of the citizens is equally better and more effectively realized at the local government level. According to Sharpe (1970:163) “ local government serves as a political educator and as a means of socializing the citizens into politics through the medium of self-government” as he specifically argues thus: it is only by participating in and learning the arts of self-government at the local level that the individual had a stake in and come to appreciate the virtues of government at the national level.

The Efficient-Service School: The central point by this school is that the primary purpose of the local government systems is to provide social services such as law and order, local roads, primary education, sanitation and others efficiently. William Machenzie (1954), the leading advocate of the efficiency service school, quoted in Adeyemo (2010) and cited in Chukwuma (2014), notes that service delivery to the local people is expected to pre-occupy the resources, power and time of the local government. Kafle and Karkee (2003) notes that the core argument of the efficient-service delivery school is that local government exists to help to ensure efficient-service delivery. Some scholars find this need so important that they argue that it should

override other functions of the local government and contend that the need or the function of encouraging democratic participation is not as crucial as the need for efficient-service delivery. For this, the proponents of the efficient service school argue that all is well even if there is less democratic participation in the governance process as long as the local or grassroots people get efficient services from the local government. Shape (1970:168) in this respect notes thus; “whereas the value of local government as a bulwark of liberty or at least as a handmaiden of democracy has been recognized, its role as an agency for providing services has evoked no comparable enthusiasm”. Generally, the argument by the efficient service school is that local government, because of its closeness to an area, can provide certain service far more efficiently than the state or central government. Actually, local government, in some instances, serves a better channel through which policies and programs from the central or state government are implemented. Usually, some functions that are cumbersome for the state or central government to perform are better and more conveniently performed by the local government. Such functions may include collection of rates, radio and television licences, registration of births, deaths and marriages etc. Nico (2008) argues again that by the nature of local government, it brings government closer to the people, making translation of community preference into responsive policy and programs more likely. Local government is about the best framework for doing this (Laski, 1982). Specifically, the development functions of the local government include nation building, social, economic and manpower resource development. For one thing, the local government transforms centrally generated revenue allocated to them into infrastructural development. Such infrastructures will in turn assist in the mobilization of the local people to do more for themselves and for their communities. Thus, local governments serve as veritable partners with the states and national government in national development issues as units of development by which national development efforts, resources and benefits percolate to the grassroots (Olowu et al, 1991). Again, decentralization or devolution of governmental powers to the local government affords the opportunity of participation in the development process to the local or grassroots people. With decentralization, the creative energy of the people can be harnessed. Again, decentralization offers the opportunity for innovation and experimentation to the sub national units (Nico, 2008). Innovative policies and practices in one local government may be modified and replicated in others as well as adopted by the state or national government. Nico (2008) notes that allowing space to different entities not bound by a single one-size-fit-all approach, decentralized decision making makes it possible for local government to experiment with innovative ideas. Again, the existence of local government helps in decongesting government at the centre thereby freeing national leaders from onerous details and unnecessary involvement in local issues (Ola, 1988). Maddick (1963:24) notes this need for instituting local government in his comment thus: “ local authorities provide the opportunity for local people to participate in local decisions and local schemes within the general national policies and to act above all, as local centres of initiative to development”. Indeed, the expectation is that

local governments being closer to the people and, as such, being better aware of the local needs of the people are in position to initiate and execute local projects and programs and motivate people to actively participate in public affairs (Saalah, et al, 2011). From the foregoing, the basic need for the creation of the local government is development. This is because the role of enhancing democratic participation and delivery of efficient and effective social service are ultimately development oriented (Tony, 2011). They all, indeed, are targeted at improving the social or economic lives of the grassroots or local people. It is necessary to note that all the services by local government as discussed do not only have local importance. Indeed, almost all the services that constitute the core of local government activities are national in character. For instance, health, education, water supply and roads are nationally important. As Adeyemo (2011) notes, neglect of any of them in a part of the country will be reflected nationally in disease, ignorance and poor communication. Given this, we can posit that the development role of the local government is even appreciated in the context of overall national development efforts. For this, the functional relevance of the local government appear so compelling that if it does not exist, something else would have to be created in its place. As Blani (1977) notes, local governments are what basic tissues are to human body and without them government system would have no vitality.

Development Model: Challenges for Effective Performance of the Development Functions by the Local Governments

In Nigeria, local government became recognized as distinct tier of the federal structure in 1976 through the 1976 Guidelines for Local Government Reforms. Presently, Nigeria is made up of 774 local governments with constitutionally assigned functions and responsibilities. , the 1976 Reform (1976:1) points out the following as the primary aims of local government in Nigeria:

1. To make appropriate services and development activities responsive to local wishes and initiative by developing or delegating such services to local representative bodies.
2. To facilitate and bring the exercise of democratic self governance close to the local levels of our society and to encourage initiative and leadership potentials.
3. To mobilize human and material resources through the involvement of members of the public in their local development and;
4. To provide a two way channel of communication between local government, state and Federal or national government.

Specifically, the functions assigned to the local government, as indicated in Fourth Schedule, section 7, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 include amongst others: The provision and maintenance of primary, adult and vocational education. The development of agriculture and natural resources other than the exploitation of minerals. The provision and maintenance of health services. Such other functions as may be conferred on a local government council by the House of the

Assembly of the state. In summary, Local Governments as the third tier of government in Nigeria, is expected to promote the democratic ideals of the society and to co-ordinate other socio-economic development programs at the local level in line with the overall national development plan (Onah and Amujiri, 2011; Over the years, however, most studies and research findings on local government in Nigeria point to the fact that local governments have not been significantly performing the development roles or functions that underscore their institutionalization in Nigeria. This, no doubt, casts a doubt on its practical relevance in Nigerian governmental system. Several factors have too been identified to account for the poor performance of the local government in respect of performing the expected developmental roles. Some of these factors include:

Financial Constraints: The effective performance of the assigned functions of the local government requires the availability of fund. For this, adequate funding of the local government becomes critical and imperative. Unfortunately, and as has been found out in the study of local government in Nigeria by scholars like Ezeani (2012), Ugwu (2010), Ade (2012), Ani et al (2013), the financial resources of most local governments in the country, when compared to their expenditure responsibilities, is grossly insufficient. This situation has remained as such over the years even though the local governments have several sources of income that basically include statutory allocations from the federation account, share from state generated revenue and revenue internally generated. Basic explanations for this include the fact that allocations from the federation account are ,most times and in reasonable measures, siphoned by the state governments and so do not constitute a reliable and adequate source of fund to the local governments (Ezeani, 2012; Onah, 2004). The siphoning is done through the instrumentality of the State Local Government Joint Account into which allocation from the federation account is paid (Odo, 2003; ALGON, 1999). Secondly, the internally generated revenue by the local governments has been very low due partly to lack of creativity by the local governments to identify and explore new and reliable sources of revenue and partly to high incidence of tax evasion and avoidance by the citizens (Ofoeze, 2002; Okolie and Eze, 2006). These factors account reasonably for the inadequacy of fund in the local government and their consequent inability to initiate and execute major development projects and programs (Azelama, 2008; Ezeani, 2006; Aghayere, 1997).

Corruption: Beyond the problem of inadequate finance, is the critical issue of corruption, particularly at the leadership levels in the administrative hierarchy of the local government (Halidu, 2012; Anikeze, 2012). Accounting for this pervasive corruption in the local government, Ogbuene (2011:67) notes thus; local governments in Nigeria exist within the socioeconomic and moral milieu of Nigeria where the preponderant attitude of Nigerians towards public office is that of personal aggrandizement, indiscriminate materialism, nepotism and decadence. Local governments as products of this environment equally manifest traits akin to this as they are not divorced from the larger society. Specifically, the overall effect of the corrupt

practices is the apparent inability of the local governments to embark on any meaningful development project and general stagnation in the development process of the grassroots people and their environment (Amujiri, 2012; Bello, 2012).

Inadequate/Unfavourable Constitutional Provisions: The basic concerns, in respect of the ability of local governments to perform development functions, particularly in federal systems like Nigeria revolves around the nature of the relationship between the federal, state and local government as to enable them operate as true units of self (autonomous) government (John and Rupak, 2008). Usually, the problem in this respect revolves around the extent to which the local governments are regarded truly as the third order of the political structure or as mere parts of the state governments and the nature of distribution of powers and resources among the three tiers of government. In Nigeria, the relevant constitutional provisions in respect of these relationships appear inadequate and unfavourable to the local government. For instance, the 1999 constitution of Nigeria did not adequately provide for the financial autonomy of the local governments as it subordinates them to the states through the provision, in section 162, paragraph 6, for the establishment and operation of State Local Government Joint Account. Again, the constitution did not provide adequately for the political autonomy of the local governments in Nigeria. For instance, it did not provide specifically for the constitution of the local government council to be solely through democratic elections, for the specific tenure of the local government political office holders, for the local governments to derive their full existence directly from the constitution of the federal constitution and for the specific powers and functions of the local government. The resultant effects of these lapses or inadequacies are that the state governments have the discretion to determine the nature, content and direction of local government elections and political activities. In the exercise of this discretion, the state government decide when elections would be held, who wins in elections, when to dissolve elected council, and the alternative framework to administer the affairs of the local governments. . And where the local governments, as argued by Nico (2008), cannot determine the contours of their development goals and their performance targets, the very purpose of a democratic local government is undermined rendering them mere appendages of the state.

Enhancing the autonomy of the local government

In this direction, we recommend constitutional reforms to ensure: i. That the local government is really autonomous and has unfettered access to the statutory allocations from the Federation account and their share of the internally generated revenue. ii. That elections at specific internals is conducted into the local government council by the National Electoral Commission and with outright prohibition of any other alternative arrangement to administer the local governments. iii. That the provision for the State Local Government Joint Account is expunged from the constitution.

Conclusion

The foregoing analysis on the theoretical imperatives of the local government and as discussed under the various schools of thought clearly shows that local government is ostensibly meant to serve as institutional framework for effective service delivery and enhanced democratic participation at the grassroots. Indeed, the expediency for the creation of local government in a governmental system anywhere in the world stems from the need to facilitate grassroots or local development and by extension national development. However, in the specific case of Nigeria, certain factors, notably corruption, inadequate finance and undue control of the political activities and electoral processes in the local government areas systematically erode the capacity of the local governments to operate effectively and to perform the development functions that necessitate their creation. Repositioning them to perform the development roles optimally and hence contribute more meaningfully to local and national development requires putting in place the recommended measures for controlling corruption and enhancing both the financial and political autonomy of the local governments.

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USING ONLINE SURVEY FOR DATA COLLECTION IN COMMUNICATION RESEARCH: A STUDY OF LECTURERS IN SELECTED TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTHEAST, NIGERIA.

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Abstract

The study examined the level of usage of online survey for data collection in communication research by communication lecturers. The purpose of the study was among others, to: determine the level of usage of online survey by communication lecturers in communication research; identify factors militating against the use of internet for data collection and possible solutions; and find out if internet data collection significantly affects the result of research. The Diffusion of Innovation theory was adopted as the research framework. The survey method was adopted and sample size of 201 people got through the Taro Yamane method. Findings revealed that the communication lecturers in the ten selected tertiary institutions in Southeast Nigeria are not knowledgeable enough in the internet data collection; the level of usage of internet for data collection is low and is affected by the computer literacy level of the lecturers; and that the internet usage in data collection does significantly affect the result of research positively. It was recommended that computer literacy be made compulsory for communication lecturers; internet compliant computer systems made available for their use; constant training workshops to educate lecturers on internet data collection process; and encourage students to start using internet data collection for their academic projects.

Keywords: Internet; data collection; Communication research; tertiary institutions.

Introduction

The use of Internet for research practice has become the trend nowadays. Until recently, it was not unusual to see researchers carrying out surveys visit houses or establishments with questionnaire. Suffice to say that this manual method takes much time to complete the process. It also puts more burdens on the respondents as regards time and privacy since they have to meet with the researcher one on one.

However, in accordance with the great developments in Information and Communication Technology, there has been a continuous effort to apply ICT to statistical surveys to obtain a higher efficiency. The computer assisted self-interviewing (CASI) method was introduced partly replacing the old method of paper questionnaires in survey.

It is believed that Internet data collection has revolutionized research by allowing for easier data collection, larger samples, and therefore more representative data. Regrettably, some researchers are still skeptical of its usability as well as its practical value when compared to the traditional and manual convention. They are yet to join the trend despite its obvious advantages over manual data collection. The study therefore examines the benefits and the level of usage of the internet for data collection in Communication research by Communication lecturers.

Statement of Problem

Advancement in research has made it imperative for researchers to use the internet for data collection and the subsequent analysis using computer aided statistical methods such as the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Regrettably, many Communication research by Mass Communication and Journalism lecturers still do not make use of the internet for data collection; rather the use of conventional manual data collection is still in vogue. This has continued to put doubts on the credibility of finds, as it is pertinent to know that manual data collection is prone and inhibited by human errors that usually affect the outcome of research.

Consequent upon the foregoing, it is important to ascertain the level of usage of online survey for communication research by Communication lecturers; to determine if the usage affects the credibility of research outcome and the factors that hinder usage in our tertiary institutions.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are to:

1. Determine the level of usage of online survey by Communication lecturers in communication research.
2. Identify factors militating against the use of online survey for data collection, possible solutions and its benefits over manual data collection.
3. Find out if online survey usage in data collection significantly affects the credibility of research results.

Research Questions

The following research questions were formed to guide the study:

1. What is the level of usage of online survey by Communication lecturers in communication research?
2. What are the factors militating against the use of online survey for data collection, possible solutions and its benefits over manual data collection?
3. Does online survey significantly affect the credibility of research?

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on the Diffusion of innovation theory propounded in 1986 by Everett Rogers. Diffusion is the process of spread of a given idea or practice, over time via specifiable channels (Katz et al (1963). Diffusion of Innovations seeks to explain how innovations are taken up in a population. An innovation is an idea, behaviour, or object that is perceived as new by its audience. Diffusion of Innovations offers valuable insights into the process of social change. This theory holds that for a new idea or innovation to diffuse, there must be awareness stage, interest stage, evaluation stage, trial and adoption stage. They added that different types of innovations require different kinds of adoption units. This implies that the success of any new innovation depends highly on the level of awareness, interest and adoption that is given to that innovation. Therefore, for the internet to have influence on communication research, the academic professionals must be aware of the technology, it must interest them to use. Also they should be able to evaluate the output and see how effective it is and decide whether to adopt it or not. Reinvention is a key principle in Diffusion of Innovations. The success of an innovation depends on how well it evolves to meet the needs of more and more demanding and risk-averse individuals in a population. Diffusion of Innovations takes a radically different approach to most other theories of change. Instead of focusing on persuading individuals to change, it sees change as being primarily about the evolution or “reinvention” of products and behaviours so they become better fits for the needs of individuals and groups. In Diffusion of Innovations it is not people who change, but the innovations themselves.

Conceptual Framework

The Concept of Internet

The Internet is the global system of interconnected computer networks that use the Transmission Control Protocol/Internet Protocol suite (TCP/IP) to link devices worldwide. It is a network of networks that consists of private, public, academic, business, and government networks of local to global scope, linked by a broad array of electronic, wireless, and optical networking technologies. The Internet carries a vast

range of information resources and services, such as the inter-linked hypertext documents and applications of the World Wide Web (WWW), electronic mail, telephony, and file sharing (Wikipedia, 2018). According to Techopedia Inc. (2018), the internet is a globally connected network system that uses TCP/IP to transmit data via various types of media. The internet is a network of global exchanges – including private, public, business, academic and government networks – connected by guided, wireless and fiber-optic technologies. The terms internet and World Wide Web are often used interchangeably, but they are not exactly the same thing; the internet refers to the global communication system, including hardware and infrastructure, while the web is one of the services communicated over the internet. According to Ukessays (2018), the Internet is a very powerful worldwide instrument, which serves as a good source for research work and learning. It generates current information, facts-finding, and is the most outstanding invention in the area of communication in the history of human race. The Internet has been very useful to mankind in the aspect of learning and research development.

Sweet & Russell (2016) posit that the Internet is constantly growing and changing, as more and more individuals and businesses rush to establish an on line presence. It is estimated that there are currently about 13.5 million users worldwide, and that the number of Internet “nodes” is doubling in size each year (Quartermann, 1994) cited in Sweet & Russell (2016). This growth according to them, has been sustained since 1988, and is expected to continue since even in the most densely networked countries, there are only about 8 “connected” computers per 1000 people. Much of this tremendous growth they adduced was due to the popularization of the World Wide Web (WWW), which enables users to browse text, images, and audio and video files through a simple graphical interface.

The internet can be used to: access a huge 'library' of information from the millions of websites around the world that make up the World Wide Web; send and receive email messages; share photographs and video clips with your friends and family; buy goods and services; carry out online banking; use Skype to make free phone calls to other computer users; play games with other people online; catch up on TV and radio programmes that you've missed – or watch them again; and learn something new with an online course (Techopedia Inc., 2018).

Benefits and challenges of Online data collection

Online data collection is the use of a website to collect real-time data and store this in a form suitable for statistical analysis. Online survey is a method of collecting data through the internet. Before the internet, conducting research for school, work or out of curiosity involved a set of encyclopedias and a trip to the library.

However, we now live in an age where information is readily accessible from your computer (Fowers, 2018). There are various online data collection tools. Some of them

include HubSpot, SurveyMonkey, SurveySparrow, ProProfs Survey Maker, SoGoSurvey, Typeform, Survicate, Qualtrics, SurveyPlanet, Google Forms, Alchemer, SurveyLegend, Zoho Survey, Crowdsignal, SurvsandFreeOnlineSurveys.

According to Cude (2004), advantages of collecting survey data through the internet include: reduced cost, higher response rates, lack of geographical boundaries, and fewer respondent errors and omissions than paper surveys. The marginal cost of surveying is also reduced, making larger samples possible. As with any survey, response rates generally increase if messages and questions are concise (Lyons, Cude, Gutter, & Lawrence, 2003). According to Fowers (2018), on the internet, you can find information about any topic you desire. The World Wide Web is a huge database of user submitted content where you can access an astronomical number of informative sources, online groups and multi-media. Ukessay (2018) included the benefits to be Easy Communication; Comparatively Inexpensive and Quick Dispersion of Information; spontaneous dispersion of information; and wealth of Information. Arya (2011) added that benefits include: Internet is easy, fast, convenient and efficient; Information management – data storage, security, processing, retrieval and application; seamless creativity, among others.

Challenges to Internet data collection also abound. Grappling with huge amount of information is one. One of the disadvantages of the Internet is that it provides a huge amount of information thereby causing information overload. In due course, one can easily get confused with this infinite amount of titles, texts and abstracts. And because of the overwhelming information available on the Internet, one must be cautious about information obtained. Disadvantages of online surveys include biases inherent in the data collection process. A portion of the population lacks Internet access and/or experience with electronic surveys. Many are older and minority household heads or those with modest incomes and education (Madden & Rainie, 2003). There may also be security and confidentiality issues involved. Finally, researchers may not be able to calculate response rates as is typically done with mailed surveys that are sent to a known number of respondents (Cude, 2004). A response rate cannot be determined unless the target audience for a Web-based survey is a known and finite group.

Cannon (2018) asserts that not everything is available online. There may be little or no relevant information on your topic. What is available may not be as appropriate as the information in other sources. The Internet is only one of the research tools and provides access to only some of the many sources of information available to you. Cannon (2018) went further to state that information on the Internet is not stable. At any time, information may be moved, altered, or deleted. This according to him is a major problem when it comes to using an Internet source for academic research. He warned that not everything on the internet is accurate, true, current, or reliable. Fowers (2018) was of the view that because all of the content on the internet is self-submitted, and

there are very few regulations as to what a person can and can't publish, content found on the internet may be inaccurate and opinion based. Nevertheless, the internet should not be disregarded when conducting academic research. It is a major source for scholarly work (Fowers 2018).

Using the Internet for Research

The world witnesses, at present, an accelerated technological revolution in the field of information and communication, with the rapid development of information and communication technology (ICT) interaction patterns have change Al Hassan (2015). Widespread use of instructional techniques such as Internet make life easier and serve several purpose such as education, communication, research and obtaining new information. Koroğlu, (2012). According to (Hussain, 2011) research and development have brought about world-wide technological revolution. So people from anywhere in the world is venturing into online instruction to expand their knowledge and skills (Corbett & Brown, 2015). It is obligatory for universities in developing countries to create all the possibilities to use the Internet to gather information for the undergraduate and postgraduate students and resolve whatever hinders these using for purpose in scientific research (UNESCO, 2002; Mason, 2000; Internet World Stats, 2014). Internet usage is spreading rapidly into daily life and it has an impact in many areas including the higher education systems (Thanuskodi, 2013). The Internet has a unique potential to assist lecturers and students to develop the ability to build knowledge. Accessing the information easy, sharing the information and sources are important factors during this process.

The value of the Internet stems from its central role in information and communication technology with access to free online journals, magazines, and other information resources anytime and from anywhere for scientific research purposes (Kode & Kode, 2003). Usun (2003) mentioned that Internet is appealing to higher education for a number of reason: it reduces the time lag between the production and utilization of knowledge; it promotes international co-operation and exchange of opinion; it further the sharing of information; and it promotes multidisciplinary research.

The Internet has many resources that can be harnessed by academics for scholarly work. Use of the Internet is changing research, teaching, and learning. The expansion of available information brings increasing dependence on the source. Use of the Internet by research scholars is an important area of study in today's information environment. The Internet plays a pivotal role in meeting information and communication needs of academic institutions, since "it makes it possible to access a wide range of information, such as up-to-date research reports, from anywhere in the world. It also enables scholars and academic institutions to disseminate information to a wider audience around the globe through having web sites and a way to search them and organize the output" (Luambano & Nawe, 2004).

Ochoa (2018) asserts that collecting data is key for all research. This stage starts once we have defined the research objectives and ends when we have obtained the data to be analyzed. He has therefore given us seven steps to follow to ensure effective internet data collection, which are: 1) Select a suitable data source; 2) Use a sampling method that suits your data source; 3. Carefully select your online quotas; 4) Establish a suitable research period; 5) Adapt your online questionnaire; 6) Think about the privacy of the data that you are requesting; 7) Think about how the data is displayed online. Sarokin (2018) gave some important internet data gathering tools such as General Search Engines like Google, yahoo and Bing; Specialty Search Engines like SciSeek; Surveys sites like SurveyMonkey; Search engine optimization (SEO) tools; and Databases.

Empirical Review

Gagan & Rakesh (2013) carried out a study on the use of internet for research and educational activities by research scholars: a study of D.S.B. Campus of Kumaun University Nainital. Information has been playing a vital role in present era. The study highlighted the importance of current and accurate information in one's respected field and by what other ways it would be beneficial for their purposes. The study examined if internet should be allowed as a major source of organized information source for education. They concluded that the internet has become an important component in the academic institutions as it plays a pivotal role in gathering information and communication needs of institutions and individuals. Darries (2004) discusses issues related to Internet-based reference. An electronic survey was conducted using the web and e-mail to distribute the questionnaire. The target population was the heads of reference services at large libraries and the directors at smaller libraries of the 36 higher education institutions in South Africa. These results showed that all libraries surveyed have internet access, and all but one provided access to their users. It has been found out in the present study that librarians had access to the internet for a longer period than their users. Mulimani & Gudimani (2008) conducted a study on Usage of Internet by Students and Research Scholars of Karnatak University Library: A Survey. They find out that in the IT era, academic libraries and information centers have radically changed the information environment. The aim of this survey is to understand student's usage of Internet and computer technology, their experience with technology and their aptitudes and expectation about technology resources and identify areas for improvement of services. Khan (2012), conducted a study on "Use of Information Sources by Faculty Members, Research scholars and Students of the Faculty of Commerce, AMU, Aligarh: A Survey" The purpose of this study is to find out the level of use of information sources by faculty members, research scholars and students of the faculty of commerce, AMU, Aligarh. The survey reveals that the maximum number of Faculty Members as well as Research Scholars uses Journals for getting their required information, while Students prefer general books for getting their required information.

Mahajan (2006) conducted a study on Internet use by researchers in Punjab University, Chandigarh, which analyzed how the convergence of information and communication technologies, as embodied by the Internet, has transformed the present day society into a knowledge society. Chandran (2000) carry out a study on the use of Internet resources and services in S.V. University, Tirupati, indicating that more than 56 percent of respondents used to the Internet to access information. Kaur (2000) studied Guru Nanak Dev University, and Bavakutty & Salih (1999) conducted a survey at Calicut University, which showed that students, research scholars, and faculty members used the Internet on education and research purpose. Madhusudhan (2007) conducted a survey on Internet use by research scholars at Delhi University, which revealed that most respondents used search engines more than subject gateways or web directories to locate information. Negative attitudes as well as conservatism act as barriers to effective Internet use.

Jefferies & Hussein (1998) reported that teaching faculty construct web pages to help structure students gather data and to provide access to other resources. Students, on the other hand, use email to communicate with their peers and with their tutors. They emphasized the fact that students preferred to email their tutors rather than have face-to-face meetings.

Methodology

The study adopted the survey methods to examine the extent of use of the internet for data collection in Communication research by Communication lecturers. The Survey method was adopted because it enables the researcher to deal with the characteristics of the chosen set of people whose opinion, behaviour and attitudes are essential for the collection of information required by the study (Owuamalam, 2012). It enabled a great deal of information be obtained at one time from variety of people with relative ease.

The Population of this Study constitutes of 403 Communication lecturers from selected Tertiary Institutions in Southeast, Nigeria. The sample size of 201 was drawn from the population using the Taro Yamane method. The study adopted the Stratified Sampling technique because it enabled the researcher to get adequate representation of the subsample of the population. Using this technique Abia State University, Uturu (18); Temple Gate Polytechnic, Aba (10) Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka (28); Federal Polytechnic, Oko (20); Alex Ekwueme Federal University Ndufu-Alike, Ikwo, Ebonyi (15); Imo State Polytechnic, Umuagwo (10); University of Nigeria, Nsukka (30); Institute of Management and Technology, Enugu (22); Imo State University, Owerri (24); and Federal Polytechnic, Nekede (24). 200 out of the 201 questionnaire administered was returned.

Data Presentation and Analysis

1. The level of usage of online survey by Communication lecturers in communication research.

Table 1: Shows responses to what the level of usage of online survey by Communication lecturers in communication research are.

Table 1						
Response	University	Polytechnic	F	X	FX	%
Very high	5	3	8	5	40	4
High	12	8	20	4	80	10
Undecided	8	4	12	3	36	6
Low	54	46	100	2	200	50
Very low	35	25	60	1	60	30
Total	114	86	200		416	100
Mean = $\frac{\sum FX}{\sum F}$ = $\frac{416}{200}$ = 2.08						

The first objective of this study was to determine the level of usage of online survey by communication lecturers in communication research. The table 1 showed the mean value of 2.08 obtained was less than the decision point (3), hence negative. This shows that the level of usage is not commendable.

2. Factors militating against the use of internet for data collection, possible solutions and benefits of using the internet for data collection over manual data collection?

The second objective of this study was to identify factors militating against the use of internet for data collection, possible solutions and the benefits of using the internet for data collection over manual data collection. The respondent gave such challenges as: Grappling with huge amount of information, lack of internet access, lack of experience with electronic surveys, no process to check information accurately, theft of personal information/ misuse of this information, and internet virus threat. The respondents stated that the possible solutions to these challenges include provision of Internet access to the academic staff through the institution Wi-Fi; provision computer systems; training and re-training of academic staff in electronic data collection methods.

Table 2. Responses to what the expected benefits of using the internet for data collection over manual data collection are.

Table 2.		
Options	Freq	%
Reduced cost		
Higher response rates		
Lack of geographical boundaries		
Fewer respondent errors and omissions than paper surveys		
Gives credibility to the research findings		
Comparatively Inexpensive and Quick Dispersion of Information		
Wealth of information		
All of the above	200	100
None of the above	-	-
Total	200	100

The respondents agreed to all the identified options as benefits of using the internet for data collection over manual data collection.

3. Relationship between online usage in data collection and the result of research.

Table 3. Responses to if the use of online in data collection gives credibility to the results.

Table 3						
Response	University	Polytechnic	F	X	FX	%
Strongly agree	30	26	56	5	280	28
Agree	50	38	88	4	352	44
Undecided	12	8	20	3	60	10
Disagree	17	11	28	2	56	14
Strongly disagree	5	3	8	1	8	4
Total	114	86	200		756	100
$\text{Mean} = \frac{\sum FX}{\sum F} = \frac{756}{200} = 3.78$						

The third objective was to find out if internet usage in data collection significantly affects the credibility of research results. The table 3 shows that the mean value of 3.78

obtained was greater than the decision point (3), hence positive. This shows that the internet usage in data collection affect the result of research and gives it credibility.

Discussion of Findings

The first finding was that the level of usage of the internet by Communication lecturers in communication research is not commendable. It is rather too low. The Communication lecturers in the selected tertiary institutions are not up to speed with the internet data collection. This may be attributed to the computer literacy level of the lecturers. This finding is contrary to findings of studies from the Europe and the Western countries, where the usage of internet for research is found to be considerably high. Studies such as Mahajan (2006), Chandran (2000), Kaur (2000), and Bavakutty & Salih (1999) point to that.

The second findings were that factors such as: Grappling with huge amount of information, lack of internet access, lack of experience with electronic surveys, no process to check information accurately, and internet virus threat among many others, militate against the use of internet for data collection. Findings also affirmed possible solutions to these challenges, to include provision of internet access to the academic staff through the institution Wi-Fi, provision computer systems, training and re-training of academic staff in electronic data collection methods. Madhusudhan (2007) supported above findings but that negative attitudes as well as conservatism act as barriers to effective Internet use.

The third finding was that internet usage in data collection affect the result of research and gives credibility to it. The results are more accurate (smartsurvey.co.uk, 2021). The margin of error is greatly reduced with online surveys because participants enter their responses directly into the system. Traditional methods rely on the attentiveness of staff to enter all details correctly, and naturally human error can creep in whenever a person has to perform a repetitive task. This finding is supported by Bonini Campos et al., (2011) which asserted that by allowing individuals to participate online, participants may complete surveys in whatever setting they choose and thus they may be more likely to disclose information that they would otherwise be uncomfortable revealing. Aust, Diedenhofen, Ullrich, & Musch, (2013) agreed with the foregoing where stated that more accurate reporting rather than socially desirable reporting may result in contrast to what often happens when data is conducted in person; especially important in populations where individuals engage in high-risk behaviors, such as drug use or illegal activities (Barratt, Ferris, & Lenton, 2014).

Conclusion

The internet survey no doubt is an efficient method, which is apt for our evolving environment. It is rapidly replacing the manual data collection. We conclude that the internet has become an important component in the academic institutions. However, majority of lecturers especially those engaged in communication research are not knowledgeable enough in using internet for data collection. The manual means of data collection is still hugely engaged.

Recommendations

It is recommended that:

1. Computer literacy be made compulsory for communication lecturers;
2. Internet compliant computer systems be made available for their use; constant training workshops to educate lecturers on internet data collection process; and students should be encouraged to start using internet data collection for their academic projects.
3. Bandwidths should be increased in order to provide faster access that will save much of the users' time and be a source of motivation to use the internet.

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E-PAYMENT STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS ON BANKS PERFORMANCE DURING COVID-19 MOVEMENT RESTRICTION IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This study examined electronic payment strategic implications on banks performance during COVID-19 movement restriction in Nigeria. The specific objectives of this study were to examine electronic channels and electronic transactions impacts on net profit. A survey research design was conducted for this study, with a population of 730 management staff and a sample of 258 respondents taken from three selected banks in Nigeria. The numbers of returned and well-filled questionnaires were 228. Data were collected with the aid of questionnaire, while data analysis was performed with correlation and multiple regression analysis. The findings revealed that electronic channels and electronic transaction have a strong positive relationship on net profit of the selected banks during COVID-19 lockdown / movement restriction in Nigeria. The researcher therefore concluded that COVID-19 lockdown has no negative effects on banks performance. It was on this backdrop that the researcher recommends that banks should invest more in electronic channels and encourage customers to use electronic platform for effecting payment transactions.

Keywords: COVID-19, E-payment, Electronic Channels, Electronic Transaction, Movement Restriction, Net Profit.

Introduction

Electronic payment systems are growing rapidly in Nigeria and are currently being adopted as a more efficient payment method. E-payment has brought a lot of convenience to individual customers and companies, unlike many years ago when the economy was heavily driven by cash transaction (Tijani & Ilugbemi, 2015). Covid-19 movement restriction is a general slowdown in economic activities over a period of time or a business contraction cycle. The Covid-19 movement restriction and the disruption in financial and capital market reflect the economic downturn. Banks are financial providers to all sectors of the economy which in turn contribute to economic growth.

The international community has recently faced economic closure due to the coronavirus that has plagued mankind. It all started in China 2019, and spread slowly throughout the country. On February 11, 2020 the World Health Organization announced the official name of the disease that caused the outbreak of the 2019 novel coronavirus, which first appeared in Wuhan China (CDC, 2020). The new name of the disease is coronavirus 2019, abbreviated as COVID-19. In COVID-19, 'CO' represents 'corona,' 'VI' 'virus,' and 'D' disease. Previously, the disease was called "2019 novel coronavirus" or "2019-nCoV".

There are many types of human coronaviruses including some that often cause high respiratory infections. COVID-19 is a new infectious disease, caused by a novel (or new) coronavirus that has never been seen in humans before. The name of the disease was chosen following the World Health Organization's (WHO) best practice in naming new infectious diseases of the human body. It is very important for banks to evaluate the various efficiency measures and make the right decisions to keep the bank profitable. The differences in financial institutions from other firms are the wide range of risks that these institutions meet with and must be able to manage or control it (Mileris, 2015). Different countries had partial and complete lockdown in the second quarter of 2020. The macroeconomic environment undoubtedly influences the performance of banks. Over the years electronic payment system in Nigeria has improved greatly, evolving from a manual processing of transactions to use of technology; however this evolution has been driven by banks and their customers.

Statement of the Problem

The future of Nigerian banks is greatly influenced by the macroeconomic environment. But on the other hand, the macroeconomic environment brings losses, as well as gains. Covid-19 movement restriction / economic lockdown by the government are predicted and assume to likely affect the profitability of banks and performance of businesses in Nigeria and around the world. It was anticipated and predicted that commercial banks' profits would have a drop in the second quarter of 2020 when compare to same quarter in 2019 due to the efficiency level of a financial institution is an important barometer of its profitability (Mileris, 2015). However, it was shocking to note that despite the Covid-19 movement restriction / economic lockdown during the second quarter in Nigeria, Zenith bank, First Bank of Nigeria and Stanbic IBTC banks out of all the listed banks in Nigerian Stock Exchange had an increase in second quarter of 2020 profits over same quarter in 2019. It is on these bases that the researcher investigated what was responsible for the increase in the profits of these Nigerian banks.

Research Objectives

The main purpose of this research paper was to determine E-payment strategic implications on banks' performance during the covid-19 movement restriction / economic lockdown in Nigeria. The specific objectives are stated below;

- i. To examine the relationship between electronic channels and net profit of Nigerian banks.
- ii. To examine the relationship between electronic transactions and net profit of Nigerian banks.

Research Questions

The under listed research questions was stated to guide the researcher;

- i. To what extent does an electronic channel impact on net profit of Nigerian banks?
- ii. To what extent does electronic transaction impact on net profit of Nigerian banks?

Research Hypotheses

The researcher formulated the following hypotheses to guide this study;

- i. H_{01} : There is no significant relationship between electronic channel and net profit of Nigerian banks.
- ii. H_{02} : There is no significant relationship between electronic transactions and net profit of Nigerian banks.

Review of Related Literature

Electronic Payment

Electronic payments refer to online financial transactions exchange between buyers and sellers. Electronic banking is a term used for new era banking system and is also called online banking (Ugbede, Yahaya & Edicha, 2019). E-payment system is a means of making transactions or paying for goods and services via an electronic channel, without the use of cheques or cash. Electronic banking is the delivery of banking services and products through electronic means regardless of location, time and distance. Such products and services may include financing, lending, depositing, account management, financial advice, electronic bill payments and the provision of other electronic products and services such as electronic money (Dogarawa, 2015).

Electronic Payment Channels

Electronic banking channels refer to the process of enabling bank customers to perform banking transactions with the aid electronic platforms (Inegbedion, Inegbedion, Osifo, Eze, Ayeni, & Akintimehin, 2019). The content of this exchange is usually a form of digital financial instrument (such as encrypted credit card numbers, electronic cheques or digital currency) supported by a bank, a banks' intermediary, or a legal tender (Harelimana, 2018). In Nigeria today, the most common types of electronic payment system are; Automated Teller Machine (ATM), Point of Sales (POS), card systems, electronic web collection, funds transfer services, mobile banking and online banking. In order for banks to leverage on the benefit of electronic payment channels during

movement restrictions and economic lockdown, banks need to respond by deploying more of the aforementioned banking platforms.

Electronic Transactions

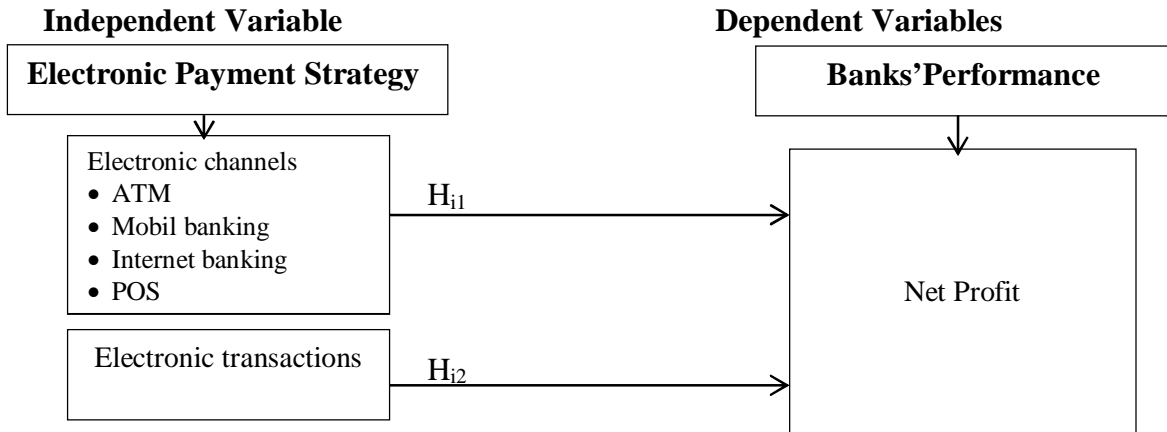
An electronic transaction system used to settle for financial transactions by transferring monetary value from one place to another. This includes the processes, standards, institutions, rules, people, instruments, and technologies that make financial exchange possible. Electronic transaction is the transfer of electronic money through online transaction of business-to-business, business-to-consumer, individual-to-individuals, and administration purposes to consumers (Okifo & Igbunu, 2015). The total transaction of electronic payment channels recorded in the second quarter of 2020 stands at N263.78 trillion with a transaction volume of 2,160,436,659 (NBS, 2020). Payment systems are now available worldwide for credit and debit cards on automated teller machines' networks. Certain types of payment systems are also used for settling financial transactions of products in currency markets, equity markets, bond markets, futures markets, option markets and to transfer fund between financial institutions both domestically using clearing houses and Real Time Gross Settlement (RTGS) Systems and internationally using the SWIFT network (Okifo & Igbunu, 2015).

Performance

Organizational performance refers to the use of profitable, efficient and prudent funds available to an organization in full compliance with well-defined financial policies relating to the operation of a firm (Dhillon and Vachhrajani, 2012). Ugwueze and Nwezeaku (2016) stated that a few studies have used return (ROA), Return on Equity (ROE), Profitability as proxy for bank performance, as seen in the studies of Kharwish (2011), Abaenewe, Ogbulu and Ndugbu (2013), Sujud and Hasmen (2017), and Njeru and Omagua (2018). A company's net profit is also known as net income, bottom line or net earnings. It represents the financial position of a company after all its costs have been deducted from its total revenue (Groww, 2020). Shareholders, entrepreneurs, investors and financial analysts often use profit metrics to measure the financial position of an organization. Kenton (2020) said the net profit is calculated as total income less cost of goods sold, operating expenses, selling expenses, depreciation, general and administrative costs, taxes, interest, and other expenses.

Conceptual Model

The researcher model shows the correlational relationship between independent variables (electronic channels and transactions) and the dependent variable (net profit) of this study.



Source: Researcher's Proposed Model

Theoretical Framework

Bank-Focused Theory

The bank focused theory was popularized by Kapoor (2010) in his study of banks service delivery. The theory anchor on the premise that banks uses non-traditional method but conventional low cost delivery channels to provide services to its customers. Such channels include automated teller machines (ATMs), mobile banking, Point of Sale (POS) among others. Through these channels, the bank provides a variety of services to its customers regardless of location and branch attachments. All it takes is to enter the required information into one of the banking channels and the transaction is done. This idea favours this research as the emphasis here is on electronic platforms as a way of delivering excellent services to enhance customers' patronage.

Empirical Review

Enoruwa, Ezuem and Nwani (2019) examined the relationship between electronic banking and bank performance in Nigeria using data obtained from the Central Bank of Nigeria bulletin for the period 2009 to 2017. Regression analysis was used to test the strength and nature of the relationship between dependent (total bank deposit) and independent variables (automated teller machine, mobile banking, point of sales and web pay). The result shows thatelectronic channel products (ATM, POS, Web pay, Mobile Pay) are positively and significantly related to bank performance. The regression result also showed that all the predictors are highly related to each other.

Ugbede, Yahaya and Edicha (2019) examined the impact of electronic payments on financial performance of Nigerian deposit bank. Data were collected from the annual reports and statistical bulletin from Central Bank of Nigeria. Electronic banking was measured using internet banking, automatic teller machine and POS while financial performance was measured using deposited money in the bank. Multiple regression technique was used. The research shows that ATMs do not contribute to the profitability of sampled banks and was not significant to the profitability of banks, POS has a positive contribution to bank profitability, internet banking also has a positive contribution and statistically significant to profitability of the banks.

Frank and Binebi (2019) investigated the impact of electronic payment systems on the performance of commercial banks in Nigeria. Data were collected from secondary sources mainly from Central bank of Nigeria statistical document which comprises of asset data for commercial banks and internet banking (ATM, POS, internet banking and mobile banking) for 2009 to 2019. Data collected was analyzed using ordinary least square (OLS) regression technique. The findings of the study highlighted the important relationship between ATM transactions, (online) banking transactions and mobile banking transactions on the asset base of Nigerian commercial banks. However, Point of Sales (POS) transactions had a negative statistical relationship with the asset base of the banks.

Harelimana (2018) studied the impact of electronic payment system on financial performance of Equity Bank Ltd in Rwanda from 2012 to 2016. Both primary and secondary data were collected from a population of 253, where a sample of 155 was taken. Questionnaire and interview were used to collect the data. The data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistics and linear multiple regression analysis. The results of the independent variables moderately predict the performance of Equity bank ltd.

Obiekwe and Anyanwaokoro (2017) studied the impact of electronic payment methods on the profitability of commercial banks in Nigeria. The study specifically investigated the effect of Automated Teller Machine, Point of Sale and Mobile Payment on the profitability of commercial banks in Nigeria. A complete sample of five banks was considered for the period 2009 to 2015 and the study adopted the Panel Least Squares evaluation analysis was used. Secondary data were collected from Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin, Annual Reports and Account Statements for the five banks were used. The findings revealed that ATM channels and mobile phones have a significant impact on the profitability of commercial banks in Nigeria. However, POS has an insignificant impact on commercial banks profit in Nigeria.

Tijani and Ilugbemi (2015) examined the impact of electronic payment channels on National development. The survey was aimed at customers with current and savings bank accounts deposited in Nigeria. One hundred and twenty questionnaires were issued to six banks respondent in Ado-Ekiti, Nigeria. Ninety-eight questionnaires were

returned for processing. Data were analyzed using inferential statistics and chi square to test hypotheses. The Research shows that electronic payment channels have a positive impact on the economy and therefore contributes to national development.

Olokoyo and Ogunnaike (2012) examined the effects of the global financial crisis on the Nigerian banking industry. The study aim was to determine the effects financial crisis and branding services in Nigerian banks. Primary data were collected through interview and use of questionnaire. The study used chi-square in the analysis of the data obtained. The findings of the study stated the fact that global economic downturn has a negative impact on Nigeria's financial sector. The economic downturn has a positive effect on brands of banking services. Banks are investing in branding more than ever before, in order to survive in a turbulent environment.

Methodology

Research Design

The study adopted a descriptive survey design. The decision to use descriptive research was to gather factual and detailed data describing the population. Data were collected based on variables described in the study model and tested hypotheses. The research is a descriptive study because it adopted the use of questionnaires which was aimed at determining the effect of electronic payments on performance of three commercial banks in Nigeria.

Population of the Study

Andrews, Boyne, Meier, O'Toole, and Walker (2012) stated that the strategic decision and actions in an organization are management's responsibility plans of handling threat and opportunity in a business environment. Therefore, the population in this study consists of the senior staff of three commercial banks in Nigeriathat made increase in their net profit during movement restriction and lockdown.

Table 1: Population Distribution

S/N	Bank Names	Population	Sample Size	2019 Net Profit in bn ₦	2020 Net Profit in bn ₦
1	Zenith Bank Plc	358	127	33.8	48.8
2	Plc First Bank of Nigeria	292	103	15.8	23.8
3	Stanbic IBTC Holdings	80	28	17	24.6
	Total	730	258	66.6	97.2

Source: Field Survey, 2020 from Human resource departments of the banks.

Sample Size and Sampling Technique

The Taro Yamane formula ($n = N/1 + N(e)^2$) was used to determine the sample size of 258 respondent, while the bowley's distribution method($Nh = n(nh)/N$) was used to apportion questionnaire to the three banks.

Instrument of Data Collection

The researcher used a structured questionnaire for data collection on a five point Likert Scale and was coded from 1 to 5. Strongly Disagreed (SD), Disagreed (D), Uncertain (U), Strongly Agreed (AD) and Agreed (A).

Validity of the Instrument

Validity is the extent at which the instrument measures what it intends to measure. The validity of the instrument was determined by test experts before its use. The experts were three principal lecturers of the School of Business and Management Studies, Shaka Polytechnic, Edo State, Nigeria.

Method of Data Analysis

Correlation and multiple regression analyses were used to analyze the data collected using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20. Hypotheses were tested at a significance level of 5% (0.05), the null hypotheses for tests will be rejected if the probability estimates is lower than 5% (0.05) and conclude that they are statistically significant. Otherwise, will accept (when probability estimates are above 0.05) and conclude that there is no statistically significance.

Data Presentation and Discussion

In this section, the study sought to present and analyze the data generated from the administered research questionnaires of the subject matter. Two hundred and fifty eighty (258) questionnaires were issued to the respondents, only two hundred and twenty eight (228) were retrieved, which represents 88.37% that were returned and correctly filled.

Hypotheses Testing

Table 2: Correlation, Reliability and Descriptive Statistics

Correlations		NP	EC	ET
NP	Pearson Correlation	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)			
	N	228		
EC	Pearson Correlation	.776**	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		
	N	228	228	
ET	Pearson Correlation	.459**	.658**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	
	N	228	228	228
Mean		3.2840	3.3257	3.4320
Std. Deviation		1.5195	1.5023	1.4718
Cronbach's Alpha		0.806	0.879	0.809

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

The result of table 6 analysis above shows that there is a positive correlation between net profit (NP) on electronic channels (EC) and electronic transactions (ET) at .776** and .459**, where $P = 0.000$ ($P < 0.05$) represents the degree of relationship flexibility among the variables. This means that electronic channels and electronic transactions statistically influence the net profit of the studied banks. The average mean score of the variables measuring NP, EC and ET are 3.284, 3.326 and 3.432 respectively were very high with a standard deviation of .7779, .7815 and .7415 show the degree of deviation of NP, EC and ET from computed mean respectively. The computed Cronbach/Coefficient Alpha value was .806, .879 and .809 for electronic channels, electronic transactions and net profit respectively, which means that 80.6%, 87.9% and 80.9% of the variance scores are reliable. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected, while the alternate hypotheses were adopted. The result of this study was in line with the studies of Enoruwa, Ezuem and Nwani (2019) and Tijani and Ilugbemi (2015) which found that electronic payment system has a positive effect on the financial performance of banks.

Table 3: Model Summary

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.779 ^a	.606	.603	.48977

a. Predictors: (Constant), ET, EC

From the model summary of table 3, which shows that electronic payment explains (.779) 77.9% of the banks net profit variability. Hence, it shows that there is a positive relationship in between the various variables. The study result is in agreement with the findings of Ugbede, Yahaya and Edicha (2019) and Olokoyo and Ogunnaike (2012) which revealed a positive relationship between electronic payment and banks performance during economic meltdown.

Table 4: ANOVA Result

ANOVA ^b						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	83.078	2	41.539	173.172	.000 ^a
	Residual	53.971	225	.240		
	Total	137.049	227			

a. Predictors: (Constant), ET, EC

b. Dependent Variable: NP

The above table indicates the variance in the model of electronic payment strategy statistically significantly predicted banks performance during economic lockdown and movement restriction at F - value 173.172 ($p= 0.000$). This denotes that the regression model is a good fit for the data. The result is consistent with the findings of Enoruwa, Ezuem and Nwani (2019) and Harelimana (2018) which shows a good regression model fit.

Table 5: Variables coefficients

Coefficients ^a					
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	.847	.163		5.209	.000
EC	.830	.055	.835	5.025	.000
ET	.694	.058	.290	4.615	.001

a. Dependent Variable: NP

Table 5 above table shows the coefficient of regression between electronic channel and electronic transaction on the banks net profit. It indicates that the regression result at a confidence interval level of 95%, with unstandardized data coefficients value of 0.830 and 0.694 indicates a t – value 5.025 and 4.615 (p value of 0.000) for EC and ET respectively. Since the calculated values are greater than the critical value, alternate hypotheses were accepted. The findings also indicated that electronic channel and electronic transaction were found to have a significant positive effect on the banks net profit during restriction of movement in Nigeria. This is in line with Frank and Binaebi (2019) affirmations that there is a positive relationship between electronic payment and bank performance.

The general equation to predict NP = $\beta_0 + \beta_1 EC + \beta_2 ET + \epsilon$
 NP = 0.847 + (.830EC) + (0.694ET)

Findings

The findings of this study revealed electronic payment strategic implications on banks performance was positive during COVID-19 movement restriction in Nigeria. The specific findings are stated below;

- There is a statistical significant relationship between electronic channels and net profit during COVID-19 movement restriction of the studied banks in Nigeria.
- There is a statistical significant relationship between electronic transactions and net profit during COVID-19 movement restriction of the studied banks in Nigeria.

Conclusion

The study examined the perceived relationship between electronic payment strategic implications on banks performance during COVID-19 movement restriction / economic lockdown in Nigeria. The result revealed that electronic channels and electronic both

exhibit a strong relationship with net profit of the studied banks. It therefore infers that strategic electronic payment system strongly and significantly correlated with banks that had increase in their performance in Nigeria during COVID-19 movement restriction when compared to similar period of 2019. However, the findings from available literature indicate that management teams of the various banks attempted to boost the performance of their banks and also to have higher returns on investments during COVID-19 movement restriction and economic lockdown in Nigeria.

Recommendation

In view of the identified challenges of movement restriction caused by corona virus and the contributions of Electronic payment to the overall banking sector performance in Nigeria. The study recommends that more funds should be channeled towards enhancing the efficiency and availability of electronic payment channels to encourage customers to embrace the use of electronic channels to make payment transactions. The researcher's firmly believes that the potentials of electronic banking channels in enhancing bank's profitability is still under tapped by Nigeria's banks.

Contribution to Knowledge

The following are contributions to knowledge;

- i. This research paper has provided a body of information on solving the problem of improving banks' financial performance during economic lockdown in Nigeria.
- ii. This research work revealed the main strategy that was used by the selected banks of this study in enhancing their profits during COVID-19 movement restriction / lockdown in Nigeria.
- iii. The researcher developed a conceptual model that displayed the relationship between electronic payment and bank's performance that will serve as a guide to future researchers.

Suggested Areas for Further Study

The study examined electronic payment strategic implications on banks performance during COVID-19 movement restriction in Nigeria. The study recommends that similar study should be conducted in other banks that have a reduced net profit during the movement restriction when comparing 2020 second quarter to second quarter of 2019. The study should also be tested in other countries.

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THE 2019 GENERAL ELECTIONS AND THE CHALLENGES OF ELECTORAL REFORMS IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Since the return to democratic government in Nigeria 1999, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has conducted series of elections in the discharge of its statutory mandate. The paper examines the challenges faced by INEC in the administration of the 2019 general elections. It relies on secondary sources of data collection and is predicated on the institutional theory having regard to the pivotal role of INEC as the sole Election Management Body (EMB) in Nigeria. Relying on history of election management in the country, the paper identifies a flawed electoral system as a major obstacle to credible elections in the country. It observes that without a suitable electoral system it would be difficult to conduct credible, acceptable and violent-free elections in Nigeria. The paper notes that the recommendations of the Uwais Panel on Electoral Reforms, if fully adopted and codified in the envisaged amendments of the 2010 Electoral Act, would go a long way in enhancing the credibility of future elections in Nigeria. It acknowledges that although the 2019 general elections met the minimum threshold of compliance by INEC with the extant legal framework, yet the paper notes that the outcome and disputes that arose from it indicates that there are grey areas and lacunas that should be urgently addressed. The paper makes a recommendation for the enactment of a new Electoral Act to address identified challenges in the 2019 general elections, and concludes that this is the only way to guarantee credible elections in 2023, and beyond.

Keywords: Election, management, representation, reform

INTRODUCTION

All modern democratic nations in the world have developed a system by which their citizens participate in the process of electing their leaders. The electoral process is, therefore, the heart of any democratic system. It is through elections that people express their choice on issues and give to, or withdraw power from those entrusted with political leadership. The most basic idea in a democracy therefore is that political power comes from the people and that government can only be regarded as legal when the

voters give their consents to its policies and programmes. The world today has moved beyond the idea of direct or participatory democracy of the Greek city states (Ball, 1979). This is no longer feasible in view of the size and complexity of modern state; hence the necessity for representative or indirect democracy. The reality of the modern world has therefore made the procedural aspect of democracy to be as important as its philosophical content (Baradat 2000).

The problems confronting elections and electoral process in Nigeria's democratic history can be linked to the behaviour and attitudes of the political elite (Almond; 2005). Part of the blame can also be placed at the door-step of the political institutions, like the electoral commissions, that have been assigned with the responsibilities for the conduct and supervision of the elections. Experiences have shown that rather than being independent of the executive and non-partisan, electoral commissions, for the greater part of Nigeria's political history, have been tied to the apron strings of the incumbent executives. That politics has been converted into a money-making venture, has reinforced the notion of election as a contest that is meant to be won at whatever costs (Disu, 2015).

The objective of this paper is to examine the 2019 general elections and the challenges of electoral reforms in Nigeria. The paper is arranged into seven sections. The first section is the introduction while the second section deals with concepts of election management and electoral system. Section three traces the history of the electoral process in Nigeria. Section four undertakes an assessment of the 2019 General Elections while section five analyses the challenges encountered by INEC in the management of the 2019 general elections, as well as their implications for the conduct of free and fair elections in Nigeria. The imperative of electoral reforms is the focus of section six while section seven summarises the paper and makes recommendations.

Methodology

This paper relies mainly on secondary sources of data collection. The secondary sources to be consulted include relevant academic and research materials, books, journals, newspapers, archival materials, workshop and seminar papers, internet sources, research institutes, including official publications from INEC and Election Monitoring groups.

Theoretical Framework

The paper adopts institutional theory as a theoretical framework. According to Kraft and Furlong (2012), Institutional Theory is "policy making that emphasises the formal and legal aspects of government structures" To Jepperson (1991, p.145, institutions are emergent, "higher-order" factors above the individual level, constraining or constituting the interests and political participation of actors "without requiring repeated collective mobilisation or authoritative intervention to achieve these regularities". The underlining rational choice for this theory is that institutions are important organisations with

arrangements of rules and incentives, and the members of the institutions behave in response to those basic components of institutional structure. Institutional theory relies not only on aggregation of individual actions, or on patterned interaction games between individuals, but on "institutions that structure action". Clement and Cook (1999, p. 442, 445, 461 also stated that Institutional theories as applied to politics posit two distinct forms of institutions: influence over policy and political action. Institutions can either limit some forms of action, or facilitate others.

Although INEC is statutorily charged with the responsibility of managing the electoral process in Nigeria, it can only effectively discharge this role with the cooperation of other institutions such as the National Assembly, the Presidency and the Judiciary. While INEC is responsible for administering the process and conduct of elections, the freedom of action of INEC is often constrained if the National Assembly is unable to speedily pass an electoral bill, or the president withholds assent on Electoral Ammended Bill, as it was the case in 2018, or the judiciary exercises its power of judicial review on an enacted electoral law by declaring such law null and void. Equally important, although, INEC's finances is a first line charge in the budget, the commission cannot assess the funds needed for its operations until it is approved by the National Assembly. In spite of its name, this speaks to the lack of independence of INEC. The activities of State Electoral Commissions and the overbearing influence of state governors on their operations poses a major challenge to the integrity of the electoral process in the country. A major limitation of the Institutional theory is that there is the danger that the theory can be stretched far beyond its core purposes. It is also possible for the behavioural element of those managing the institution-in this case INEC- to shape the working of the commission. This is usually the case in developing states where leadership is personalised and the institutions are not sufficiently mature and resilient enough to resist human pressure.

Literature Review

Several scholars have written on election management and the imperatives for electoral reforms in Nigeria. Diamond (2002: 3-20) stressed the significance of elections as a litmus test of a democratic political system. Kurfi (2005: 34-36) identified steps in election management to include, among others, constituency delimitations, compilation of voters register, canvassing for votes, casting of ballot, counting and declaration of results. INEC Report (2006: 49) also confirmed that "free, fair and credible elections...are not just about events that take place on Election Day alone. They relate to the totality of the election cycle...". Omotola (2010: 535-553) opines that while free and fair elections remains the hallmark of a democratic government; election malpractices and violence are obstacles to the consolidation of democratic institutions. At a round table in Abuja on June 19, 2019, the Kofi Annan Foundation made a case for electoral reforms in Nigeria (<https://www.kofiannanfoundation.org>, 25/06/2019, accessed on the internet on 04/10/2019). While there is a harvest of a harvest of scholarly contributions

on election management and electoral reforms, available literature on the 2019 general elections, which held only in March and April, 2019, barely six months ago, is scanty, or not that rich.

Yet there are a few contributions on the 2019 general elections. Okolie (2019) wrote on the principle of margin of lead principles and stated that its discretionary application and politicisation by the Returning Officers during the elections, as provided for in Section 26 & 53 of the Electoral Act has become a subject of controversy. Saliu (2019) argued that the defeat of the PDP and the former Senate President during the election was predictable, and contrary to "the assumptions federal might", the PDP's electoral debacle was because the party's leaders in Kwara State displayed "high level of political insensitivity" to the plight of the electorates in the state. Against this background, the paper seeks to explore other areas not covered in the extant literature as its own modest contributions to the body of knowledge.

Concepts of Election Management and Electoral Systems

Election Management

Section 153 established INEC established INEC as an Election Management Body(EMB) in Nigeria. Part 1 Third Schedule of the 1999 Constitution, as amended invested INEC with the power to organise, undertake and supervise, register political parties, monitor the organisation and operations of political parties, carry out such other functions as may be conferred upon it by an act of the National Assembly. The 2010 Electoral Act, in turn confers on INEC the power to issue guide lines for the conduct of elections in Nigeria. The vision of INEC, as embodied in its Mission Statement is to serve as an independent and effective EMB committed to the conduct of free, fair and credible elections for sustainable democracy in Nigeria(INEC Mission Statement).

Electoral Systems

The electoral system is a process or the machinery through which citizens in any given democratic state elect their representative in elections that are held at periodic intervals. An essential task of an electoral system is to provide opportunity for the majority of the citizens to participate in the political process. The major requirements for a sound electoral system include a secret ballot system to protect the confidentiality of the choice made by the voters, the division of a country into electoral units, known as constituencies, existence of political parties, registration and periodic revision of the list of voters, nomination of candidates for the election, political neutrality on the part of the electoral agency. It also include providing opportunities for political parties and their candidates to campaign and canvass for votes; equal access by political parties and contestants to government owned media; avenue for legal redress for defeated, but dissatisfied candidates(Elekwa, 2008: 2008). The conduct and administration of

elections in Nigeria is guided by the provisions of the 1999 Constitution, as amended, the 2010 electoral law, as well as the election guidelines periodically issued by INEC, a power vested in the electoral body by the constitution. There are, broadly, two types of an electoral system: the Majority Rule or the First Past the Post System, and the Proportional Representation System (Kriele, 1979).

Majority Rule System

Under the majority rule system, the party or candidate with the majority of votes cast in an election is declared the winner. But a major disadvantage of majority rule system is that a party may win a minority of votes, and nevertheless command majority of seats in parliament and thus form a government. Another party may win less than half of the seats, but with disproportionately high margin of votes. This odd situation may be tolerated where it occurs occasionally, but where it occurs more frequently, it poses grave danger for the polity. In a single member constituency as long as there is more than one candidate for a single seat in an election, the seats will always be distributed disproportionately to the votes cast. In the 1992 General Elections in Britain for example, the Conservative party led by John Major secured a majority of seats in Parliament, but the party failed to win a majority of the popular votes (Baradat 2000:132). Yet the party formed the government and it remained in power until it was defeated by the Labour party led by Tony Blair.

The majority rule system is generally criticised for promoting the winner takes all, or zero-sum syndrome. The majority rule system may also make the minority parties that are consistently defeated at elections to either lose interest in politics, or develop radical or subversive ideas. According to Magstadt, 2006: 359) the majority rule system encourages the emergence of two major political parties and "hampers the growth of smaller political parties". This is true of Nigeria currently with the dominance of the APC and PDP. At the same time, its merit is that promotes political stability, when there are two major political parties alternating in power. The most difficult problem of majority rule system is the fragmentation of political parties, along regional or ethnic lines. To take care of the problems associated with the majority rule system, the idea of proportional representation has been suggested.

Proportional Representation

Under proportional representation, however, elections are not decided at constituency level. The country as a whole is considered as one single constituency and the various political parties present candidates to the entire electorates on a list, and voters are expected to choose from those lists. A party will therefore be allocated in parliament as in many seats as correspond to the percentage of votes scored in the entire country. The parliament is, therefore, a reflection of the strength of each political party based on the number of votes. Under this type, government is usually formed, if not always, by coalition of several political parties. South Africa offers a good example. The major

advantage of proportional representation is that it is more representative and equitable than the majority rule system. This is because it provides room for more parties to participate in government, and thus prevent the possibility of instability that may arise due to the injustice of consistent exclusion of minority parties from government. But the system also has its own disadvantages. It encourages the proliferation of small parties that may make the process of forming a stable government difficult. Nigeria's electoral system, since the first republic, is based on the majority system or first- past-the post system.

However, the electoral history in Nigeria is replete with allegations of various forms of electoral practices such as ballot box stuffing, manipulation of the electoral process by electoral bodies and their officials, inducement of voters, otherwise known as vote-buying, as well as during and post-election violence. Indeed, the 2007 elections was so badly organised that the reports of foreign observers dismissed the as falling short of, even regional standards. This lack of credibility of the electoral process often leads to endless litigations, and even violence. That is why critical stake holders, according to Jinadu (2008) made strident calls for electoral reforms. This was the background to the setting up of the Uwais Electoral Reforms Committee in 2007 by the Yar'adua administration, who ironically was a major beneficiary of the largely flawed 2007 general elections. At his inauguration on 29 May, 2007, he frankly admitted that the election that brought him into office was flawed, when he said: "We acknowledge that our elections have shortcomings. I also believe that our experiences represent an opportunity to learn from our mistakes". Unfortunately, President Yar'adua did not live long to see to the implementation of the report of the Uwais Panel.

History of Electoral Systems in Nigeria

The electoral system was first introduced in Nigeria in 1923, with the provision under the Clifford constitution for the election of three unofficial members from Lagos and Calabar into the Legislative Council. The minimum income requirement for that election was 100 pounds per annum for any male adult to be eligible to vote (Sklar 1963:28). The introduction of the elective principle brought about unprecedented political awakenings in the country. It led to the emergence of political parties, notably the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), the first political party in the country. In 1959, a federal election was held which ushered in the Balewa government in Nigeria's first republic under a parliamentary system of government (Kurfi,1983). However, on 15th January 1966, the Balewa government was toppled in a military coup. For almost thirteen years, political parties and activities were outlawed until 1978 when the ban was lifted; five new political parties were registered to contest the 1979 general elections. Thus, the second republic was birthed, but it was short-lived, as it was again disrupted on 31st December, shortly after a largely disputed general elections (Diamond, 2002).

During the third republic, the Babangida military administration organised an elaborate transition programme, based on a novel electoral system, anchored on a regimented two-party system, open ballot system, which was later modified, 'new breed politics' and option A4 system, supervised by a reconstituted National Electoral Commission (NEC), within an electoral setting that gave prime recognition to the ward level, as the primary unit or level of representation (Babangida, 1986). With a military president in control of the federal executive, side by side with an elected National Assembly, and an elected governors in the states, with a full complement of elected assembly members, a somewhat hybrid version of diarchy was instituted. Apart from the fact that the open ballot system denied voters confidentiality or secrecy at the polls, elections were also conducted in a stage by stage or staggered form (Nnadozie, 2007). A clear evidence that NEC headed by Professor Humphrey Nwosu, lacked independence of action was that the government was also involved in the registration of political parties, and was selective in the application of the rules of electoral engagement. Predictably, the transition programme collapsed due to the manifest insincerity and inconsistency on the part of the government.

The annulment of the 1993 presidential election and its aftermath forced Babangida to step aside. Under Abacha's transition programme only political associations promoted by military protégés were registered, and thus five political parties viz UNCP, NCPN, CNC, DPN, and GDM took part in the electoral process, and eventually adopted Gen Abacha, then a serving military head of state, as their consensus candidate (Babatope 2000; 62). The electoral process for the Fourth Republic commenced following the death of Gen Abacha. President Olusegun Obasanjo of the P.D.P. won the presidential election and assumed office on 29th May 1999. However after some years in office, particularly during his second term, the former military ruler began to tamper with the legal framework for the conduct of elections (Amuta, 2008). The first major electoral controversy under the Obasanjo's administration was his attempt to secretly insert some provisions into the Electoral Act without the approval of the National Assembly. His objective was to extend the tenure of elected local government councils, by one year, with retroactive effect. But the Supreme Court later annulled the Electoral Act, with the effect that local councils were dissolved after the expiration of their statutory three year tenure, as contained in the electoral Decree promulgated by the military, under which councils elections were conducted in 1999. Former President Obasanjo, while in office, also attempted to influence a constitutional amendment to secure for himself a third term in office, an allegation which vehemently denied (Obasanjo, 2014: 98-100). But the facts around the issues speak to the contrary.

A major problem of the electoral process during the Fourth Republic, especially during the Obasanjo's administration was the lack of credibility of the Independent National Electoral Commission, especially under the leadership of Professor Maurice Iwu (Amuta, 2008, David, 2015). However, the appointment of Professor Attahiru Jega in 2010 as the Chairman of INEC signaled a wave of optimism in the electoral process in

the country. This is largely due to the widely acclaimed radical background and personal integrity of the Political Science scholar who was also a member of retired Justice Uwais led Electoral Reforms Panel. INEC under Attahiru Jega recognised the huge expectations of Nigerians from him to deliver credible elections in 2011. To meet and justify the confidence reposed in the commission under his watch, Jega in late September 2010 finally admitted that time constraints would make it impossible for the commission to deliver credible elections, and it therefore suggested a postponement of the elections. Again when the election was shifted to commence on 3rd April 2011, due to "logistic problems" INEC again shifted the election to commence from 9th April, 2011. (From al-jazeera.com, 03/04/2011, accessed on the internet on 05/10/2019). The postponement gave INEC the needed time to tidy up areas of logistic challenges.

Assessment of the Results of the 2019 General Elections

In spite of the limitations of the Electoral Act, the outcome of the 2019 General Elections at both federal and state levels is, substantially, a reflection of the wishes of the electorate. In the presidential election, notwithstanding, the pre-election momentum of the PDP candidate, Atiku Abubakar, the re-election of President Buhari for a second term was almost foretold, based on credible opinion polls, except the Economic Intelligence Unit (EIU) of *The Economist* that wrongly predicted, as it later turned out, that Atiku would defeat Buhari (<http://m.guardian.ng/news>, 02/02/2019, accessed on the internet on 12/10/20). The results of the elections at the state level also confirmed that Nigerian electorate have developed more political consciousness, and can be discriminatory in the exercise of their franchise from one election to another, within the same election cycle. This is why it was possible for the APC to win the presidential and national assembly elections in Sokoto, Kano and Bauchi States, but lost the gubernatorial elections in those states. It is interesting, but also a good reflection of the increasing sophistication of the voters in Bauchi and Sokoto States that in an election conducted on the same date, the APC won majority seats in Bauchi and Sokoto Houses of Assemblies, but suffered defeat in the gubernatorial election (*Punch*, 04/04/2019).

Even in Kano State where the APC recorded the highest number of votes in the Presidential and National Assembly elections on 9th March, 2019, the APC gubernatorial candidate, Governor, Abdullahi Ganduje managed to secure a second term after a re-run election held two weeks later on 23rd March 2019 (*Vanguard*, 11/03/2019). Predictably, Kano State electorates protested against the incumbent governor and voted against APC over allegations of financial impropriety leveled against the governor. In Oyo State, the APC marginally won the presidential election but the PDP triumphed in the governorship, held within two weeks interval (*Guardian*, 22/03/2019). The case of Kwara State is more dramatic and instructive. The victory of the APC in all the elections in the state was a clear reflection of the wishes of Kwara voters. The 'Otoge' slogan (Enough is Enough) is a sounding rejection and repudiation of the Saraki dynasty by the electorate in the State. Similarly, in Zamfara and Rivers

States, INEC demonstrated that it could wield the big stick against the APC, the ruling party in Nigeria, contrary to the popular assumption that the electoral body was operating under the shadow of the APC. For failing to comply with INEC guidelines for the nominations of its candidate in Zamfara State, and for acting in violation of a subsisting court order on the election of the APC state executive by a faction of the party in Rivers State, the ruling party in both states suffered the consequences of these violations of INEC rules and regulations for the conduct of party primaries. INEC's non compromising stance was later validated by the Supreme Court, with the consequence that the APC, except for the presidential and National Assembly elections, was not on the ballot for gubernatorial and House of Assembly elections in Rivers State. Similarly, in Zamfara State, although INEC lately included the APC in the ballot for the state elections, on the order of a State High Court, but following a supreme court judgment which nullified the APC primaries in Zamfara State, all those who had been elected on the ticket of the APC lost the chance of being sworn into office (*Premium Times*, 24/05/2019)

However, by initially refusing to issue certificate of return to the immediate past Governor of Imo State, Rochas Okorocha of the APC, who contested election for Imo West in the senate, in an election in which a declaration has been made by a returning officer, INEC obviously overreached itself, and acted outside of the electoral law. But this clear breach was later redressed by a court of law on the ground that once a declaration has been made, only a competent court of law can reverse it. There were also issues of cancelled votes by INEC officials at the collation centers, contrary to INEC's guidelines which allowed for such cancellations to be done at the polling units/centers where it is established that there are discrepancies between accredited votes, actual voting and voided ballot papers. In his petition before the presidential elections petition tribunal claimed that election was canceled in 4,171 out of 119,973 polling units in the country. He therefore called for a fresh election on the ground that the total number of canceled votes, which covered 2,906,384 registered voters, in addition to the unlawful supplementary election which INEC ordered in 14 states, with a figure of 2,698,773, which add up to 5,605,157 was higher than 3,928,869 margin of lead by the Muhammadu Buhari (*The Guardian*, May 8, 2019). Atiku's election petition has been dismissed by the PEPT, and he has lodged an appeal at the supreme court. Yet, the overall percentage of cancelled ballots during the 2019 elections which was 3.3 percent of registered voters, and almost four times higher than 2015 when it was less than 1 percent (<https://www.yiaga.org>, 30/08/2019, accessed on the internet on 13/10/2019), remains a source of concern.

In spite of this, and except for a few such as YIAGA Africa, majority of the reports by foreign observers accredited to monitor the 2019 general elections confirmed that the elections were largely free and free, and fall within the minimum threshold for free and fair elections. YIAGA AFRICA, in its report wrote: "For the 2019 presidential

elections, the official results announced by INEC were consistent with YIAGA AFRICA's Parallel Vote Tabulation results estimates".

Challenges Encountered By INEC in the Management of the 2019 General Elections

The 2019 general election was conducted on the basis of the 2010 Electoral Act and INEC Elections Guide lines. The Act had already taken care of some of the recommendations of the Uwais Electoral Reforms Panel, although there are still outstanding recommendations/issues yet to be accommodated. For this reason, the 2019 elections failed to benefit from some of the Uwais Panel's recommendations that were already incorporated in the different amended versions of the proposed 2018 Electoral Bill by the National Assembly, but which failed to receive presidential assent. Some of the reasons why President Buhari declined to give assent to the bill, among others, include the timing of the passing of the bill, the introduction of electronic transmission of results and some lacunas in the aspect of drafting. In a letter to the leadership of the National Assembly, the Presidency explained thus "...passing a new electoral bill this far into the electoral process for the 2019 general elections which commenced under the 2015 Electoral Act could create some uncertainty about the applicable legislation to govern the process" (*Pulse*, 10/12/2018).

With the non enactment of a new Electoral Act, INEC had to rely on its Guidelines which became useful in cases where there was a lacuna or lack of elaboration in the 2015 Electoral Act. A case in point which had been a subject of intense debate among major stake-holders is the power of INEC to declare an election results inconclusive, as it was the case in the gubernatorial elections in Kogi and Bayelsa States in 2015 and Osun State in 2018. Some of the issues accommodated in the 2010 Electoral Act and INEC guidelines, and were piloted in Ekiti and Osun States, include a 16-month Continuous Voters Registration (CVR) and PVC collection exercise, simultaneous accreditation and voting, break-up of voting areas into smaller units, re-configuration of the polling units to guarantee secrecy, and reduce delay, tactile ballots and braille guide for persons with disability. These innovations assisted in improving the integrity and credibility of the electoral process. For instance, the decision of INEC to match accreditation with the actual voting not only led to higher voters turn out than it was in previous elections, it is also removed the possibility of multiple voting. The introduction of permanent voters cards (PVCs) and card reader for accreditation also produced the same positive impact on the electoral process. In spite of modest improvements piloted during the off season elections, INEC encountered some challenges during the 2019 general elections. They include the following:

(i) The Non-Enactment of a new Electoral Act

The non-enactment of a new electoral law to replace the 2010 Electoral Act (as amended) constituted a major setback for the conduct of 2019 elections, otherwise good innovations such as card reader and electronic transfer of results, as against manual

voting would have been legally codified. But this not the case due to the back and forth arguments between the executive and the legislature, over lack of full disclosures when certain provisions were surreptitiously smuggled into, or removed from the Electoral Bill sent for presidential assent. However, four times, President vetoed the bill. Yet, INEC deployed card readers for the elections because it has been accommodated in its guidelines. But there were reports that card readers were effective in some units and zones, and malfunctioned in other places. There were even reported cases of electronic manipulation of the device to produce pre-determined accreditation figures, deliberate non-use, poor signals arising from poor network, weak batteries, and confusion whether manual accreditation should replace the use of card readers in units or centers where the device had challenges.

(ii) Electronic Transmission of Results

The idea of electronic transmission of results became a subject of litigations after the 2019 elections. Ruling in favour of the APC candidate, the Presidential Election Petition Tribunal took judicial notice of the fact that the 2019 elections were conducted in line with the 2010 Electoral Act which provided for manual voting and collation of election results. In other words, the extant electoral law does not recognise electronic transmission of results as being canvassed by the PDP candidate, Atiku Abubakar (*Punch*, September 12, 2019). In another suit, sequel to the 2015 gubernatorial election in Rivers, the supreme court affirmed the election of Nyesom Wike as duly elected on the ground that card readers, which the APC candidate, Dakuku Peterside premised his suit on was not backed by law. Although, the use of card reader has been accommodated in the Guidelines for the 2019 general elections issued by INEC pursuant to the statutory power invested in the commission under Section 153 and Part I Third Schedule of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended, yet there were concerns that the card readers could give room for manipulation and rigging, especially with the draft provision which gave the polling officer the power to just "announce" the results, as against the extant Electoral Act which provided that the polling officer should "count and announce" results. Electronic transmission of results was also viewed in some quarters as not feasible due to lack of internet facilities in many parts of the country.

(iii) Large Number of political parties

Currently, there are 91 registered political parties in Nigeria, out of which 73 contested the 2019 presidential election. One serious implication of large number of political parties is that it has imposed huge logistic challenges for INEC. Although the Nigerian Air Force assisted INEC with the movement of election materials. This logistic challenge was identified by the INEC chairman in a statement he personally signed in which he announced the sudden postponement of the presidential election originally scheduled to hold on 16th March, 2019 to 23rd March (<https://www.premiumtimesng.com>, 16/02/2019, accessed from the internet on

10/10/2019). The size of the ballot papers printed for the elections that are as big as the size of an almanac, apart from its heavy financial burden on INEC, also created confusion among the voters, who are largely uneducated. According to the INEC national Commissioner in charge of Kwara Kogi and Nasarawa States, Malam Mohammed Haruna "the Electoral Act and the Constitution made it for anybody or group to be registered as a political party once it has an office in Abuja and executive officers are selected to reflect federal character"(<https://www.pulse.news>, 16/06/2019, accessed on the internet).

Confronted with the question whether INEC has the power to de-register political parties, INEC Chairman, Professor Mahmmodu Yakubu, speaking before a committee of the Senate on 10th October, 2019, explained that INEC was handicapped in the calls on it to de-register political parties that failed to win a seat in the elections, in line with the 2010 Electoral Act, as amended. According to Yakubu, being a constitutional and legal issue, the commission cannot be arbitrary in applying the law in an attempt to satisfy the popular clamour to reduce the number of political parties in the country. The relevant issue is for INEC to be properly guided on when to de-register minor parties, either immediately after the elections, or after the conclusion of all litigations, Yakubu, admitted before the Senate Committee. Yet, in spite of INEC's clarifications, the Senate insisted it would enact law to reduce the number of political parties in Nigeria to five (<https://www.newtelegraphng.com> 10/10.2019).

(iv) Delay in Passing INEC Budget

Apart from disagreement over the electoral law, the frosty relationship between the 8th National Assembly and the executive, also caused avoidable delay in the release of funds meant for the 2019 general elections. In order not to totally undermine the election, and forced to a damage control action, the National Assembly at a committee level, hurriedly reconvened during its annual recess to consider and approve INEC budget. YIAGA Africa, a civil society and an election monitoring group in its report for the 2019 general elections stated that "the release of election funds six weeks to the presidential election, despite its secured funding from the Consolidate Fund (CRF)" was "an assault on the process"(<https://www.yiaga.org>, 30/08/2019, accessed on the internet on 13/10/2019).

(v) Choice of Candidates, and Litigations that Arose From the Exercise

There were also challenges that pertained to INEC's role in monitoring the activities, especially the nomination exercises within the political parties. This has equally manpower and capacity challenges for the commission. At a workshop organised in Kwara State to review the 2019 elections, INEC national Commissioner, Malam Mohammed Haruna revealed that there were a total of 799 litigations from the 2019 general elections across the country. "so you can see that with these kinds of problems we had, there is really a need to look at the number of political parties". On 11 October

2019, the Appeal Court nullified the election of Dino Melaye as a Senator and made an order for fresh election. The judgment was delivered at a time when INEC had already fixed November 16, 2019 for the gubernatorial election in Kogi State. Without doubt, this latest court verdict at a time the commission claimed it has moved all non-essential materials to Lokoja, the state capital will certainly impose fresh logistic challenges on INEC. But in order to minimise the additional logistic and cost implications of a fresh senatorial election in Kogi West, the INEC National Commissioner in charge of Kogi, Nasarawa and Kwara States hinted that the commission was considering holding the Kogi West senatorial election on the date already for the gubernatorial election in the state (<https://the.nationonline.ng.net>, 11/10/2019, accessed on the internet on 12/10/2019). It is not impossible that these two elections that are ordinarily meant to be held on separate dates may affect each other, with implications for their outcomes.

(vi) Uncollected Permanent Voters Cards (PVCs), Vote-Buying and Allegations of Misuse of Security Agencies

Other challenges during the 2019 elections include allegations of large number of uncollected permanent voters cards and monetisation of nomination process by the aspirants of the major political parties, especially the incumbents, who are usually interested in seeking for re-election. Thus, the absence of a level playing field makes it difficult for any other party member to challenge them. Even for non-incumbents aspirants who have huge war chest, it is relatively easier for them to buy their ways through and emerge as the flag-bearers of their parties. A frequently cited instance is how Atiku Abubakar monetised the PDP presidential primaries in Port Harcourt, Rivers State to emerge as flag bearer of the party (*Punch*, October 7, 2018). The ruling party was also criticised for using its social intervention programmes such as Trader-monu to buy votes, given the closeness of the disbursements of the funds to the 2019 general elections (*Punch*, January 25, 2019).

A related challenge is the failure or lack of capacity of INEC to monitor the campaign expenses of political parties. Although INEC has put a ceiling on the amount political parties or (and) candidates can spend for each election, on a graduated basis, however, apart from manpower and operational limitations, it is difficult for INEC to gauge party expenses, in a country where poverty level is high, and even prevent illiterate voters from succumbing to financial inducements. While the role of security agencies in an election is well established (Hounkpe and Gueye, 2010), yet the opposition PDP accused the ruling APC of excessive militarisation of the elections which allegedly contributed to the intimidation of the supporters of the PDP. PDP presidential candidate, Atiku Abubakar, canvassed this view before the Presidential Election Tribunal, but the claim was dismissed for lack of evidence.

The Imperatives of Electoral Reforms in Nigeria

The importance of an efficient electoral system cannot be over-emphasised in any democratic political system (Jinadu, 2008). A good electoral system delicately balances the politics of participation with the politics of representation and ultimately contributes to the building of a viable and sustainable political culture. In a country where a good electoral system is in place voting becomes much more than a four-year regular ritual but an effective and important instrument that will enable the citizens participate in the selection of their leaders. To achieve this objective, President Musa Yar'Adua admitted the flawed nature of the 2007 general elections that brought him into office, and consequently, on August 28, 2007 announced the setting up of a 22-member electoral reform panel headed by the former Chief Justice of Nigeria, Muhammed Uwais. Some of the committee's recommendations required changes in the electoral procedures, reallocation of electoral functions or creation of new institutions. Others required new legislations and need for amendments of existing laws.

Leaving nothing to chances and to quicken the implementation process, the committee prepared draft of three bills: An Act to Amend 1999 constitution; Act to Amend 2006 Electoral Act; and Act to establish Electoral Offences Commission. The panel's report made, among others, the following recommendations:

(i) A genuinely Independent INEC

The committee recommends that the Independence National Election Commission (INEC) should be massively re-organised and repositioned to ensure its independence and professionalism. It therefore recommends that the 1999 constitution be amended to "ensure that INEC becomes truly independent, non-partisan, impartial, professional, transparent and reliable as an institution and in the performance of its constitutional functions".

(ii) Unbundling of INEC

One of the most radical, though contentious, reforms recommended by the Uwais Panel is the unbundling of INEC. The committee stated that for INEC to function efficiently, some of the functions it presently performs should be assigned to other agencies. Consequently, it recommended the creation of three new agencies. These are: Political Parties Registration Council, PPRC; the Electoral Offences Commission; and the Constituency Delimitation Commissions. The PPRC would, among other things, register political parties in accordance with the Electoral Act and monitor the organization and operation of the political parties, including their finances.

(iii) The Electoral Offences Commission

A new autonomous and constitutionally recognised body called the Electoral Offences Commission was recommended to be established through a bill of the National Assembly and empowered to perform functions, which include: investigation of all

electoral frauds and offences; co-ordination, enforcement and prosecution of offences and the enforcement of the Electoral Act

(iv) Scrapping of State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC)

The committee recommends that the State Independent Electoral Commissions, SIECs, should be reorganized and structured into INEC to form a single election management body for the country. At the state level, INEC will have 37 directors, one for each of the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), appointed by INEC and to trained and posted to states other than their states of origin.

(v) Voting Process

On the voting process and procedure, the committee recommends the gradual introduction of electronic machines in future elections after a period of limited testing and experimentation. In future elections, accreditation and voting are to take place within a defined time frame. Agents of political parties are to be given copies of results and they have the rights to demand a recount on the spot, should the need arise. All election results would be announced at the polling stations by the presiding officer, duly signed by and copies given to the party agents, the Police and the State Security Service.

(vi) Independent Candidacy

A novel introduction is the recommendation for independent candidates. If accepted, some credible persons would be allowed to contest elections, provided they meet two conditions, in addition to the provisions of the 2006 Electoral Law. It shall be a constituency-backed nomination by verifiable signatures of 10 registered voters in each ward of the constituency and on the payment of a financial deposit which is refundable if the candidate scores up to 10 per cent of the valid votes cast in the constituency.

(vii) Funding of Political Parties

The committee recommends that the government should continue to fund political parties either directly or through INEC. This will however be based on the performance of parties at any election. Parties are also encouraged to raise funds through other means such as sale of forms to candidates, fund-raising, individual and corporate donations and through commercial activities. However, there are ceilings to how much an individual can donate to a political party as follows;

(viii) A Mixed Electoral System

In addition, the panel recommended a mixed electoral system, which is a combination of the majority system and modified proportional representation for legislative elections at the federal, state and local government levels, except the Senate. For the House of Representatives, in the existing 360 constituencies would be filled by the first-past-the-

post system, while for the Senate the committee recommends a mixed electoral system for the 108 seats. This will be replicated at the state and local government levels.

(ix) Swift Disposal of Election Petitions

Another recommendation is the conclusion of election disputes before the swearing in of elected officials. In this regard, a maximum of four months would be spent at the tribunal stage, while the appeals resulting from the tribunal stage should take a maximum of months. The election will, therefore, be conducted six months ahead of handing over. This recommendation was also affirmed by Human Rights activist, Oguche in *The Guardian*, (09/05/2021).

A closer look at the recommendations of Uwais Panel will reveal that it is a checklist of the major problems of election management in Nigeria, such as lack of capacity, shoddy preparation by INEC, inadequate logistics and barefaced manipulation. While most of the results of the elections conducted before the setting up of Uwais Panel were upheld by the courts on ground of substantial compliance with the electoral law, this has not removed the odious stigma of lack of credibility of such elections, or legitimacy of the beneficiaries of such controversial judicial decisions, as admitted by late Present Yar'adua. Following the death Yar'adua, the task of implementing the Uwais report fell on President Goodluck Jonathan. However, some aspects of the 297-page documents were implemented while others with far reaching implications for electoral reforms in Nigeria were discarded (<https://www.nairaland.com>, 11/03/2010, accessed from the internet on 05/10/2019). Therefore, the failure to adopt some of these landmark recommendations would continue to haunt the electoral process in Nigeria, as it did in 2015 and 2019 (Jinadu, 2008).

Yet, one can say that some progress has been made in Nigeria's electoral process. The 2015 elections were better organised and more acceptable than the 2011 General Elections (Adekola, 2018). It is also plausible to argue that, in comparison, the 2015 general elections generated less controversy than the 2019 elections, at least at the level of the most crucial and bitterly contested presidential election between incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan and the All Progress Congress candidate, Muhammadu Buhari. In an unprecedented gesture of acceptance of the verdict of electorates, President Jonathan in 2015 called to congratulate his APC challenger before INEC formally declared the winner of the presidential contest. The National Assembly in 2018 also passed a revised electoral law, with new provisions aimed at improving the integrity of the electoral process in the country. Key among the fresh injections into the revised electoral bill was the introduction of the electronic transmission of the election and the re-ordering of the sequence of the elections, which reversed the idea of having the presidential and National Assembly elections first, as it was in 2015. Not unexpectedly, the electoral bill was repeatedly vetoed by President Muhammadu Buhari, allegedly, because of the fear of bandwagon effect.

Consequently, the 2019 General Elections did not benefit from the possible gains of an improved electoral law. It is not surprising that the issue of electronic transmission of results was one of the grounds in the suit instituted by the Atiku Abubakar against the declaration of President Muhammadu Buhari as duly elected for a second term in office (*The Guardian*, May 8, 2019). In preparations for the 2023 General Elections, the National Assembly, in a newly passed bill awaiting presidential assent, has approved an inserted provisions for the electronic transmission of results as well as direct primaries, instead of delegates system, in the nomination of candidates by registered political parties in the country. Against the findings of the paper, the following recommendations are imperative before the 2023 General Election.

Recommendations and Conclusion

Based on the findings of the paper on the challenges that faced INEC in the management of the 2019 generations, the steps to be taken by the relevant stake-holders in order to enhance the credibility of future elections are almost self-evident. There is the urgent need to enact a new electoral act that will accommodate all the lacunas and gaps in the current electoral act such as card readers, and other electronic devices that can ease the electoral process in the country. While electronic transmission of results has the benefit of removing the human manipulative discretion from the electoral process, this can be introduced only if the required support infrastructure are in place in the country, and INEC can equally guarantee that its server would not be hacked by desperate politicians. There is also the need to make the necessary constitutional amendments to insulate the process of the appointments of the leadership of INEC from political pressure or partisan considerations, as it obtains in South Africa, and in line with the recommendations of the Uwais Panel on Electoral Reforms. In order to discourage electoral malfeasance and violence, the federal government should give due considerations to the setting up of Special Election Offences Commission/ Tribunals to solely handle election related offences. This will reduce the culture of impunity once it is clear to everyone that electoral offences will not go unpunished,

In addition, the National Assembly should set in motion the legislative enactments to reduce the number of political parties to a reasonable number that INEC can effectively supervise number. Most of the current political parties should be encouraged to merge instead of coming together in the name of conference of political parties, only for pecuniary gains. It is also possible that the practice of giving grants to political parties is one of the reasons for the proliferation of nondescript political parties that merely exist on the pages of newspapers. This should be stopped forthwith so that political parties can rely on subscriptions and donations by members for their operational funds. In view of the rapid growth in Nigeria's population, especially the youths who are of voting age, INEC should create more election in order not to disenfranchise them. INEC should also invest more on voters education Units to reflect population increase so as to

reduce the disturbing trend of high number of voided votes, as it was the case during the 2019 general elections.

It is also long overdue for the Revenue Mobilisation, Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) to take a second look at the costs of governance in Nigeria. One of the reasons for the desperation of politicians to win at all costs is because of their obscene salary and allowances, which the present state of Nigerian economy can no longer support. It is hereby recommended that salaries of political office holders in the executive arm should be slashed while membership of the legislative assemblies at both the federal and state levels should be on part-time basis. This would help free resources from recurrent expenditures to capital projects, which are currently in high deficits. Similarly, the National Assembly should enact law to scrap State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC) and transfer their functions to INEC.

This paper has examined the electoral system and the conduct and management of elections in Nigeria. It noted that the problems confronting administration of elections in Nigeria over the years include lack of capacity and poor preparations by the electoral commission, inadequate logistics, government's interference in the electoral process and excessive use of money during elections. In addition, it has been established that the problems confronting elections and electoral process in the nation's democratic history can be linked to behavioral and attitudinal dispositions of the political elite. Part of the blame can also be placed at the door-step of institutions that have being saddled with the responsibilities for the conduct of the elections. Experiences have shown that rather than being independent of the executive and non-partisan, electoral commissions for the greater part of Nigeria's political history have been tied to the apron string of the incumbent executives. They not only lack independence and transparency in their dealings with politicians, and in the discharge of their functions, they are also far from being accountable and responsive to other stake-holders involved in the electoral process. A country where the electoral process is riddled with disputes and rancor will not only obstruct and defeat the goal of achieving a sustainable democracy, it will also do a great deal of havoc to Nigeria's image among the comity of nations in the world. It is only when these necessary steps are taken that a more conducive environment can be created to guarantee credible general elections in Nigeria in 2023, and beyond.

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CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTIONALISM IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper sets out to examine constitutional Government and constitutionalism in Nigeria. It relied on secondary sources of data collection such as books, journals, published and unpublished articles for relevant information. The study adopted the political development theory and the elite theory complementarily to explain the specificity under investigation. The paper reveals that the Nigeria state irrespective of its numerous constitutional processes and amendments lacks constitutionalism, among other things, the paper recommends the role of the courts in constitutional implementation and enhancement of the legislative oversight function to advance the rule of law, good governance and accountability as key elements of constitutionalism in Nigeria.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Constitutional Government and Constitutionalism as a concept and issue in Nigeria Government and Politics could be better understood within the framework of its colonial and post colonial political developments. It is obvious that this twin political siblings, constitution and constitutionalism are often abused issues in post colonial Africa which is not unconnected with the colonial states inherited from the colonial masters which is undemocratic and violent in its economic, social and political processes.

Among many scholarly definitions and meaning, constitution entails the body of laws instituted to govern a given society, it diagnoses the power of the political office holders and specifies the parameters of which the three arms of government could operate; that is, it establishes a basic formwork or a fundamental law of the land. By so doing, it checks and sets limits not only to the actions of governments but also the actions of ordinary citizens. On constitutionalism, Mazrui (2001) as cited by Falana (2009:1), described it as a process of political rules and obligations which bind both governors and the governed; both kings and the ordinary citizens. By this, those who govern

society should do so without denying or violating human dignity. From the foregoing discussion, while constitutional government could be said to be an institutional government, constitutionalism means the application of the constitution in governance or government according to the constitution.

During colonial period when the British arrived in Nigeria, the various city states, clans and emirates had unwritten constitutions with which they administered their societies. The engineering of the various communities came into existence through the unification action of the British administration. Thus, constitutionalism could be said to have begun in 1914 when Lord Lugard imposed a constitution on the amalgamated territory of Nigeria. Other imposed constitutions are that of Clifford (1922), Richards (1946), Macpherson (1951) and Lyttleton (1954). In post colonial otherwise known as post independence period, the 1960 and 1963 constitution were midwived by the nationalist (the ruling elite) while that of 1979, 1989, and 1999 were imposed on Nigerians by military dictatorship, though the 1989 never saw the light of the day. A common feature of all the colonial and post colonial constitutions is that, they were not in any way designed to build the Nigerian State; rather they were essentially measures of administrative strategies designed for better administration of the colonial states and to suit the interest of the Nigeria's ruling elites and the military generals.

Historically, from all political postulations, antecedents and available indices, most colonial constitutions failed to take into cognizance, the values, cultures and customs of the indigenes in developing such constitution, this serves as an impediment in evolution of peoples constitution. With the dawn of independence nothing changes except the Nigerianization of the political machine, that is, transferring of political power from the white man to the local elite. That is why the crisis with neo-colonial states is that, it becomes a nanny state dictated from somewhere which consequently subverts prospects for democratization in the country. However, what makes a government constitutional according to Nwabueze (1973), is to give the impression of a government according to the terms of a constitution. That there is a formal written constitution according to whose provision a government is conducted is not necessarily conclusive evidence that the government is a constitutional one. He went further to state that "there are many countries in the world today with written constitutions but without constitutionalism". Since constitutionalism goes beyond the form of a constitution, from all indication, the Nigerian state stood among those country that have a constitution without constitutionalism, irrespective of its numerous constitution, constitutional reforms and amendments.

Statement of the Problem

The Nigeria state beginning from colonial to post colonial period has been adjudged to be one country that had the highest number of constitution and variety of processes and amendments yet it lacks constitutionalism. In most African countries and Nigeria in particular, why the emphases have been on the constitution rather than constitutionalism, to what extent the people have exposure to deploy the constitution in defending their right, and to what degree were the previous and present constitutional making and amendments in the country becomes popular and democratic.

Review of Related Literature

Constitutional Government in Nigeria: Meaning and Conceptual Clarification

History had it that the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria by Lord Lugard in 1914 was the first attempt of constitutional making during the Colonial period. The constitutional instruments which provides for an executive council with 30 advisory members constituted by the Governor who alone possessed executive power. Although different policies and concepts of colonial administration were maintain by both North and South, the constitutional instruments could not stand the test of time because Nigerians were not in any way involved in their own governance. Thus, independent Nigeria has so far experimented five constitutions, the 1960, 1963, 1979, 1989 and 1999 constitution. The first two of these constitutions were drawn up during civilian regimes and the last three were promulgated by the military fiat. While the 1989 constitution was suppressed, the 1999 constitution gave birth to the present fourth republic.

Blacks Law Dictionary (2004), defines constitution as: “The fundamental and organic law of a nation or state that establishes the institutions and apparatus of government, defines the scope of governmental sovereign powers, and guarantees individual civil rights and civil liberties.” From this definition, it is clear that the institutions, organs, agencies and even officials of government owe their existence to the constitution. They must accordingly exercise the powers of such offices in time and within the limits of the constitution. Most importantly, since the constitution which establishes the offices, agencies and sovereign powers also guarantees individual rights, freedom and liberties, these powers must also necessarily be exercised without interference with the guaranteed rights of citizens.

What is not said in the definition perhaps, is that in most cases, even the state itself owes its establishment and existence to the constitution. That is to say that the constitution also creates the state. A classic example of this is seen in the United States Constitution which provides in its preamble as follows: “We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, provide for the common defence, promote

the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, to ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America” (Philadelphia Convention, 1787). The 1999 Nigerian Constitution also proclaims in its preamble: “We the people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; having freely and solemnly resolved, to live in unity and honour as one indivisible and indissoluble sovereign Nation under God.....” Suffice it to say at this stage that this is not only the most controversial aspect of the Constitution but indeed the fallacy of the Nigerian State.

In theory and practice, constitutional government and democracy are closely related. For example, constitutional checks and balances are often relied upon to repel threats to liberty by demagogic politicians, even when they are supported by a majority of the people. Conversely, regular democratic elections and other manifestations of popular power counteract the troubling tendency of office-holders and their influential supporters to exercise power on an oligarchic basis, without having to answer to the public for their actions. Of democracy and constitutional government in our time, it can be said that, like love and marriage in an old sweet song, you cannot have one without the other. Constitutional government therefore is a form of limited government based on a prescribed division of powers among public officials. Its leading principle, by which it is often defined, is known as the rule of law, which signifies that no political authority is superior to the law itself. When and where the rule of law obtains, the rights of citizens are not dependent upon the will of rulers; rather, they are established by law and protected by independent courts (Richard 1999:1).

On the same vein, Bourgeois scholars have defined a constitution as “a formal document having the force of law, by which a society organizes a government for itself, defines and limits its powers, prescribed the relations of its various organs with the citizen” (Nwabueze, 1973). To Edosomwan (2006:3), a constitution has been defined as a document having a special sanctity which sets out the framework and the principal functions of the organs of government within the state and declares the principles by which those organs must operate. Apart from being a legal document, a constitution is a reflection of the balance of forces in a society. As it cannot exist in vacuum, the process of producing a constitution, as well as its nature and content are usually influenced by existing social reality. That is why Ohwona (2003) defined constitution as the summation of the will of the citizens of a country.

Constitutionalism

The conceptualization and definition of what exactly constitutes constitutionalism has generated a lot of debate worldwide, and particularly in Africa in recent time, especially with the wave of democratization that is sweeping across the continent. Oloka-Onyango (2001) captures this controversy thus:

For many scholars, politicians and activists, the notion of constitutionalism is one that produces numerous and often times conflicting responses. For some, especially the more positivist or legally minded, constitutionalism simply represents a concern with the instrumentalities of governance. These range from the constitution itself and other legally constructed documents that have been created to support it, the structures and institutions that are established under their framework. Others adopt a more nuanced and embracing view, considering constitutionalism within the much broader context of the social, economic, political, gender and cultural milieu wherein those instrumentalities operate. A nicely worded or eloquently phrased document means nothing if the context in which it is supposed to operate is harsh and hostile; a context in which you may have a constitution without constitutionalism.

Oyewole (2007) proffer a descriptive conceptualization and definition of constitutionalism to mean: a system of political arrangement that is founded and governed by a supreme law, that can only be amended by the will of the people or through their constituent representatives, in which the practice of the rule of law, separation of powers, checks and balances and good governance are observed, and the rights and development of the citizens are paramount. This is a deliberate attempt to transcend the liberal constitutionalism and capture the salient feature of constitutionalism not merely as an imposition of limitation on exercise of powers, but also as a mechanism for accountable and developmental exercise of powers. It is thus clear that African countries like Nigeria, with written Constitutions may not necessarily practice constitutionalism. However, constitutionalism has been acknowledged to be the antithesis of non-institutionalized government, where the state is a government of men and not of laws.

In his demystification of constitutionalism, Falana (2009:1) referring to Soyinka (2000) once maintained that even the so called brutes have a constitution which is unwritten, but clearly understood among the species. However, it is only the homo sapiens which appears to have constantly adjusted its constitution to changing circumstances and encounters with others. Constitutions are simply, the protocols of survivals and continuity for any social grouping. They need not be written down, though experience dictates that they are much better off set down. The United Kingdom, viewed by many ex-British colonials as the model of popular, participatory government sometimes known as democracy does not till today boast of a Constitution.

Constitutionalism has a variety of meanings. Most generally, it is a complex of ideas, attitudes, and patterns of behavior elaborating the principle that the authority of government derives from and is limited by a body of fundamental law (Fehrwnbacher, 1998:1). A political organization is constitutional to the extent that it contain(s) institutionalized mechanisms of power control for the protection of the interests and liberties of the citizenry, including those that may be in the minority (Scott, 1999:4).

Constitutionalism is descriptive of a complicated concept, deeply imbedded in historical experience, which subjects the officials who exercise governmental powers to the limitations of a higher law. Constitutionalism proclaims the desirability of the rule of law as opposed to rule by the arbitrary judgment or mere fiat of public officials. Throughout the literature dealing with modern public law and the foundations of statecraft, the central element of the concept of constitutionalism is that in political society, government officials are not free to do anything they please in any manner they choose; they are bound to observe both the limitations on power and the procedures which are set out in the supreme constitutional law of the community. It may therefore be said that the touchstone of constitutionalism is the concept of limited government under a higher law (Fellman and Wiener, 1973:485).

Webster's Dictionary defines constitutionalism "as the doctrine or system of government in which the governing power is limited by enforceable rules and law and concentration of power is prevented by various checks and balances so that the basic rights of individuals and groups are protected." This definition is similar to the one provided by Nwabueze (1973) who stated that "the limiting of arbitrariness of political power is expressed in the concept of constitutionalism". He explained further that constitutionalism recognizes the necessity for government but insists upon a limitation being placed upon its power. From the above expositions, it is clear that the essence of constitutionalism is the prevention of arbitrariness and since it results in the protection of the basic rights of people, its end result is good governance.

It must be observed that a true insight into the concept of constitutionalism must involve an understanding of the power distribution in a modern state. Constitutionalism therefore connotes that, the powers of the various organs of government including citizens fundamental rights should be defined and regulated by the constitution. It imbibes the principles of democracy, limited government powers and the supremacy of law. What are the internal controls that have been planted into the working of the machinery of government and how have these controls been observed are crucial to constitutionalism. This underscores the point that even where a people have a constitution with checks and balances enshrined, it is very crucial that such checks and balances are observed. Otherwise, the concept itself will be meaningless, sterile, unproductive and abstract.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study adopted the elite theory as a tool or method of contemporary political analysis to systematically account and analyze the phenomenon under investigation. In political science and sociology, elite theory is a theory of the state which seeks to describe and explain the power relationships in contemporary society. The theory posits that a small minority, consisting of members of the economic elite and policy-planning network holds the most power and that this power is independent of a state's democratic elections process.

Elite theory developed as a reaction to Marxism. It rejected the Marxian idea that a classless society having an egalitarian structure could be realized after classless struggle in every society. It regards Marxism as an ideology rather than an objective analysis of social system. According to the theory, man can never be liberated from the subjugation of an elite structure. The term elite therefore refer to those who excel in their fields of endeavours.

The classical elite theorists, Pareto (1919) and Mosca (1895) in the words of Bottomore (1993), identify the governing elites and non-governing elites, the ruling class and the class that is ruled in terms of superior personal qualities of those who exercise and wield power. However, later version of elite theory place less emphasis on the personal qualities of the powerful and more emphasis on the institutional framework of society. They argue that the hierarchical nature of organization of social institutions allow minority to monopolized power. The elite theorists are of the view that in distribution of power, the masses is too large and amorphous a group to be able to effectively wield power, therefore, power is always exercised by a small cohesive and decisive group called the elites. They argued that all societies are divided into two main group; a ruling minority and the ruled who are in majority. Why Pareto emphasized the psychological and intellectual superiority of elites, believing that they were the highest accomplishees in any field, Mosca asserts that elites have intellectual, moral and material superiority that is highly esteemed and influential. Other writers who not only contributed to the development of elite theory but had their versions of the theory in their societies includes Robert Michels, Wright Mills, Max Weber, James Burnham, Floyd Hunter, Robert Putnam, Robert Dahl, Jose Ortega, etc.

Circulation of Elite: Pareto believed that historical change involved the replacement of the elite by another elite, a process Pareto called "the circulation of elites". In this process, Pareto distinguished between political elites dominated by "foxes" who ruled primarily by manipulation and propaganda and "Lions" who were prepared to use force to achieve and retain political power. He contended that changes of regime, revolutions and so on occur not when rulers are overthrown from below, but when one elite replaces

another. The role of the ordinary people in such transformation is not that of initiators or principal actors, but as followers and supporters of one elite or another (Pareto 1919).

Criteria for Identifying the Elite: The imprecision of the elite concept implies that widely differing strategies for identifying elites have been applied in elite study. Holfmann-lange (2006:3-4) while referring to Parry (2005) and Putnam (1976) asserted that, there are three basic methods of elite identification. These includes; the reputational method, the decisional method and the positional method. According to him, the reputational method relies on experts who are asked to name the most powerful individuals in a community while the decisional method is primarily useful for identifying local elites. The positional method of elite identification finally, is the one customarily used for studying national elites but it can equally well applied to smaller settings. It is based on the assumption that in modern societies, power and influence are tied to the resources associated with position of leadership in public institution and private organizations of national relevance.

In relation to the third identification method mentioned, Ohwona (2008) lend his voice to the elite theorist that no society is socially homogenous but is divided into classes based on a three socio-economic criteria, that is, income, education and social status. In other words, the above three criteria are used to select people into classes in differentiating classes on any society.

Types of Elite: In the study of American society, Mills observed that three types of elite exists. These are military leaders, leaders of industry and commerce and leading politician as power elite. In the words of Mbah (2006:284), they are differently designated as the power elite, the ruling class, political entrepreneurs, the establishment and the governing minority. The ruling elite are known by high degree of elite consciousness of organization which they possess. They may be a caste, a ruling class in aristocracy of some form or they may be lacking in any conscious linkages other than occupation of authority positions. In British society those who occupy authority positions are designated as the establishment. In Nigeria, they may go by the designations: leaders of though, the VIP, the heavy weights, men and women of timber and caliber, the Kingmakers, etc, who in general feature as prominent in social, economic, military and political affairs.

Strength of the Elite Theory: There is no doubt that the elite theory contributed immensely to the understanding of social phenomena both in the classical and contemporary political analysis of our society. From our discussion, we have been able to identify that elite theorists came out clearly to demonstrate the following:

- They believed that control of the instrument of the means of production is the basic determinant of state power.

- That the state is not an impartial referee in the regulation and control of activities in society.
- That those who rule and take decisions in any organization are fewer than those who are governed.
- That society is not a monolithic or homogenous but socially differentiated using the socio-economic criteria of income, education and social status.

Weakness of the Elite Theory: Some of the weakness of the elites theory are as follows:

- The theory admonished the masses who are in the majority to accept their majority role of waiting for their concessions from the elite. They did not make any provision any day to replace the elite rather, the elite will remain in power while the majority remain perpetually in the position of being dominated.
- The Elite theory is ambiguous about the proportion of the three criteria of income, education and social status that play a decisive role in the qualification of the elite position.
- The theory is silent about revolutionary or violent overthrow of the oppressive social order.

The theoretical postulations in relation to the specificity under study, power and influence are based on a variety of resources located in different sector of society, e.g political authority, judicial discretion, economic power, academic or administrative expertise or influence on public opinion. Inherent of the weaknesses associated with the elite theory, it was able to show convincingly that the Nigeria elites through position in corporations and influence over policy planning networks are able to exert significant power over the policy decision of governments including constitutional making and implementation. The elite as a class gets control of the state to ensure their dominance in society. They always make laws to favour themselves and suit their class interest. Therefore, it could be said that the Nigerian political elites at the 1960 and 1963 constitutional conferences, the military generals and their contemporaries who are and still at the helms of national affairs contributed largely to the decline of constitutional democracy and constitutionalism in Nigeria.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTIONALISM: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

It is well established all over the world that democracy is the best form of government even though scholars and practitioners are not in agreement on the definition, content and form of democracy. But there is agreement that the practice of democracy requires a legitimate constitutional framework. Unfortunately, since the Northern and Southern protectorates were amalgamated to form the territory known as Nigeria in 1914, there

has never been an inclusive dialogue process leading to a social contract or a legitimate constitution. Meanwhile, constitution making and reform is very important in any nation because the constitution is the fundamental law of the land, which contains the rules, conventions, and other practices by which a society governs itself. The constitution of a country is perhaps the most important instrument of governance since any other law or policy that is inconsistent with the provisions of the constitution is null and void and of no effect. This point was underscored by the International Institute for Democracy and Assistant (I-IDEA) 2001 report on Democracy in Nigeria when it stated that there is the need for a new social contract to be negotiated between the state, civil society and the private sector through an inclusive national dialogue.

The problem facing most African countries is lack of process led approach in constitution making, as well as neglecting the views of the common man, whose life is affected by the constitution, constitutionalism becomes an elite affair where technocrats, lawyers, politicians, retired military officers, business class are deployed to discuss the fate of the common man, making rules that cannot be understood by the common man. Therefore what are the ideal ways of emerging with a legitimate constitution? Bottom UP approach ; this entails the ability of the constitution making committee to integrate the process of constitution making to the common masses, draw their attention on the relevance issues, using the language they understand, thereby integrating their views in the process, so that the constitution would be from grass root to top rather than vice versa.

It is glaringly clear that the aforementioned criteria have no place in the Nigerian experience with constitutionalism, rather the process remains exclusive and a theater for some selected elites to express themselves. Take for instance, the constitution of most African countries and indeed that of Nigeria are products of constituent assemblies, parliamentary communities, special task force or tribunals or the work of a handful of lawyers or politicians. The Constitution becomes imposed rather than exposed and never subjected to popular debates or referenda. Here, the elite theory of decision making is at work rather than the group theory.

With respect to the chequered experience of Nigeria with constitutionalism, it has rightly observed that under the various oppressive authoritarian regimes, the country has had the misfortune for the greater part of its post colonial history. Nigeria has been treated to a bastardization of constitutionalism and growing impotence of the judiciary in the face of countless acts of impunity, executive lawlessness and economic brigandage by praetorian guards that had imposed themselves on the political landscape of the nation (Oyebode 2005:126)

For instance, on October 22, 2007 President Yaradua dissolved the governing boards of all Federal Government parastatals and agencies. The 27 Federal Universities were

affected in the exercise as their governing councils were sacked with immediate effect. The several demands of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) for the reconstitution of the Councils were ignored. In the circumstances, ASUU filed an action at the Federal High Court with a view to compelling the Federal Government to reconstitute the councils. In its official reaction to the suit, the Federal Government appointed the external members of the councils contrary to Section two of the Universities Miscellaneous Provisions Amendment Act, 2003 which provides for six members who shall be knowledgeable and familiar with the affairs and tradition of the University. Government appointed 10 persons as members of each of the councils of which some of the members have never been associated with the university system. Also, withholding of Lagos State Local Government allocation in 2005 to May 2007 by President Olusegun Obasanjo among others is an aberration.

In another instance, the late President and Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces, Alhaji Umaru Yar-Adua fell sick as could any other person. He chose to travel outside the country in search of medical treatment. But because he is not an ordinary person but the number one citizen, the constitution placed a duty on him to communicate the National Assembly of such vacation so that necessary steps could be taken to empower the Vice President Dr. Goodluck Jonathan to act as Acting President until he returns (1999 constitution, section 145). For whatever reason, Mr. President failed or refused to transmit the notice thereby throwing the entire nation into confusion for barely three months. Some pundits have argued that the President is not bound under the constitution to transmit the notice but had discretion to do so. The pertinent question is, if the constitution requires one to do any act or take any step in the overall interest of the country, should it be in coercive terms? Should the President of a country and custodian of its constitution not ordinarily be a man of honour who, even in the absence of such a provision, should have considered it a worthwhile step especially when that would not have amounted to permanent abdications of his office? That is part of our Nigeria experience at constitutionalism.

Another observable weakness is that Nigeria's constitutional history has shown that the representative legislature (both its structures and personnel) is usually abolished by successful military coups when they subsequently establish their military regimes. While the executive and administrative structure of the military government get more entrenched and expanded, there is the absence of any legislative body to oversight and check the exercise of the powers of the military administrators. Peculiarly, in Nigeria, these past military leaders dominate the political parties during transitions to democracies after periods of military rule. President Obasanjo will understandably be less tolerant of a legislature that is perceived as being an interfering and blundering body irrespective of their constitutional powers and role, having been a Head of State and Government of Nigeria under a previous military regime, which exercised absolute governmental powers without any form of legislative oversight or interference. The

other side of the coin is the confusion of the powers and role of the Military Head of State, which a former Head of State like President Obasanjo had exercised in the past, with that of a Constitutional Chief Executive, which he must now exercise, with constitutionally imposed restraint of legislative oversight amongst others. President Obasanjo was rightly accused of being overbearing in the style of the military, and could scarcely suffer the intrigues and politicking that goes with democratic practices.

Of course, so much has been said and demonstrated in this paper about how Nigerian governments and government officials apply the constitution in governance. It is indeed not a very pleasant commentary that many holders of power in the country are primarily concerned about their pockets, their personal interest and their sectional interest up to the highest political office. There cannot be constitutionalism without a constitution, but there can indeed be constrictions without constitutionalism. Thus, it is perfectly possible to say that Nigeria had a constitution in place, yet the constitution empirically is just a mere statement of unenforceable rights, it bereft of provisions guaranteeing liberty or adequate and necessary restraint on exercise of government power and indeed it is a constitution which facilitates the assumptions of dictatorial powers.

Concluding Remarks

The term constitutionalism is a deeply impregnated term. In the simplest sense, it means the application of the constitution in governance or government according to the constitution. Since the constitution is the mother of all laws, it means necessarily that constitutionalism is the rule of law or rule by law, i.e. the observance of the express and implied contents of the constitution and it duly begotten laws in the actual conduct of governance or administration, which is contrary to arbitrary or personal idiosyncrasy rules. It is said therefore that constitutional government is an institutional government, making relevant the Hobbesian allusion re-echoed in President Obama's advice to Nigeria for strong institutions rather than strong men. Of course, Socrates had long insisted that the law rather than man should rule because power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. In modern legal lexicon, constitutionalism has even shifted paradigm to attain a synonymous or coterminous usage with constitutional democracy. To this extent, a government must not only be constitutional, but also democratic for there seem to have been an emergence of "constitutional tyrannies".

On constitutionalism, it also connotes and implies government by consent, renewable or otherwise by popular free and fair election political responsibility, answerability and accountability to the people. De Smith (1964:305) puts it thus:

Constitutionalism is practiced in a country where the government is genuinely accountable to an entity or organ distinct from itself where elections are freely held on a wide

franchise at frequent intervals, where political groups are free to organize in opposition to the government in office and where there are effective legal guarantee of the fundamental civil liberties enforced by an independent judiciary; and in a country where any of these conditions is lacking...

The descriptive conceptualization of constitutionalism adopted in this paper, clearly raises the problems of governance under a constitutional democracy, a problem commonly faced by most African States. Therefore, Legislative oversight functions as a key element is located in fostering constitutionalism in Nigeria. Especially, as it has been demonstrated that the legislature's aggregate constituent representative nature makes it most suitable to be responsive and reflective of the sovereign popular will of the people and a veritable check and control on executive excesses or misrule. Clearly in the discharge of the functions of law-making, watchdog of public finance, conduct of investigations, control over personnel, removal powers, and policy formulation - the legislature does not only define the scope and limits of the exercise of executive powers thereby giving effect to the Constitution, but also sustains the idea of the rule of law, good governance and accountability that are the very essence of constitutionalism.

Recommendations

From the observations and analyses of this study, though the 1999 constitution is undergoing amendment processes by the National Assembly, it is recommended as follows:

True Nigerian Peoples Constitution: It is the writer's view that the way forward in Nigeria's search for a stable regime of constitutional governance lies first and foremost in a search for a truly Nigerian democratic constitution. To this end, Nigerians must have the ample opportunity to discuss, debate thoroughly all issues pertaining to their natural existence or co-existence. It is only then that we can truly say that we have "firmly and solemnly resolved". A constitution made and handed down by the colonial masters or by the military cannot represent the wishes and aspirations of the peoples and nations in Nigeria.

Constitutional Breaches and the Peoples Role: The greatest threat to constitutionalism is the willful breach of its provisions by both the officers entrusted with power and the citizens themselves. The greatest manifestations of this come in the form of disobedience of court orders and subversion of constitutional provisions.

Constitution and Human Rights Education: Nigerians must now begin to be exposed to and taught the culture of constitutionalism and human rights education from the earliest

stages of their education. This has become extremely necessary to re-orientate the people, especially the younger generation of Nigerians who have been given to military culture due to long years of military incursion into the governance in the country. This includes re-orientation of security and law enforcement agencies.

The Role of the Court in Constitutional Implementation: There is no gainsaying the fact that, the beginning and end of constitutional observance of constitutionalism is the existence of an independent judiciary, which would stand completely behind and without any clog of any kind to balance power and its exercise between the armless citizen and the state machinery on one hand and between the powers that be themselves.

Legislative Oversight Function: However, as shown clearly by the Nigerian experience, the legislative role and culture is at its infancy, having been a victim of long period of military interregnum that took place in Nigeria and other African States, before the present democratization processes of the 90s. Since written Constitutions do not by themselves constitutionalism secure, the legislature's oversight function can be enhanced and well articulated under a constitutional democracy to advance the rule of law, good governance and accountability.

Contribution to Knowledge

From the empirical analysis, lack of constitutionalism in Nigeria could be attributed to imposition (constitution making) and bad leadership (provisional adherence).

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Policy Failure and the Attainment of the Millennium Development Goals in the South South Geopolitical Zone of Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

The Nigerian Government has never been in short supply of policies aimed at alleviating the numerous problems confronting the country. The major challenge has always been the poor implementation and failure of these policies. The South-South geopolitical zone is one of the regions of Nigeria where several policies have been formulated and implemented, yet poverty and hunger, illiteracy, killer diseases, environmental degradation and many other development problems remain unabated. A scoping study of existing literature on public policy in Nigeria reveals that the failure of most policies can be attributed to; corruption, lack of political will, inadequate financial resources for implementation, and formulation of poverty alleviation policies without proper consultation with stakeholders. This study seeks to ascertain whether this was also the situation with the implementation of policies targeted on the achievement of the MDGs. The study revealed that poor policy implementation occasioned by corruption which largely contributes to the non-realization of environmental sustainability in the state has a significant relationship with the implementation process. Also, the failure of policy makers to consult with grass root people, inadequacy of resources and lack of political will hindered the realization of environmental sustainability in the South South geopolitical zone of Nigeria.

Introduction

The South-South geopolitical zone of Nigeria has a long history of neglect and lack of sustainable human and infrastructural development. The various levels of government have responded to these challenges by formulating and implementing public policies. Public policy has been defined in different ways by scholars. According to Dye (1998:4), “public policy is what government chooses to do or not to do”. This explanation has been criticized on the premise that it did not take cognizance of that fact that there may be a difference between what the government decides to do and what it actually does. The government for instance, may enact a policy to up-grade road infrastructure throughout the country. However, there may be a gap between the decision of the government and actual implementation. In an attempt to capture most governments’ actions as public policy, Richard (1971) has suggested that public policy

should be considered as “a long series of more-or-less related activities and their consequences for those concerned rather than a discrete decision”. This definition though ambiguous, connotes the notion that public policy is a course, or pattern of activity and not simply a decision to do something. Taking into account certain problems raised by some definitions of public policy, Anderson (1984) defined the concept of public policy as a “purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem, or matter of concern”. This definition focuses on the actual concluded action of government rather than what is proposed or intended. Public policy can be viewed as all that goes on from the moment the need for a policy was muted and articulated to its formations, enactment, implementation and performance or impact. It involves a complex web of activities, interactions, techniques and strategies involving several persons, groups and agencies (Ikelegbe, 1996).

Generally, governments at all levels in Nigeria have been increasingly active in developing public policies. The outcome is a large volume of policies that flows from the National, State and Local Governments. Despite this, there has been series of policy failures in the country. In fact, policy failure in Nigeria is linked to the inability of the government to identify the needs of its citizens before initiating policies (Egonmwan, 1994). In other words the failure of public policies in Nigeria is the major factor contributing to the persistence of development challenges in the country including the south-south geopolitical zone. In spite of government efforts, poverty, ignorance, filth, squalor, deprivation and exploitation persist. The South-South is confronted with development problems such as non-availability of essential social amenities and services like electricity, hospitals, pipe borne water, quality education and environmental degradation, while billions of dollars generated on their door step go to the State and Multi National Corporation (Sofori, 2007:3). The poor living conditions of the people of the Niger Delta which comprise mainly the south- south states of Nigeria can be inferred from the following findings of Ibeanu (2006:3):

...available figures show that there is one doctor per 82,000 people, rising to one doctor per 132,000 people in some areas, especially the rural areas, which is more than three times the national average of 40,000 people per doctor. Only 27 percent of people in the Niger Delta have access to safe drinking water and about 30 percent of household have access to electricity, both of which are below the national averages of 31.7% and 33.6%, respectively....Poverty remains widespread, worsened by an exceptionally high cost of living created by the petro-economy... At the same time, access to education, central to remedying some of these social conditions, lags abysmally when compared to other parts of the country. While 76 percent of Nigerian

children attend primary school, in the Niger Delta the figure drops appalling to between 30 and 40 percent.

Outside the major urban areas, the level of infrastructural development and the provision of social amenities such as electricity, health care and education are very poor. The state of infrastructure in the south- south states and indeed the Niger Delta made the World Bank to warn in 1995 that an urgent need exists to implement mechanism to protect the life and health of the region's inhabitants and its ecological systems from further deterioration (World Bank, 1995). Fourteen years after this warning the Niger Delta still suffers from infrastructural decay and underdevelopment (The News, July 6, 2009). Though the activities of oil companies affect the health of the people in the rural areas, health facilities and personnel are concentrated in the cities and the quality of health care delivery is poor because of inadequate facilities and personnel. The people of the south- south states still suffer from debilitating diseases such as malaria, diarrhea and yellow fever (Niger Delta Environmental Survey, 1995; UNDP, 2006).

The problem of policy failure and persistence of underdevelopment is not peculiar to Nigeria. It is also common to other developing countries of the world. In response to this global challenge, the United Nations Organization spearheaded the adoption of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Millennium Development Goals were adopted by about 190 United Nation member countries in the year 2000 to tackle poverty, hunger, disease and early deaths in poor countries, with a series of targets set for 2015. The Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) are a linked set of objectives – a portfolio of targets that represent a coherent assault on the problem of development (Hall, 2005). It expresses the shared commitment made by the Global community to fight poverty. The MDGs was endorsed by 190 nations as international commitment to the priorities for achieving sustainable development (CGIAR, 2005). It has 8 goals, 21 targets and 48 performance indicators on poverty reduction, human well-being, social opportunities, economic conditions and a healthy natural environment. Broadly, these goals are: (i) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger (ii) Achieve universal primary education (iii) Promote gender equality and empower women (iv) Reduce child mortality (v) Improve maternal health (vi) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases (vii) Ensure environmental sustainability and (viii) Develop a global partnership for development. The implementation of the MDGs is being supported through numerous programmes at Local Government, State, National, Regional and Global levels. Regionally, the New Partnership for Africa's development (NEPAD) has taken on the MDGs agenda and is becoming a leading proponent of an integrated approach to development.

Although Nigeria was one of the 190 nations that endorsed the MDGs in 2000, the government did not initiate concrete strategies towards achieving these goals until 2004 when the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), State

Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (SEEDS) and the Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies (LEEDS) were introduced. In addition to the efforts of the Federal Government, States and Local Governments in Nigeria have also created implementation strategies for actualizing the MDGs.

This study therefore attempts to find out the extent to which the policies directed towards actualizing the MDGs are implemented and the extent to which they have contributed to the amelioration of the human and infrastructural development problems in the South-South geopolitical zone of Nigeria.

Statement of the Problem

The Nigerian Government has never been in short supply of policies aimed at alleviating the numerous problems confronting the country. The major challenge has always been the poor implementation and failure of these policies. The South-South geopolitical zone is one of the regions of Nigeria where several policies have been formulated and implemented, yet poverty and hunger, illiteracy, killer diseases, environmental degradation and many other development problems remain unabated. A scoping study of existing literature on public policy in Nigeria reveals that the failure of most policies can be attributed to; corruption, lack of political will, inadequate financial resources for implementation, and formulation of poverty alleviation policies without proper consultation with stakeholders (Egonmwan, 1994; Ikelegbe, 1996) . The implementation of policies without the involvement of stakeholders ('top- down' approach to policy implementation) has been described as the greatest flaw in the past poverty alleviation strategies in Nigeria (Anyanwu et al., 2007).

The implementation of MDGs related policies are not devoid of the problems identified above, yet a survey of existing literatures reveals the dearth of research on the implementation of MDGs related policies in the South-South geopolitical zone of Nigeria. The South-South zone is one of the regions in Nigeria where several policies have been formulated and implemented, yet poverty and hunger, illiteracy, killer diseases, environmental degradation and many other development problems remain unabated.

Aims and Objectives of the Study

This study will make a critical appraisal of the implementation of the MDGs in the South-South geopolitical zone of Nigeria. The specific objectives of the study are to:

1. Find out the policies adopted by the various levels of government to ensure the achievement of the MDGs in the South-South.
2. Ascertain the extent to which the implementation of MDGs related policies has contributed to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals in the South-South.

3. Identify the challenges associated with the actualization of the MDGS in the South- South.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

It has been observed that policy implementation is one of the major problems confronting developing nations. According to Adamolekun (1983:4), policy implementation refers to the activities that are carried out in the light of established policies. It refers to the process of converting financial, material, technical and human inputs into outputs – goods and services (Egonmwan, 1991:7). Edwards (1980:12) also defines policy implementation as a stage of policy making between the establishment of a policy (such as the passage of a legislative act, the issuing of an executive order, or the promulgation of a regulatory rule) and the consequences of the policy for the people whom it affects. It also involves a wide variety of actions such as issuing and enforcing directives, disbursing funds, making loans, assigning and hiring personnel, etc. Implementation problem occurs when the desired result on the target beneficiaries is not achieved. Such problem is not restricted to only the developing nations. Wherever and whenever the basic critical factors that are very crucial to implementing public policy are missing, whether in developing or developed nations, there is bound to be implementation problem. The failure of public policies to bring about the desired development in developing countries has necessitated several policy changes and implementation strategies. The inability of public policies to transform developing countries rapidly is also one of the reasons for the Millennium Development Goals.

This chapter examines the contribution of scholars on reasons for policy failures and the Millennium Development Goals. It begins with the concept of policy implementation; a theoretical overview of policy failure and change; and policy implementation problems in Nigeria. It further considers among other things, the overview, philosophical bases, perspectives and the challenges on the implementation, and the critique of the Millennium Development Goals among other things.

The Concept of Policy Implementation

Policy implementation has been defined as “the carrying out of a basic policy decision , usually incorporated in a statute but can be in form of important executive orders or court decisions”(Mazmanian and Sabatier 1983). It has also been defined as those actions by people that are directed at achievement of objectives set forth in the policy decision (van meter and van Horne 1974). Thus Policy implementation is what develops between an intention of the government to do something and its ultimate impact following action (Toole 2000). Implementation is said to commence once goals and objectives have been established by policy decisions and funds committed (van horn and van meter 1974). Implementation involves both organizational systems and processes and actions of members of the organization. Implementation studies are to be

found at the intersection of public administration, organizational theory, public management research and political science studies (Schofield and Sausman 2004)

Implementation consists of action on part of actors involved in it and the results of these actions. Some authors would like to combine both these aspects in research studies while others would like to make a distinction between actions and their outcomes.

The understanding of implementation requires the recognition that it is:

1. A process involving multiple actors;
2. In many cases involves multiple organizations;
3. The important role of clients or recipients (O' toole 2000).

Evolution of the literature on policy implementation can be categorized based on the approaches taken to study implementation. The evolution of implementation research saw the development of two main approaches based on assumptions – the top down and the bottom up approaches (Matland 1995).

The top down approach assumed that implementation begins with policy objectives and implementation will follow in a linear fashion—a product of a rational public administration model and which assumes distinct policy formulation and implementation. The top down approach lays emphasis on the actors who design the policy and the factors which can be manipulated from the center. The emphasis in such a case is more on the rational design of the policy (Schofield 2001). The top down models (Van Meter and Van Horn 1974; Mazmanian and Sabatier 1983; 1989) see the starting point of implementation as this decision and identifies the central actors as most influential in producing the desired effects of the decision. Implementation is influenced by three sets of variables namely- tractability of the problem; ability to structure the implementation and non-statutory variables. This approach has a prescriptive bent as it attempts to develop generalizable policy advice across different policy areas. General prescriptions given by top down researchers are to:

1. Have clear and consistent policy goals (Mazmanian and Sabatier 1983).
2. Minimize the number of actors involved (Pressman and Wildavasky 1973).
3. Limit the extent of change in content (Mazmanian and Sabatier 1983).
4. Have implementation done through agency which is sympathetic to policy goals (Sabatier 1989).

The criticism of top down approach has been that it fails to consider the significance of past actions in the same policy area; treats implementation as an administrative process and ignores the expertise of local implementers but sees them as impediments to implementation (Schofield 2001).

Bottom up models developed from the main criticism of top down models which ignored the behavioural aspect of implementation and the key role of local

implementers (Schofield 2001). Their main focus was on the motives and actions of actors involved in implementation and assume that formulation and implementation are an integrated process and are descriptive in nature as emphasis is on explaining the role of factors causing difficulty in implementation (Matland 1995). The bottom up approach (Hjern and Porter (1981); Hull and Hjern (1982) lay emphasis on the target groups and service deliverers and state that policy is made at this level. Bottom up models are more descriptive in nature and state that implementation can be better understood by looking at the policy from the viewpoint of target groups and service deliverers. Policy implementation according to Matland (1995) is assumed to occur at two levels:

1. Macro implementation where the centrally located actors devise a government programme;
2. Micro implementation where local level actors react to these plans and develop their own plans and implement them.

Implementation problems arise out of the interaction between policy and micro level institutions. Central actors can only indirectly influence micro level factors and autonomy at the local level is necessary to allow adaptation of policy to suit contextual factors. Policy effect is a function of its effect on the street level bureaucrats and their ability to policy to suit local conditions. Studies under this approach attempted to identify and describe the goals, activities, problems and contacts of the local level implementers and are predominantly case studies (Deleon 1999).

Political analysts attempt to provide an understanding of the workings of the modern state had necessitated the employment of certain philosophies, thoughts and theories in order to simplify and clarify their assumptions about the political system and how it works. Some of these analytical tools or methods include – the Systems theory, Group theory, Political Development theory, Power theory, Frustration Aggression theory and the Elites theory among others. Given these plethora of theories in the social sciences and bearing in mind that, no meaningful research can be undertaken in the absence of a sound theoretical base, this study adopts the Systems theory in order to explain the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by the United Nations and to analyze its implementation in Bayelsa and Delta states of Nigeria respectively.

Although the discussion of systems began with biologists in the 19th century systems theory was not fully articulated until the 1920s. Ludwig von Bertalanfy (1956, 1962), who developed general systems theory was a principal in establishing it as a field of study. Although systems theory originated later than functionalism, when researchers study functions within their structures, they do it within the scope of systems. The study of political systems came into its own with the adoption of a structural- functional approach. The systems approach of David Easton (1965a, 1965b) and Karl W. Deutsch (1963) grew out of sociological and communication theory and a "move toward the theory and data of politics" (Almond & Powell, 1966: 12). Easton and Deutsch followed

a communication, or cybernetic, model to study politics. Gabriel A. Almond's study of political systems grew out of a tradition of political theory and draws from sociological and communications theories. While Easton and Deutsch adopted a purely systems approach, Almond applied structural functionalism to systems theory. Both have value in the study of political systems.

A system, according to Rapoport (1968:1), "is a set of interrelated entities connected by behavior and history". Easton (1966) proposed to define political systems more broadly than did Rapoport. Easton (1966:14) defined a system as "any set of variables regardless of the degree, of interrelationship among them". He preferred this definition because it freed the researcher from the need to prove that a political system is really a system. The only question of importance became whether the system was interesting and thus worth studying. The analysis need only provide understanding and an explanation of the human behavior that was of concern to the researcher. Easton (1966:147) suggested that a political system was distinct from other systems because it concerned itself with "the interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society". He divided the political environment into two parts: the intra-societal and the extra-societal. The first comprises those systems in the same society as the political system that are not political systems because they do not have political interactions. Intra-societal systems form the segments of society of which the political system is a component, including the economy, culture, social structure, and personalities. These systems create and shape the conditions in which the political system operates. A changing economy, culture, or social structures all have impact on political life. The extra-societal environment includes all the systems that are outside the given society. They may form a supra-system of which the political system may be a part. An example of an extra-societal system is the international cultural system. From the intra- and extra-societal systems come influences that may cause possible stress on the political system. Internal or external disturbances to the intra- and extra-societal systems may cause stress on the political system and thus change it. However, it is also possible that some disturbances may aid in the persistence of the system while others may be neutral with regard to stress. If political systems are to continue, they must fulfill two functions. They must be able to allocate values to society and get most members of society to accept the values. The allocation of values for a society and compliance with them are essential variables of political life and distinguish political systems from other systems. By identifying these essential variables, researchers can determine when and how disturbances can cause stress to the system.

In systems theory the unit of analysis is role a concept developed in social psychology and applied to sociology. Political roles deal with decision making on behalf of society and with performing actions that implement the decisions and allocate scarce resources. In analyzing the political system, the researcher typically describes these roles and the people performing them.

Traditionally, the main approach to classification has been "the distribution of power" (Mitchell, 1968:474) among the members of the system. Because the one dimension of roles has inadequately described political systems, systems analysts have developed more inclusive variables that lend themselves better to measurement (Mitchell, 1968). Talcott Parsons (1951) put forth a set of variables that he called pattern-variables. Almond & Coleman (1960) suggested classifying structures based on (a) the degree of differentiation between structures, (b) the extent to which the system is "manifest" or "visible," (c) the stability of the functions of the various roles, and (d) the distribution of power. Mitchell (1968) added a fifth dimension, concerning the "sustainability of roles." A system is generally thought of as being self-contained and distinct from its environment with observable boundaries. In the process of determining formal members (or citizens) and their actions, boundaries are arbitrarily assigned to the political system. However, most systems are subject to external influences. Thus, analysis must also be concerned with detecting relationships "across boundaries" as inputs and outputs (Mitchell, 1968:475). Yet no common language exists to describe these boundary exchanges of inputs and outputs. Easton (1957, 1965a) saw inputs as consisting of demands and support while Almond and Coleman (1960) used the terms political socialization, recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, and political communication. Easton called the outputs decisions, while Almond and Coleman describe outputs as rule making, rule application, and rule adjudication.

Policies such as the MDGs related policies are formulated and implemented in social systems. For the purposes of this study, a social system is defined as a set of socially organized, dynamic and contingent relations. These relations form a structure that is populated by agents (who may be individuals or groups) that interact with each other. Information and other resources flow through these interactions between agents (Scott, 2011). Since policies are formulated and implemented in social systems, the systems theory can help illuminate the dynamics involved in policy implementation. Policy implementation can be viewed as a deliberately initiated process, in which agents intend to bring into operation new or modified practices that are institutionally sanctioned, and are performed by themselves and other agents (May, Finch, Mair, Ballini, Dowrick, Eccles, ... Rapley, 2006). David Easton and Chester Barnard were the main proponents and contributors of this theory who analyzed political as well as administrative systems and the way they are structured and function.

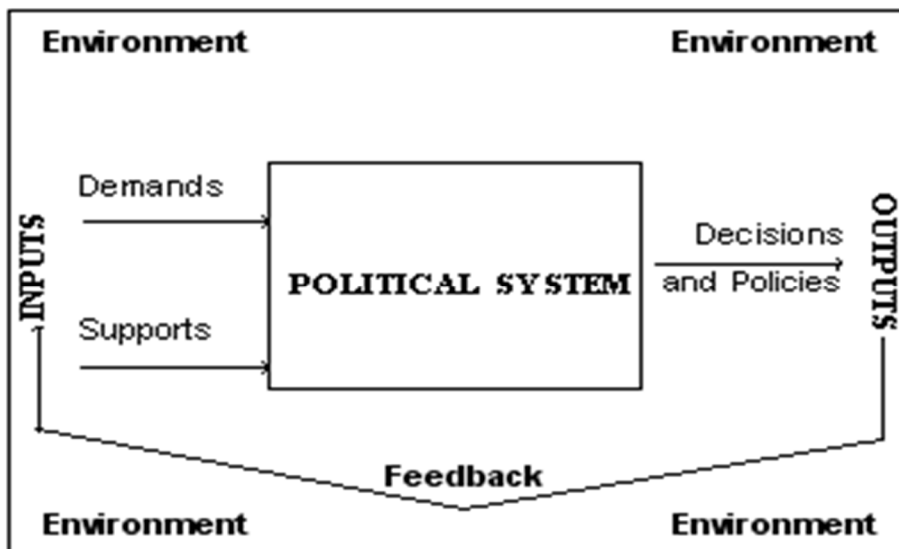
In Political Science, the system theory is an appropriate model of political analysis. Osemwota (1990:53) asserts that, "the system theory is directed towards discovering and exploring the nature of relationships among component parts of the system as well as factors and influences, external or internal which impinges on the component parts and the system as a whole". According to Gauba (2003; 93), "the Systems approach conceives politics in terms of a political system and any collection of elements that interact in some way can be considered a system". The philosophy behind the Systems theory therefore is that a system consists of different parts (sub-systems). These sub-

systems or parts must be healthy and active to ensure the form of a relationship that engenders the achievement of the overall goals of the system. The failure of one or more of the parts impinges negatively on the overall purpose of the system. This explains the importance of active different components or parts of the system.

So, a Systems approach administration is described as a system comprising subsystem, structure, people, action and interaction that enable it (administration or organization) to perform certain functions. Every system influences its subsystems and is also influenced by its subsystems. This system rejects the closed system approach of an organization or Classical theory of organization where it was stated that an organization is independent of the environment and society and is not connected to it. It states that the organization and environment work together and have frequent exchanges in order to adjust and in the end there is homoeostasis (stable state of equilibrium). It also rejects the theory of the Classical theory of taking decisions which are best and there is one best way of doing things, it rather supports the concept of equifinality (the property of allowing or having the same effect or result from different events), that means that anything done or decision taken in an organization, no matter how it is done but the intention should be the same, of getting the work done and achieving the goal, then the end results will always be the same or as desired.

David Easton posits that policy making and decision making are closely related and adopts the systems approach to analyze public policy making and implementation process in a dynamic political system and the cycle that is involved in it. The diagram below will help explain it in a detailed manner:

Figure0.1:Eastonian System Approach



Adapted from Scott (2011)

Inputs are given by the society/environment to the policy makers as to what is needed to be done and that goes in to the 'black box' (as Easton calls it) where decision making process takes place and then evolves the output in the form of administrative decisions and policies to be implemented. These implementations are then analyzed by the society and environment, and then goes back as feedback inputs to the politicians/policy makers and that is taken into account, and then once it goes into the black box and decisions are taken as how to improve it or discard it as per the situation demands, then there is an output in the form of action. Again, the feedback keeps going in and so on and so forth.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were developed as a roadmap for developing countries in the international system. The achievement of the goals requires among other things the formulation and implementation of policies that can help achieve those goals in different developing political systems of the world. The systems theory is adopted as the framework for analysis in this study because it will help us understand the dynamics in the implementation of MDGs related policies and how it impacted on the achievement of the goals. It will answer questions such as; who were involved in the implementation of the MDGs related policies? Did those affected by the MDGs related policies involved in the implementation process and other aspects of the policy process? What effects did the internal and external environments have on the success or failure of the MDGs?

Arising from the postulation of the Systems theory, the United Nations Organization could be said to be a system while the 189 member states (including Nigeria) are the sub-system with Bayelsa and Delta states as component units of the sub-system Nigeria. To this end, the persistence of poverty, hunger, diseases and low level of development in Bayelsa and Delta states in particular and Nigeria in general will impinge negatively on the overall purpose of the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by the United Nations millennium summit in September 2000 on the problem of poverty and its attendant effects in the least developed countries (LDCs) of the world, which aims at improving socio-economic and human development and ensuring environmental sustainability and regeneration. Also, the interrelatedness of the MDGs in line with the dictates of the systems theory is noteworthy, that is, the MDGs are closely linked to one another. For instance, eradicating extreme poverty and hunger (Goal 1) is a necessary condition for achieving other goals. More so, poverty constraints interact with other factors; for example, the ability to invest in early childhood education (Goal 2) has an impact on age of entry into primary school and learning outcomes. In Nigeria, the decision to pay school fees is strongly influenced by gender. Girls schooling depends on family income to a greater extent than does boys. Again, an educated and informed society tends to minimize the level of poverty, diseases, maternal mortality and gender inequality among others. Furthermore, sustaining the environment (Goal 7) is fundamental to the overall development of any nation because it ensures that the resource endowment, such as forest, water, clean air, mineral resources etc. are efficiently managed to meet the needs of the present generation as

well as those of future generations. In other words, keeping the environment safe plays a vital role in boosting economic growth and reducing poverty. Therefore, if Bayelsa and Delta states in south-south Nigeria are aspiring to achieve other MDGs, environmental sustainability must be taken seriously. Similarly, progress towards the first seven goals (Goal 1 - 7) requires the advancement of Goal 8 on improved management of development assistance, increased openness and fairness in international trade, and new international financial architecture.

Discussion of Findings

The study revealed that several poverty reduction and empowerment programmes and initiatives have been carried out in South South Nigeria during the period of the Millenni. These poverty reduction strategies contributed to the reduction of extreme poverty in the state from 84.2% in 2004 to 63.6% in 2010 (MDGs Delta State Office, 2013). The Ministry of Poverty Alleviation has been on the fore front in this direction.

It graduated over 1,126 Deltans from its poverty alleviation programmes, which provided starter packs for beneficiaries. The Directorate of Youth Development is also training youths in acquiring skills to be self-employed. The Directorate of MDGs is complementing the poverty reduction initiatives through the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programme where 2,250 households are being empowered with a monthly stipend of N5, 000.00 and a starter pack of N100, 000.00 as capital to facilitate self-employment in Agribusiness. The objectives of the CCT are, first, to provide a safety net to increase and smooth the consumption of the poor and vulnerable and, second, to increase human capital investment of poor individuals or households. Also, in 2012 project circle of the Conditional Grant Scheme (CGS) to Local Government Track, N1, 500,000.00 was given to each of the six participating local government areas in the state.

This serves as a grant to three cooperatives involved in Agribusiness at a rate of N500, 000.00 per cooperative group. The net enrolment figures in Primary Education show considerable fluctuation between 1992 and 2007. Net enrolment ratio in primary schools increased from 73.4 % in 1992 to 82 percent in 1995. It declined sharply to 57.5% in 1998 and returned to the growth path thereafter, increasing to 81.9 % in 2004 and 85.6% in 2007. The steady rise in net enrolment after 1998 is attributable to the launch of the Universal Basic Education (UBE) throughout the country in 1999. Moreover, the free education policy of the state government increased the enrollment of pupils and students in both basic and secondary education. Net enrolment in primary schools and primary six completion rate was 70% and 68% respectively in 2008/2009 while 2012/2013 section shows 82.1% net enrolment and 89% primary six completion rate.

The Directorate of MDGs constructed several classroom blocks, procured and supplied

1699 benches and desks for pupils and teachers. It also provided 62 gender-friendly toilets, ring wells and solar-powered water schemes to local government areas in the state. Overall, success in this area has been bolstered by effective implementation of the National Policy on education by the state as well as the excellent results of the mentoring scheme.

Payment of examination fees for final year students and the robust scholarship scheme being implemented by the State Government also led to the positive outcome at the secondary level. As at year 2001, Delta State forest area had reduced to 28% from 60% in 1974. The mangrove forest reduced from 75% in 1974 to 48% in 2001. Coastal erosion, siltation and other factors combine to reduce the quality and mass of available land.

The greatest environmental hazard facing Delta State is dealing with the effects of the various oil exploration activities going on in the state. In terms of energy use, kerosene is the dominant source of energy with 60% of the population depends on it for cooking and lighting in 2008. This was followed by firewood 30%, charcoal 3% and gas 7%.

Available data also tends to confirm that provision of water in Delta State has not improved significantly since 1995. Indeed, access to safe water declined from 69.3% in 1999 to 65.6% in 2007 while sanitation coverage also worsened from 73% in 1995 to 71.3% in 1999 and 59.4% in 2007.

Information on urban and regional planning in Delta State shows that the proportion of people with access to secure tenure remained the same (28%) between 1995 and 2001. It reduced marginally to 26% in 2004 and increased again to 27.7% in 2007. Data on slum dwellers did not show any marked improvement. 29.6% of the population of the state lived in slums in 1995, 28% in 1998, 30.5% in 2001, 27.6% in 2004 and 27.7% in 2007.

However, the proportion of the population with access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation has improved significantly. Over 108 water schemes have been constructed by the directorate of MDGs. Furthermore, 80 Gender separated squat flush toilets were constructed in schools and public places.

These efforts are geared towards improving sanitation (MDGs Delta State Office, 2013). Table 4.2, shows details of intervention/ investment in the state and local government tracks projects in the six local government areas under study. Independent Confirmation: Projects documented to have been duly completed or on-going by the Directorate of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the six local government areas of Delta State under study were also visited by the researcher.

From the MDGs projects locations visited in Ethiopia East LGA, the constructions of Solar Powered Borehole at Okpara Inland (Ejaife primary school) was completed as reported but it was no longer functioning at the time of visit. Also, the construction of Medical Staff Quarters/ Maternity Ward and Squat Flush Toilet at Okpara Inland PHC were completed and put to use.

In Abraka the three Solar Powered Boreholes (Abraka 1, 2 and 3), and Maternity Ward at (PO) Health Clinic were completed as documented and they were all functioning. The Solar Powered Borehole and Squat Flush Toilet at Isiokolo PHC/ primary school were completed and functioning, while the Solar Powered Borehole reported to be at Isiokolo (PHC) was not seen at the location.

In Isoko South LGA, the construction of Solar Powered Borehole and Squat Flush Toilet were completed and functioning in Olomoro PHC and Uzere primary school, while the Solar Powered Borehole at Uzere market and Otobiore Street Uzere was ongoing. Renovation of 6 classrooms block at Igbiide primary school, renovation of 4 classrooms block at Olomoro primary school, renovation of 5 classrooms block at Emede (Urie primary school), and construction of a block of 3 classrooms at Abriku primary school, Ada Irri were all completed and put to use, while the procurement/supply of desk/ benches at Igbiide primary school are ongoing as documented.

The construction of Solar Powered Borehole and Squat Flush Toilet at Emu-Anioma primary school, construction of Solar Powered Borehole and Squat Flush Toilet at Emu-Iyasere primary school and construction of Solar Powered Borehole in Ashaka (PHC) were completed as reported and have been put to use in Ndokwa West LGA In Ughelli South LGA, the perimeter block wall fence with security post constructed at the Eyara PHC was completed and has been put to use by the staffers of the health centre.

At Otu-Jeremi, the Solar Powered Borehole constructed at the market was completed and already been put to use but the taps head have all gone bad making the villagers to fetch water from a direct pipe connected to the tank. The Solar Powered Borehole at Otu-Jeremi model secondary school was not completed as reported and has been overtaken by overgrown grasses, while that of Otu-Jeremi Motor park was completed and put to use but all the taps head were all damaged at the time of visit and as such, it is no longer in use.

Block of 3 classrooms at Oguname primary school has been completed but has not been put to use, while the Squat Flush Toilet at Okpe-Olomu primary school was completed but has not been put to use and it has been overtaken by overgrown grasses. In Akperhe-Olomu community, a block of 3 classrooms constructed at the junior secondary school was dully completed as documented but has not been put to use.

The medical staff quarters and the maternity ward project at Usiefrun PHC have been completed and also put to use by the medical staff, and patients were seen been attended to at the time of visit. The Medical Staff Quarters project at Ekrokpe PHC has not been completed as documented and has been overtaken by overgrown grasses, while in Gbaregolor and Olota communities, a block of 3 classrooms each constructed were all completed as reported but yet to be put to use.

In Ukwuani LGA, the construction of Solar Powered Borehole in Akoku (PHC) was completed and functioning, but there was no Squat Flush Toilet at Akoku (market) which was stated completed in the report. The construction of Solar Powered Borehole (PHC) and Squat Flush Toilet (primary school) in Umukwata were completed and functioning, while the construction of Medical Staff Quarters in Umukwata (PHC), which was not mentioned in the report, was completed but not yet put to use.

The construction of Solar Powered Borehole in Obiaruku was completed and functioning. Construction of 4 units of Gender friendly Squat Flush Toilet and a block of 3 classrooms in Obi-Ukwole primary school were completed and functioning. Same applied to the construction of Medical Staff Quarters at Umutu PHC.

In Warri South West LGA, the Squat Flush Toilet constructed behind a 6 classrooms block within the Emein Primary School Ogbe-Ijoh premises have been completed but not yet put to use, while the protected concrete ring well to support the squat flush toilet and Solar Borehole project built at the same location have been completed and put to use. The Perimeter Fence Project at the Primary Health Centre and Staff Quarters was not completed as documented.

It is interesting to note that the uncompleted staff quarter is now being used as part of Ogbe-Ijoh police station. At Isaba community, the Squat Flush Toilet project at the primary school have been completed but not yet put to use. It was covered by overgrown grasses, and same applied to the protected concrete ring well-constructed to support its usage and the Medical Staff Quarters project.

Also, the Solar Powered Project at Isaba had been completed but no longer in use. Taps head no longer exist as it has almost been covered by overgrown grasses. This may be as a result of the fact that the health centre is not in use. As at the time of visit, the main health centre was being used as residential apartment by some villagers.

Also, respondents strongly affirmed that the inability of the government on attainment of universal primary education in both states is not because of policy making challenges but implementation problems due to inadequate resources (70.8%) and the failure of policy makers to consult people at the grass roots is responsible for the inability of

government on attainment of universal primary education in these states (76.2%).

It was generally agreed upon that the non-attainment of universal primary education in Bayelsa and Delta States is not influenced by policy making but the problems of corruption during implementation (89%) and the lack of political will on the part of policy makers is responsible for the challenges associated with the non-attainment of universal primary education in both states (77.8%).

Summarily, the non-attainment of the sustained progress in Universal Primary Education in Bayelsa and Delta States is majorly caused by poor and ineffective implementation of MDGs policies for Universal Primary Education. . Table 4.6 shows responses from respondent on MDGs policies implementation and improvement of environmental sustainability in Bayelsa and Delta States.

There was a wide agreement to the fact that poor policy implementation occasioned by corruption largely contributes to the non-realization of environmental sustainability in Bayelsa and Delta States (92.7%) and that the inability of the government to realize environmental sustainability in both states is not because of policy making challenges but implementation problems (88.4%).

It was also agree that the failure of policy makers to consult people at the grass roots is responsible for the inability of government to realize environmental sustainability in these states (74.7%). About 62.4% of the respondents agree that the non-realization of environmental sustainability in Bayelsa and Delta States is not as a result of policies made but implementation problems due to inadequate resources while 65.7% of the respondents also agree that, lack of political will on the part of policy makers is responsible for the challenges associated with the realization of environmental sustainability in both states.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study revealed that poor policy implementation occasioned by corruption which largely contributes to the non-realization of environmental sustainability in the state has a significant relationship with the implementation process. Also, the failure of policy makers to consult with grass root people, inadequacy of resources and lack of political will hindered the realization of environmental sustainability in Bayelsa State. The findings conformed to The News (2009) assertion that, although the activities of crude oil prospecting, extraction and refining affect the health of the people in the rural areas, health facilities and personnel are concentrated in the cities and the quality of health care delivery is poor because of inadequate facilities and personnel. Responses from the interviewees revealed that the non-realization of environmental sustainability in Bayelsa and Delta State is majorly caused by the activities of the oil companies, government

irresponsibility and inadequate constitutional laws to protect the environment causes the non-realization. Also, lack of substantial manpower and resources, corrupt practices and the lack of appropriate policy to protect the environment, inadequacy of resources affect government efforts towards the realization of environmental sustainability and even when there are enough resources to protect the environment, the managerial process is usually faulty.

Some respondents claimed that where there is resources, the practice of corruption and other mal-functional act of not making these project implemented will be the order of the day. The above assertion of corrupt practices is a pointer to the fact that, during the visit of the researcher to projects locations in Bayelsa and Delta States respectively, it was observed that some of the project claimed to have being dully completed by the Directorates of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) especially in Bayelsa State are quite misleading. While some projects are yet to be completed, several others were actually abandoned.

However, the MDGs Directorates were able to complete some of the said projects in both states and they are been utilized by the people in the various communities therein. The findings of the United Nations (2005) study of the implementation of the MDGs in Africa also support this study. The study shows that national leaders do not take development issues seriously, allocate resources appropriately, and make sure that programmes reach the people intended. The study also opined that poor governance and corruption really hamper development and growth.

Additionally, the study indicates that the exclusion of the people and communities from the development process also hampers development. Another United Nations (2008) study shows that the challenge of meeting the eight MDGs in African countries is compounded by the grave long-term risk that climate change poses.

Improper implementations of policies were attributed to issues such as corruption, inadequate funding, violent conflicts, lack of ineffective community participation and poor political leadership among others. As a result of the findings, the study concluded that, poor and ineffective policy implementation of the MDGs in Bayelsa and Delta States encourages; the persistence of poverty and hunger, non-achievement of universal primary education, and non-attainment of improved environment and its sustainability in both states.

The above conclusion conformed to Honadle (1979) when he tried to identify the problem associated with policy implementation as that of social carpenters and masons who fail to build to specifications and thus distort the beautiful blue print. Government at every level - federal, state and local must step-up their reform efforts towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Although Nigeria has developed pioneering schemes to reach development targets; the tagging and tracking of funds allocated to poverty reduction from debt relief, compulsory free basic education, conditional cash transfers to the vulnerable for social protection, and federal grants to support investment by state and local governments requires more attention. The economic growth needs to be more equitable and broad-based.

Developing agriculture and creating jobs will require the public sector to create an enabling environment for business, including building critical infrastructure, making regulatory services transparent, and providing sustainable access to finance enterprise. More so, Nigeria is a country blessed with abundant human and natural resources, there is the need to use these resources judiciously and to make adequate planning for short, medium and long term achievement of goals based on the resources.

If these resources are well managed and yield capital returns, Nigeria should invest on huge transformation to refurbish, rehabilitate and restructure the infrastructural facilities, especially the energy and agricultural sectors in the country. Therefore, providing an enabling environment that will capture potential and virile expatriate to come and invest especially in Bayelsa and Delta States in South- South Nigeria should be sacrosanct.

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