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Contents

Introduction

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The desire for the advancement of human rights, the creation of world peace and the need for safety and security within and across national borders has, in the past five decades, increased the need for international cooperation. This is evidenced by the creation of supranational and regional bodies with political and economic interests. The United Nations, the African Union, the Southern African Development Community and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) are cases in point. While countries generally maintain their sovereignty, most of their legislations and domestic policies experience a degree of international influence. In other words, the traditional approach of sovereignty that posits its values on territorial integrity, is being, in the main, gradually replaced by the need for countries to develop the capacity to act and win acceptance from the regional or international bodies. One can argue, however, that the acceptance of sovereign states by the fraternity of regional and national bodies is very much a reflection of the acceptance of these states by their own citizenry. Put differently, states that are not accepted as promoting human rights and good governance at home are unlikely to receive favourable acceptance on the international scene. It is thus vital for countries to strike a balance and work in close cooperation with their citizenry while advancing close cooperation with international structures.

This edition of the *African Journal of Governance and Development* explores this balance. In the opening article, **Friday Aworaro** discusses the relevance of the regional integration of the African countries and argues, "Regional integration in Africa has been identified as an important strategy for the acceleration of development on the continent." Aworaro notes however, that in some cases, the relevance of these regional bodies is questionable. Some regional bodies have been criticised for their inability to foster regional integration and fast-track development as expected. "It is against this background that the article examines the interlocking nexus between regional integration and development in Africa, and maintains that Africans need to adjust their orientation as well as take a major shift towards economic complementarity among member states of integration blocs for the actualisation of laudable development."

While development can be viewed from a regional or international perspective, the need to filter development policy in partnership with local communities remains relevant. The article by **Thomas Buabeng** brings forth the prominence of the public, private partnerships (PPP) and highlights the advantage of engaging the private sector in advancing local development. In his study, Thomas Buabeng observes that PPP has been applied in the provision of different local government services in the two districts of (Ga West Municipal Assembly and Adentan Municipal Assembly). The use of PPPs has chalked up some form of benefits amidst major structural and institutional challenges. The study concludes that the use of PPP has good prospects of enhancing the provision of local government services.... It should be noted, nonetheless, that quality provision

of local government services is also dependent on the existence of other elements such as financial and quality human resources. In this regard, the existence of quality leadership is crucial.

In his article, **Benjamin Adeniran Aluko** discusses the value of "bridging social capital and the imperative of leadership development in Nigeria." Aluko shows how leadership in Nigeria is formed and how it leans on social capital as a resource that influences polity in Nigeria. This article centres its main argument on showing that "there is a nexus between the nature and character of leadership and the stock and genre of social capital in a polity." Aluko's article recognises the existence of social, ethnical and political rifts in the African continent generally and, in particular, in Nigerian society. In this regard, he argues that the ability to leverage this social capital will determine the leadership's success or failure with the polity and, in turn, with the country's policies themselves. Aluko concluded that an adherence to the idea of servant leadership would substantially increase the stock of bridging social capital in Nigeria and radically curb the spate of identity-related conflicts ravaging the nation.

Elijah Babasola Afolabi Agbaje shares this view, in his article entitled 'Theoretical appraisal of multimodal federalism as a framework of governance and the prospect of sustainable development in Nigeria.' Although Agbaje does not necessarily argue on social capital, the discussion of 'uncertain federalism' in Nigeria amounts to the issues of leadership and how it can bridge social cohesion and development within the context of a federal state. Using a comparative approach, this study posits the need for Nigeria to be innovative if it is to move into higher levels of statehood and accelerated development. Thus "as a developing contentious multimodal federation, the leadership class has the arduous task of redefining the process of engagement and reconstruction in order to achieve much needed national consensus towards the attainment of equitable structures and accelerated national development."

A highlight of this issue of the *African Journal of Governance and Development* is that all articles, with the exception of one, are a synopsis of the Nigerian political economy. This deliberate grouping of the articles has been made in order to give the reader a glimpse of various studies on Nigeria by different authors with a similar theme that relates to governance and development. The final article of this issue discusses Nigerian political parties and internal democracy, authored by **Dorcas Akhere Odigwe**, and consolidates the debate developed thus far. Odigwe highlights the functionality and relevance of the political parties from the first republic to the fourth. Odigwe laments that the lack of internal democracy in the Nigerian political parties diverts from the core values of democracy, resulting in 'conflicts of interest and rebelling within political parties.' To curb this, the author offers some interesting suggestions to ponder in our pursuit of human rights and world peace. Enjoy the read!

Regional integration and development in Africa: Between the present realities and overcoming future challenges

FRIDAY AWORARO

Abstract

Since independence in the late 50s and early 60s, regional integration in Africa has been identified as an important strategy for the acceleration of development in the continent. The reality of the post-Cold War international economic world order also stimulates the intensification and fine-tuning of existing regional arrangements leading to the establishment of a supra-national organisation and capacity building institutions to address the problems of underdevelopment in Africa. As a consequence, integration groupings have been reorganised and created but their achievements have largely been modest due to an inappropriate integration approach. It is against this background that this article examines the interlocking nexus between regional integration and development in Africa, and maintains that Africans need to adjust their orientation as well as take a major shift towards economic complementarity among member states of integration blocs for the actualisation of laudable development. It concludes that inward looking and the involvement of all Africans in regional integration processes would be the best approach for regional integration to foster development.

Keywords: Integration, regional organisation, development, growth, Africa.

Sumário

Desde a independência no final dos anos 50 e início dos 60, a integração regional em África tem sido identificada como uma estratégia importante para acelerar o desenvolvimento do continente. A realidade da ordem mundial econômica internacional pós-Guerra Fria também estimula a intensificação e aperfeiçoamento dos acordos regionais existentes, levando ao estabelecimento de organizações supranacional e instituições de capacitação para enfrentar os problemas do subdesenvolvimento em África. Consequentemente, blocos regionais foram reorganizados e criados, mas as suas realizações foram em grande medida modestas devido a uma abordagem de integração inadequada. É neste contexto que este artigo examina o nexo de interligação entre integração regional e desenvolvimento em África e afirma que os africanos precisam de ajustar sua orientação, bem como tomar uma grande mudança em direção à complementaridade econômica entre os estados membros dos blocos de integração para a realização de planos desenvolvimentos, plausíveis. Conclui que o olhar para dentro e o envolvimento de todos os africanos nos processos de integração regional seria a melhor abordagem para a integração regional para promover o desenvolvimento.

Palavras-chave: integração, organização regional, desenvolvimento, crescimento, Africa.

Introduction

Since independence, states in Africa have been involved in regional integration as a strategy for solving their development challenges. This is because regional integration has been identified as a pivotal factor in the promotion of economic development. As a result, regional integration arrangements have been established in the last forty years to promote regional cooperation accompanied by continental development. Accordingly, a series of integration initiatives aimed at addressing developmental problems in the continent has accounted for the proliferation of regional organisations. And against the background of Africa's economic recession in the late 1960s, regional integration was conceived as an inevitable mechanism toward economic recovery. Some of the regional integration organisations formed to enhance Africa's development, but not limited to the following, include: the East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the African Union (AU), just to mention but a few.

In fact, before independence in the 60s, the desire for integration was a prominent discourse among political leaders in Africa. As it should be recalled among the pioneering moves, the Nkrumah-led All African People Conference in 1958, canvassed for a continental integration as a strategy to solve the numerous challenges bedeviling Africa at the dawn of political independence (Osuntokun, 2006 pp. 108-121, Agubuzu, 2004, pp. 19-21). During the same year, the United Nations' Economic and Social Council on 29 April 1958 with Resolution 671A (xxv) established the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (Adeogun, 2013). Among other things, the ECA was saddled with the responsibility of promoting Africa's economic development through integration. Therefore, integration was pinpointed as a viable framework that would bring numerous benefits to Africa as well as enabling the continent to overcome the heterogeneous division, to which Africa had been divided. Thus, the defunct Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) – now African Union (AU) – which emerged in May 1963 as a compromise in this direction was established shortly after the debate between the Monrovia and the Casablanca blocs over which most Africans political leaders were divided in the early 60s (Falola, 1991).

Indeed, the continental body emerged with a caveat that regional economic bodies would serve as forerunners to continental integration and development. It was against this backdrop as well as the post-Cold War international economic order that the emergence of large trading blocs such as the European Union, the North America Free Trade Area, the Association of South-East Asian Nations, just to mention a few, were created (Okonkwo, 2006 pp. 162-63). This development made it pertinent for African states to form similar regional bodies that would give them clout with other trading blocs in the international system and help them to overcome developmental problems.

The realisation of the above, therefore, necessitated the emergence of not less than two regional organisations in West Africa, southern Africa, East Africa and the North Africa subregions of the continent. The details of all these are discussed shortly after the analysis of the theoretical framework of the paper.

Theoretical framework

There are many theories and perspectives on regional economic cooperation and integration. Some of these theoretical approaches include functionalism, neo-functionalism, federalism, and pluralism, to mention a few. Most of these theories provide us with interesting debates and an understanding of what is thought to be the best way of organising integration blocs in such a way as to ensure their effectiveness and endurance. This is because the history of evolution and formation of integration bodies or international organisations is full of ups and downs. As a result, many ideas began to emerge on the best way to organise regional arrangements in such a way to guarantee their efficacy. Two of the earliest well-articulated ideas on the best way to effectively carry out integration and economic cooperation since the end of the Second World War have revolved around functionalism and neo-functionalism theories of integration. This paper is encapsulated in functionalism and neo-functionalism theories because the vast majority of regional integration efforts since the 50s have been based on functionalist ideas and some of them have recorded tremendous success. The most outstanding example is the European Union, which since 1957 has gradually transformed the continent from a Europe of states to a state of Europe.

David Mitrany (1943) first developed functionalism theory and perhaps was the most influential proponent of the perspective. In his book, A Working Peace System and other additional works, Mitrany opined that the greatest impediment to integration is the unwillingness of countries to surrender their sovereignty to a supra-national body. Mitrany also contends that while technology is making the world smaller and drawing people nearer, politics has persisted in fanning the ember of division among nations (Ogbeidi, 2003 pp. 372-75).

According to Mitrany, therefore, high politics has hindered efforts to establish an integration body whose decision would outweigh and be binding on member states. To overcome these challenges, Mitrany submits that integration arrangements should begin with incorporation on social, culture, economic, sport, trade, commerce and scientific exchanges. The arrangement should be global, not regional. And if all the member states benefit from cooperation and integration on these issues without any major loss by any one of them, then member states would enthusiastically support the integration arrangement. And when disagreement ensued in one issue, attention should be diverted to another issue.

Mitrany's perspective on regional integration through international organisation was taken to a higher level of refinement by integrationist scholars such as Ernest Haas, Phillip Schmitter (1970) and Joseph Nye (1968, pp. 370-84) their perspective came to be called, neo-functionalism. As already noted, the neo-functionalism theory is an improved version of functionalism. Thus, the principles of both theories are essentially the same in many respects, though markedly different in their conclusions. First, neo-functionalism emanated from a critique and an attempted fine-tuning of functionalism. Second, the progress recorded by the European Union has served as an impetus for much interest in the approach. In addition, the neo-functionalists supported the original functionalists' argument that integration should begin with social, cultural, economic, trade and commerce aspects.

The neo-functionalists also provide us with different variables, which integration bodies must consider to be successful. These include: the background condition of the integration countries, the prevailing environment after an integration arrangement, and the general development as integration arrangements flourish. The last variable was the mechanism for conflict resolution within the integration arrangement. Thus, the main difference between functionalism and neo-functionalism is that while the former lays more emphasis on global integration process, the latter emphasises regional rather than global integration. Some scholars have criticised both functionalism and neo-functionalism theories. For example, J.S. Nye (1957) contends that there is the need for integration to be broken down into economic, political and legal components, which in turn can be divided into subtypes, each of which could be measured. Akinboye and Ottoh (2009) also argued that the variables are not arranged in any order of importance, giving the impression that they are all of equal importance. Also related to the above is that both theories are based on a European setting, which may not be suitable for Africa.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned, however, functionalism and neo-functional have influenced economic integration arrangements in the world since the end of World War II. Of course, the most prominent and successful integration body is the European Union, which has ensured the transformation from the Europe of states to the state of Europe. On the whole, both theories helped in analysing the functioning of regional integration arrangement in Africa, particularly on issues of cooperation and the unwillingness of states in Africa to voluntarily give their powers to regional groupings.

Regional integration and Africa's development

Like most concept in the humanities, social and management sciences, regional integration does not enjoy a universally acceptable definition as many scholars, experts and generalists have defined the concept based on their intellectual orientations. Kehinde (2014, pp. 54-81) for example, defined regional integration as a global phenomenon of territorial groupings, which aimed at increasing interactions among component states as well as creating new forms of organisation that coexists with traditional forms of state-led institution at the national level.

It may equally be defined as a process, in which states enter into a regional agreement in order to enhance regional cooperation through regional organisations and rules (Aworawo, 2006, pp. 23-52). For Asante (2010), it is an association of states based upon location in a given geographical area for the safeguarding or promotion of the participant's interests by a treaty or other arrangement. It is also considered as a process by which states within a particular region increase their interaction with regard to economic, social, cultural, political and security issues (Ginkel, 2010, p. 86). According to Karl Deutsch (1989, pp. 270-80) a strong regional integration advocate, regional integration refers to cooperation among political entities leading to the formation of a new centre and the creation of a sense of identity and integrated community. While to Ernest Haas (1968), regional integration is a tendency towards the voluntary creation of larger political units, each of which self-consciously eschews the use of force in the relation between the participating units.

A dispassionate appraisal of the above definitions reveals that regional integration involves turning previous units into a component of a coherent system, which would produce system properties that they separately lacked. It could also be argued that regional integration is a process by which involved states begin to voluntarily give up certain sovereign powers and evolve new strategies for addressing common challenges.

Notwithstanding the differences in definition on what regional integration is expected to address, the interests of states involved in such arrangements are the primary concern of any regional grouping. In specific terms, however, scholars have identified the following functions for any integration framework to fulfill. These include:

- The enabling of countries to enjoy economy of large scale by the pooling together of resources;
- The strengthening of regions' interaction with other regions of the world;
- The strengthening of trade integration in the region of operation;
- Contribution towards peace, conflict resolution and security in the region;
- The creation of an appropriate enabling environment for private sector development;
- The development of infrastructure programmes in support of economic growth and regional integration;
- The development of strong public sector institutions and good governance;
- The reduction of social exclusion and the development of an inclusive civil society;
- The building of environment programmes at the regional level; and
- Regional integration turns separate political units into a coherent system (de Lombaerde and Van, 2007, pp. 377-83).

As noted above, regional integration arrangements are therefore to promote socio-political and economic cooperation and development among participating members. And in view of the development dichotomy between the developed and the developing countries of the world, regional integration is a necessity for the promotion of intra-trade relations in Africa in order to reduce balance trade deficit, which currently exists between many African states and the advanced economies of the world.

The functioning of regional groupings and Africa's development since the 1960s. Since independence in the 60s, and particularly after the formation of the defunct OAU (now AU) as a compromise to move Africa forward, regional integration or sub-regional arrangement has been seen, in many respects, as agents for continental development. As a result, numerous sub-regional organisations were established to foster integration and enhance development in Africa. Accordingly, many regional integration frameworks had been created in Africa to achieve economic emancipation and to address African underdevelopment challenges. Consequently, sub-regional organisations have proliferated in all the regions or sub-region of Africa.

There are over 16 sub-regional groupings in Africa, with at least two in each sub-region of the continent. In North Africa is the Union of Arab Megrebian Union (UMA), which was established in 1965, and consists of Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia (Aworawo, 2012, pp. 515-16). The

region also hosts the Community of Sahel-Sahara States (CENSAD). The southern Africa region hosts several integration blocs or groups such as the Rand Monetary Area, founded in 1974, the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), created in 1980, as well as the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) in 2000. Other regional groups to be found in the region include: the Indian Ocean Commission (IOC), the Southern African Custom Union (SACU) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) (SADC, 2015).

Like other parts of Africa, the lure for regional integration as a mechanism to foster development equally necessitated the creation of regional grouping in West Africa. Some of the regional frameworks to be found in the region are: the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), founded in 1975, and the Mano River Union (MRU), created in 1974 (Adejo, 2010, pp. 58-60).

Successful efforts have also been made in the quest for regional integration in Central Africa. The Economic Community of Central African states was formed in 1983 by the same countries that made up the Customs and Economic Union of Central African States. In fact, the Economic Community of the Great Lakes was founded in 1976 by what are today the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Angola. The East Africa sub-region also hosts the East African community, established in 1967 (Bolariwa, 2014). It should be noted that the East African Community is the reappeared East African Common Market (EACM).

Arising from the above, one can say that there are numerous regional integration groupings all over Africa created for the promotion of economic integration, intra and inter-trade relations as well as mechanisms for accelerating Africa's development.

Almost all the sub-regional organisations are formed to promote economic, social, political and cultural cooperation as well as to address issues of security and integration of member states. All these regional groupings equally have the goals of raising the living standard of the people, maintain economic stability and foster peaceful relations among member states with the hope of contributing to the progress of development of Africa.

Indeed, all of these aims and objectives emphasised a reasonable degree of hope to accelerate the process leading to Africa's development. In the political sphere, the regional arrangements are charged with the responsibility to give African states an influence among the committee of nations and oneness in relation to other trading blocs in the world. These regional integration groupings are also expected to promote unrestricted inter-state or member state relations and the free movement of goods and services between member states.

An assessment of the general aims and specific objectives of the various regional groupings at different sub-regions of Africa demonstrates the similarities and overlaps objectives of integration bodies in the continent. For example, ECOWAS' aims of fostering development across West Africa are not markedly different from those of the SADC, just as the EAC equally emphasises the promotion of regional trade and unrestricted movement of peoples, goods and services as part of its specific objectives. To this end, therefore, the next section of this paper examines the extent to which these sub-region groupings have contributed to Africa's development against the backdrop of their attractive objectives.

Performances of regional groupings and Africa's development

The proliferation of regional integration groupings in Africa demonstrates the willingness of each of the continent's regions to promote economic cooperation and development among African states.

However, despite the numerous initiatives formed to address developmental challenges in the continent, Africa is still characterised as one of the most underdeveloped continents on earth. Indeed, a combination of factors such as the lack of real intra-trade interactions, poor infrastructure, restricted free movement of people as well as poor road networks, have been identified as fundamental to the slow or modest progress recorded by the regional organisations in Africa. Thus, the high hopes that necessitated a series of integration initiatives have not helped the continent to overcome its division and underdevelopment.

For example, despite the formation of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) for the Economic Development of Africa coupled with the transformation of the Organization of Africa Unity into the African Union, Africa is still experiencing economic challenges because regional groupings have not adequately addressed crucial elements for African development, such as building the capacity of domestic institutions, autonomy, corruption and clientism (Bolariwa, 2014). As pointed out by Akinyeye (2008, pp. 190-96), Africa's share of world trade remains low.[20] It oscillates between 3 and 4 percent in successive years at the end of 2015 (UNCTAD). Although, the continent's population as at the end of 2015 is over 1.1 billion was about 16 percent of the total world population; the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Africa is the lowest in the world. In fact, the GDP of Africa with an estimated population of over one billion people is just little above that of Spain, a single country in Europe with an estimated population of about forty six million, 200 million people (UNDESA, 2015)).

Thus, the continental bodies have not been able to realise their desired objectives and functions. In fact, the African Union is only a union by name and wish as instability is still a major development on the Continent. This is because in spite of the establishment of multiple supra national bodies, organs and commission by the Union, Africa is still in a situation characteristic of the early 19th century Europe's unending conflict.

What about regional or sub-regional groupings across the continent? The newly disappeared and reappeared East African Community (EAC) was originally formed as a three-nation's integration bloc between Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. But by 1999, after constructive debate, Burundi and Rwanda were admitted into the community in 2007. Indeed, the EAC has undergone some fundamental improvements in social economic and political areas of cooperation. And as observed by Kehinde (2014), the total intra EAC trade and the organisation's trade with the rest of the world have increased between 20 to 30% annually. There appears to be renewed commitment and optimism among the leaders of the regional groupings.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned progress by the EAC, the arrangement is still confronted with a number of challenges. For example, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have dominated the affairs of the EAC. And because this pattern of influence continued unabated, the attaining of a

federation system aimed at the end of 2015 is now a joke because 2015 has come and gone without the federation system. As Mills (1957) has warned, for any society to operate a federal system, no single component unit should be large enough to dictate the tone and theme of that federation. By implication, there must be equilibrium in the distribution of power in order to avoid a tyrannical in intra-governmental cooperation.

Closely related to the above is the uneasy fear and concern that the commitment of President Yoweri Musereni of Uganda, who has been the major proponent for the realisation of the federation system, is purely motivated by his desire to become the president of the expected federal system. And if these suspicions are not well managed, the EAC may experience a similar scenario that bedevilled its predecessor, the EACM.

In West Africa, the sub-regional organisation ECOWAS has also struggled to fulfill its objectives of transforming the region. There is no doubt that the regional grouping has in many respects contributed toward the political stability of Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea Bissau through military and diplomatic interventions. The organisation has also succeeded in promoting free movement of people, goods and services between member states through the ECOWAS passport. However, a major challenge to regional integration accompanied by development is the large disparity in the economics of member states. Indeed, besides Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana, the remaining thirteen countries of ECOWAS have too weak an industrial and general economic base to benefit from an expanded market.

Intra-regional trade in ECOWAS is also worrisome. Recent findings from the World Bank, IMF and evidences within reveal that about 91% of the total reported exports from ECOWAS go to destinations outside the sub-region, while only about 9% stay within. The major exporters of ECOWAS are Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire. These two ECOWAS member states account for 70% of the region trade to the outside world. Although Nigeria is the most dominant economy in the sub-region, only 5% of its exports go to ECOWAS (Nwokoma, 2009, pp. 225-38). Intra-regional trade that was expected to foster development is between 5-9 percent. Ghana comes a distant third, with major exports only to Nigeria. Thus, apart from recorded trade involving these three countries and other undocumented trade in the sub region, the environment is not conducive and vibrant intra ECOWAS trade is yet to be put in place despite all the various protocols of ECOWAS.

The implication of this is that many member states of ECOWAS are not actively involved intra-sub-regional trade. A major result of this is that after a period of 40 years, the objectives of ECOWAS largely remained unachieved. In many respects, ECOWAS has been more successful in conflict resolution than regional economic integration, as a substantial part of its existence has been spent in the resolution of conflict in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire.

Like other regions in Africa, SADC spearheads regional integration in southern Africa. The aims of the organisation include promoting the collective interest and interdependence of member states, improving the living standard of the people, to mention a few. SADC enjoyed a major boost shortly after South Africa joined the organisation in 1994. As a way of demonstrating and providing leadership, South Africa promised to reduce customs barriers and the free movement of

people, goods and services. By 2000, SADC also started the implementation of the 'Protocol on Trade' to increase intra-trade without much impediment.

However, not much has been recorded in the intra-trade issues, which is the panacea for development. Intra-trade in SADC is placed at 13.5% and 14.3% respectively. Even under this modest success in intra-trade, South Africa's contribution is about 8%, leaving the remaining member states with 5% of the intra-trade (Lipede, 2008, pp186-99). Despite considerable gains in health sciences, the region has the highest rates of people with HIV/Aids.

COMESA, which is the largest single sub-regional body in Africa, had also been dominated by the biggest economies. Intra-trade analysis between 1985 and 1993 reveals that COMESA export trade totaled $460.31 million, rising to $757.4 million in 1991. During this period, Kenya alone accounted for $213.15 million of exports in 1991 (News African Magazine, 2014). Zimbabwe's share for the same period was $212.90 million. The imports of both countries for the same period stood at $66.57 million for Kenya, while Zimbabwe had $50.76 million. Burundi's exports were 6.66 million and imported goods worth $35.94 million from COMESA. As at 2014, South Africa's exports in COMESA stood at $380.77 million and just $0.66 million worth of goods were imported from the bloc. These examples are the microcosm of regional groupings in Africa. Furthermore, the local hegemon, South Africa, still classifies some countries' COMESA nationalists as illegal and are prevented from entering the country.

Other problems, which have served as obstacles to regional groupings to foster development in Africa include inadequate infrastructure, undemocratic regimes, multiplicity of membership of regional groupings, to mention a few. In fact, the infrastructural supports for regional integration in different regions in Africa are grossly inadequate and lack the capacity to promote intra-trade. For example, as a result of inadequate transportation systems, the cost of moving a vehicle from the port in Mombasa in Tanzania to Kigali in Rwanda is twice the cost of shipping a car from Malaysia and Singapore. It is also easier to connect Accra-Ghana and London or Abidjan and Paris by air than it is to connect, say Accra with neighbouring Abidjan (Kehinde, 2014). Thus, inadequate infrastructure has accounted for a disjointed transfer network.

Political instability is also a common development as many countries of various regions continue to grapple with basic issues of democracy. ECOWAS has devoted most of its resources to conflict resolution by intervening in Liberia, Sierra Leone and most recently in Cote d'Ivoire instead of focusing on its primary objectives of economic integration. Kenya exploded in 2008 with many extra-judicial killings. In Uganda, the last election in 2011 was mired by rigging, owing to logistical problems, and the recently concluded presidential elections in July 2015 in Burundi has been described as one of the worst elections in Africa. Zimbabwe is also a source of political instability to member states of the SADC.

Overlapping membership within sub-regional groupings has become diversionary and wasteful of resources. In some instances, it breeds unnecessary antagonism. The UEMOA remains in an unending rivalry with ECOWAS in West Africa. The fear of Nigeria's hegemonic influence caused France to prop up UEMOA to counterbalance Nigeria.

Many African countries' economies are still structured along the monoculture colonial pattern. Nigeria, Libya, Angola, just to mention a few, depend largely on the exportation of crude oil. Yet, a country like Nigeria, which is a major exporter of crude oil, does not have enough refineries to guarantee domestic consumption. Thus, most countries in the continent produce raw materials for which they do not have industrial capacity to convert to finish goods for export. Hence, they depend on their formal colonial masters, who often exploit and dictate the price of such commodities. The development has, over the years, contributed to the subjection of African economies to external fluctuations.

Conclusion and recommendations

This paper has attempted to map the trajectory of regional integration and Africa's development. Indeed, a combination of things can be done to undo the challenges of regional integration in Africa. One area we can change in order to promote regional integration is to fine-tune our orientation; particularly, political leaders and statesmen should see sub-regional groupings as a veritable framework for economic transformation. And yet another is that regional groupings must look inward for economic complementarity in Africa. This requires the diversification of African economies so as to move away from the mono-cultural colonial pattern. By so doing, states will produce goods and services needed by their immediate neighbours. A situation whereby all countries within regional groupings produce the same raw materials and goods cannot encourage intra-regional trade needed for development.

To reward weak economics and small states in regional blocs, a fixed profit sharing strategy should also be put in place, especially on custom tariffs so that smaller economics can benefit maximally.

The involvement of the general public in regional integration participation will also help and there is a need to de-emphasise the overlapping membership of regional organisations, which has, in many instances, served as a major impediment to cooperation and, in some instances, created more divisions than solutions in Africa.

Democratisation and the deepening of the democratic process and culture will help to avoid unending political instability, which has become a major hallmark of different regions of the continent. This is critical because, for regional groupings to foster development, individual states must democratise and promote democratic ideals, which will serve as a solid foundation for African states to achieve their desired objectives on African integration combined with development. This will also make it possible for individual states in regional groupings to begin to surrender part of their political sovereignty to the supra-national body, whose decisions are greater than each member state. There must also be a deliberate effort among member states of regional blocs to end all intra and inter-state conflicts, which often retard economic integration.

On the whole, there is no doubt that regional integration is desirable and necessary, coupled with the fact that globalisation has stimulated regional groupings such that a third of the world's trade presently takes place within regional organisations dedicated to economic cooperation

and integration. African states would benefit from regional integration through looking inward and shifting toward economic complementarity among member states within regional blocs, de-emphasising total dependence on the export of primary goods, and establishing the essential political will to accelerate development.

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Implementation of a public-private partnership in local government in Ghana: A study of Ga West and Adentan municipal assemblies in the Greater Accra region

THOMAS BUABENG

Abstract

This paper is aimed at assessing the achievements of public-private partnerships (PPPs) as well as the obstacles to the effective implementation of PPPs in local governments in Ghana using the experience of two assemblies (Ga West Municipal Assembly and Adentan Municipal Assembly) in Ghana. The qualitative research approach was adopted for the study. Key informants were purposively selected from the two study areas and primary data collected using one-on-one indepth interviews. Additionally, secondary data regarding contracting processes and results were further subjected to thorough content analysis. The study observes that PPP has been applied in the provision of different local government services in the two districts. The use of PPPs has chalked up some form of benefits amidst major structural and institutional challenges. The study concludes that PPP has good prospects of enhancing the provision of local government services, if laxities are addressed.

Keywords: PPPs, service delivery, local governments, Ghana, effectiveness.

Sumário

Este trabalho tem como objetivo avaliar as realizações das parcerias público-privadas (PPPs), bem como os obstáculos na implementação efectiva das PPPs nos governos locais em Gana, utilizando a experiência de duas assembleias (Assembleia Municipal de Ga West e Assembleia Municipal de Adentan) em Gana. A abordagem da pesquisa qualitativa foi adotada para o estudo. Os informantes-chave foram propositadamente selecionados a partir das duas áreas de estudo e dados primários coletados por meio de entrevistas individuais. Adicionalmente, os dados secundários relativos aos processos de contratação e aos resultados foram ainda submetidos a uma análise aprofundada do conteúdo. O estudo observa que a PPP tem sido aplicada no fornecimento de diferentes serviços de governo local nos dois distritos. O uso de PPP tem marcado alguma forma de benefícios no meio de grandes desafios estruturais e institucionais. O estudo conclui que PPP tem boas perspectivas para melhorar a prestação de serviços do governo local, se as lacunas forem resolvidas.

Palavras-chave: PPP, prestação de serviços, governos locais, Gana, precisão.

Introduction

The concept of public-private partnerships (PPPs) has gained much currency in the sphere of globalisation; the concept has been applicable in the execution of public services and infrastructure the world over (Bae & Yoo, 2016; Liu *et al*, 2016; Ismail & Harris, 2014). Within the African continent, the concept of PPPs is becoming increasingly popular and acceptable (Sanni & Hashim, 2014; Poulton & Macartney, 2012; Tati, 2005).

Ghana, in its bid to partake in this global bandwagon and to gain the potential benefits of PPP, formulated and adopted a PPP policy guideline in 2011. Its objective was to improve "the quality, cost-effectiveness and timely provision of infrastructure and services in Ghana." (Ghana, 2011 p. 1). The concept of PPP has been variously described, including as a new tool for enhancing public contract administration through competitive tendering. On her part, Linder (1999) describes PPPs as intended to include older, established procedures of involvement of private organisations in the delivery of public services. It is equally important to note that there are still others who view the term 'contracting' as synonymous with 'public-private partnership', as observed by (Hodge & Greve, 2007).

Since 2011, Ghana in particular and sub-Sahara Africa, in general, has touted PPPs as a policy mantra by government at all levels. In fact, besides governments, development partners, the private sector and a section of civil society have all expressed confidence in PPPs as a probable panacea to addressing the numerous developmental challenges facing the economies involved. For instance, The Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) is of the view that PPPs are a tool for reducing poverty and could be a catalyst for sustainable development (DANIDA, 2004). Similarly, the UNDP Commission for Private Sector Development has argued, "public-private partnerships (PPPs) can facilitate access to broader financing options, assist skill and knowledge development, and make possible sustainable delivery of basic services, particularly energy and water" (UNDP, 2004 p. 4).

There seems to be the perception that the private sector possesses the best managerial capacity, flexibility and competitive drive that is required for the efficient and effective provision of socio-economic activities that are lacking in the public sector organisations (Wu, 2010; Loxley, 2010; Minogue, Polidano & Hulme, 1998).

In Ghana, several studies on public-private partnerships have focused on public enterprises and the private sector, for instance reforms within the water sector – the management contract between Aqua Vitens Rand (AVR) Ltd and the Ghana Water Company. Again, others have focused on the divestiture of state enterprises that came under the Divestiture Implementation Committee (DIC) under the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government prior to the fourth republic and during the first and second governments of the fourth republic where over 50 companies were diversified.

In contemporary times, the public sector has partnered extensively with the private sector to provide essential goods and services to their citizens in several areas, including; postal; telecommunications; security; construction; electricity; water provision; transportation; sanitation;

waste management; and even in more recent days, revenue collection. Several studies have also been conducted to understand the relationship between the private and public sector in their uneasy marriage of convenience (Bae & Joo, 2016; Verweij, 2015; Ameyaw et al, 2015; Abubakari et al, 2013). The potential benefits of PPP in developing countries like Ghana cannot be overemphasised. Several benefits could be derived from using PPPs as development strategies for local government's infrastructural development and service provision. They include improvement in the quality of service delivery; infusion of private capital and technology; cost savings to local government and value for users' money; reduction in the size of the local government workforce, improvement in managerial efficiency and effectiveness; risk sharing with multiple actors; promotion of good governance; accelerated delivery of needed infrastructure and public services on time and within budget; increased international and domestic investment; technology transfer and capacity building; provision of innovative design, technology and financing structures (Awortwi, 2008; ILGS, 2011).

The Ga West Municipal Assembly (GWMA) and the Adentan Municipal Assembly (AdMA) represent a modern microcosm of local government institution. They present within their respective territories a significant industrial hub that has several private companies and institutions with a sophisticated population that will have to be reached with goods and services from the local governments. The involvement of the private sector in the collection of local government revenue for the assemblies and the management of waste is merely a fraction of the public-private partnerships within the two local government areas, which in the opinion of the researcher, need to be investigated. Hence, the main objective of the research that resulted in this paper to find out more about the experiences of the two assemblies studied. The central issue that the research intends to address, is the achievements, challenges and prospects of PPPs in GWMA and AdMA in their bid to use PPPs as a tool to propel socio-economic development. In Ghana, literature suggests that there have been several attempts at PPPs in local government in recent years. They include, but are not limited to, that of Obirih-Opareh et al (2000, 2002); Ayee & Crook (2003); Oduro & Van Dijk (2008) and ILGS (2011).

The above notwithstanding, there exists a gap in the current literature as not many studies have been conducted with respect to local waste collection and revenue mobilisation by use of public-private partnerships within the Ghanaian context, and for that matter the GWMA and AdMA in particular. Hence, this study, like others (Awortwi 2004), contributes to filling of the gap by using implementation models with respect to how waste collection and revenue mobilisation are undertaken by the GWMA and AdMA. Specifically, the study assesses the achievements of PPPs, the obstacles to the effective implementation of PPPs, as well as the prospects of PPPs in GWMA and AdMA.

Theoretical and empirical literature

To find out the current conceptual and theoretical knowledge and the contributions to the current discourse on the role of PPPs in transforming local communities and the present celebrations of

PPPs as the panacea to governance challenges in many developing countries, a comprehensive review of the literature on local PPPs will be done. This will also guide the development of the research instruments. Various organisations and experts have documented empirical data and conclusions on the subject, and this basket of literature shall be explored to augment the researcher's understanding and knowledge of the status of the subject under review. In other words, the data to be collected from the field for this proposed study shall be analysed and discussed within the context of the 'Complexity of Joint Action' model. Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) propounded this model. The model refers to the number of actors, in addition to the main principals, whose agreement, either explicit or implicit, must be secured before a policy can be successfully implemented. The points of consensus between the actors have been described as 'veto points'. In their study of the Economic Development Administration (EDA) Programme, which was a job creation programme for minorities in Oakland, Pressman and Wildavsky found that the programme was complex and convoluted because of the "changing actors, diverse perspectives and multiple clearances" (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984 p. 93). According to the model, there is always a multiplicity of participants and perspectives, meaning that in order to carry out a policy or programme, a large number of organisations and individuals eventually become involved in the process of implementation. Besides, each of the participants has their own distinctive perspective and when perspectives differ, so also differs the measure of success. The pair further argue that 'decision points' and 'clearance' isolate each decision in which a major participant has a discernible opportunity to make choices; while there are a number of 'decision points' along the way at which clearance has to be received if the policy being implemented is to continue (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984).

Even though the model has been variously criticised (Bardach, 1977), it is very insightful and instructive in offering some variables that can be used to study or understand how PPPs are implemented. The model is generally viewed as useful. For instance, it demonstrates that the complexity of joint action reveals the organised complexity of the policy sphere in which each actor struggles to impose his definition of the situation. Consequently, his/her appeals for co-ordination may be next to useless, since "each wants coordination on his own terms" (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984).

The Principal-Agent Theory (PAT) was also employed to guide the study. The main thrust of PAT is that there are conflicting goals among main partners in any given transaction. As explained by Campbell (2011), PAT helps in establishing the link between the principal and agent answering the question of why public interest is often made subservient to private interest in the regulatory arena. PAT, in simple terms, means the problem that emanates from a partnership with two stakeholders – the principal (government or politician) and an agent (private bodies) with different interests. In applying this PAT model to PPPs in local governance, Laffont and Triole's (1993) approach could be useful. They explained that in relation to PPP, the government (principal) has no self-interest to monitor the agent's actions or do not accurately monitor the productivity of the agent. In such circumstances, Mitnick (1973) argued that they would shift the cost incurred to the

general public. In economic mean terms, the principal will directly bear the cost for their failure to monitor the agent's actions by paying higher fees for services rendered. Two main assumptions have been identified in the literature – there is an asymmetry of roles and of information between the two partners of the partnerships and there are perception biases that complicate the rational evaluation of risks and that aggravate the impact of information asymmetry (de Palma, et al, 2009) Mitnick (1986). Perry and wise (1990) identified the lacking of incentives by measuring the level of public service motivation among bureaucrats.

With respect to PPP in local government in Ghana, the local government is the principal and the private agencies are the agents. These agencies work on behalf of the Assembly to achieve or solve some problems. It also happens when the principal is incapable in terms of resources to perform certain tasks. This theory helps to explain why the assembly engages other private entities in their waste collection and revenue collection and the kind of relationship that should exist.

Methodology

The study sought to achieve three main objectives, namely: to find out the benefits GWMA and AdMA enjoy for entering into PPPs in waste collection and revenue mobilisation; the challenges the local governments face in the partnership; and the prospects of PPPs in waste collection and revenue mobilisation in GWMA and AdMA.

The qualitative paradigm was deemed most appropriate in providing more authentic and comprehensive understanding of the effectiveness in the various PPP initiatives in local governments in Ghana. The study purposively selected and studied fourteen key officials of the two local governments. As an empirical enquiry to investigate a phenomenon in the real life context, the case study method provided a more holistic approach to the understanding of the phenomenon of PPPs. The availability of multiple sources of information that are interactive and humanistic (Creswell, 2013) makes the case study strategy appropriate for this study. For example, qualitative methods ask mostly 'open-ended' questions that are not necessarily worded in exactly the same way with each participant. With open-ended questions, participants are free to respond in their own words, and these responses tend to be more complex.

The data for the study was obtained from both primary and secondary sources. The primary source consisted mainly of data collected from key informants from GWMA and AdMA in the Greater Accra Region. In other words, to be able to do a thorough analysis of the phenomenon under study, the two local governments constituted the cases for the study. Presently, Ghana has 216 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) scattered across the country. The two local governments were selected due to their involvement in partnerships with private firms in waste collection and revenue mobilisation.

In all, fourteen officials were selected and interviewed. The officials from each of the assemblies included the planning, budget, and internal auditors, the official designated for the implementation of PPPs as well as the coordinating director. Bearing in mind the objective of the study as well as the nature of the assemblies studied, the one-on-one indepth interviews method was employed.

The flexibility of this method allowed for the gathering of indepth data from participants. The secondary sources involved the review of already documented information, including books, reports, policy documents and reports from the two local governments. Other secondary sources included, but were not limited to, journals, the Internet, as well as published and unpublished reports on the subject under study. These sources provided a background understanding of the study as well as insight into the analysis and reporting of the findings.

Audiotapes and voice recorders were used to record the information from the respondents. In addition, the researcher took detailed notes to serve as a backup in the event that the recording equipment failed. The data from the field was organised for analysis. Here, all tape and voice recorded interviews were transcribed and coded using the constant comparative method of data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1999; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and handwritten notes were typed. The next stage involved sorting the data into various categories, which were labelled with various themes to facilitate easy processing. This stage is what has been described as coding (Creswell, 2013). The codes were then used to generate basic themes or issues that became the focus of the analysis. The main analysis began with a detailed description of the setting of the study areas, and the respondents involved. Afterwards, a narrative passage was used to convey the detailed findings of the analysis. This involved detailed discussion of the themes identified earlier – organised into sub-themes to include specific illustrations, various perspectives or studies on the themes, or quotations on views of respondents. The final phase of the analysis comprised a detailed interpretation of the findings, as well as the researcher's understanding of the meaning of the data, and the lessons and conclusions drawn from the findings.

Data analysis and discussion

The study sought to assess PPPs in waste collection and revenue mobilisation at the local level using the two local governments. This section presents and discusses the study findings. The discussion has been organised under themes to reflect the three study objectives:

Overview and experience with PPP

In the two cases, it was observed that the PPPs had been in use even before the 2011 policy guidelines issued by the Ministry of Finance. The first objective was to find out the specific avenues where PPP has been applicable. However, the promulgation of the guideline has reinforced the processes in a more orderly manner. The specific avenues where PPP has been applied in service delivery in both study areas have been highlighted in Fig. 1.

Fig 1: Application of PPP in local service and infrastructure delivery

Ga West Municipal Assembly	Adenta Municipal Assembly
*The waste and sanitation module – refuse collection	*The waste and sanitation module – refuse collection
*The revenue collection module	*The revenue collection module
	Construction of shops and the upgrading of a lorry station at Ogbojo
	The construction of a recreational centre and a shopping mall at Ashaley Botwe
	Upgrading of the Adentan lorry station
The construction of market sheds	The construction of market sheds
The construction of toilet and bathroom facilities	The construction of toilet facilities

* PPP projects studied.
Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Respondents from both AdMA and GWMA explained that the PPP in the assembly emanates from the policy framework developed by the Ministry of Finance (MOF) in 2011. The policy framework defines a PPP as a contractual arrangement between a public entity and a private sector party, with a clear agreement on shared objectives for the provision of public infrastructure and services traditionally provided by the public sector. The policy, which was officially launched in June 2011, has eight main objectives, as stated in page three of the document and stated below:

- Leverage public assets and funds with private sector resources from local and international markets to accelerate needed investments in infrastructure and services;
- Encourage and facilitate investment by the private sector by creating an enabling environment for PPPs where value for money for government can be clearly demonstrated;
- Increase the availability of public infrastructure and services and improve service quality and efficiency of projects;
- Ensure attainment of required and acceptable local and international social and environmental standards;
- Protect the interests of all stakeholders, including end-users, affected people, government and the private sector;
- Set up efficient and transparent institutional arrangements for the identification, structuring and competitive tendering of PPP projects;
- Provide a framework for developing efficient risk sharing mechanisms; and
- Encourage and promote indigenous Ghanaian private sector participation in the delivery of public infrastructure and services.

Respondents were unanimous that the implementation of PPP in waste collection and revenue mobilisation had not been as desired. For instance, a key informant from AdMA explained:

> "PPPs have not performed effectively as wished; however, with the introduction of the MOF policy guidelines it has aided in bringing desired results into the implementation of PPP in the assembly."

The ineffectiveness in the performance of PPP was also observed in GWMA where respondents expressed similar concerns over laxities in the implementation process because local revenue levels had not seen an improvement. One of the interviewees explained:

> "Due to the lack of understanding of the PPP concept on the part of some of the leadership of the assembly, implementation has not been very effective coupled with other challenges. Guidelines from the MOF in 2011 seems to be bringing some efficiency in the process."

Benefits

In spite of the general remarks in the previous section, PPPs seem to post some successes in the two districts. From an interaction with key participants from the two districts, the key benefits or milestones chalked by PPPs in urban service delivery are discussed under the themes below:

Relieving of financial burden

Traditionally, local governments are charged with the provision of social and infrastructural services in their respective jurisdictions. This had put enormous pressure on local governments who are largely constrained in terms of budgets. In most cases, local governments have a poor internal base coupled with weak revenue mobilisation strategies. Consequently, most local governments in Ghana have always looked up to the central government for their share of the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF), which is also embroiled in complications. Largely, local governments had been faced with financial trauma resulting in a neglect or poor performance of their constitutionally bestowed functions (see Article 240 of 1992 Forth Republican Constitutions, Local Government Act, Act 462 of 1993; Ayee & Crook, 2003).

However, with the introduction of PPPs where private partners raise financial and other resources to partner or complement the efforts of local governments in provision of public services and infrastructure through a mutually agreed objectives, local governments who are able to leverage this new concept will have some form of financial freedom. This has been the case of AdMA and GWMA, who have used PPPs to deliver some services that would have been difficult funding it alone. For instance, a key actor in AdMA explained:

"there is a reduction in the financial burden on the assembly in providing services and infrastructure. The initial cost to implement projects have been a major challenge for the municipality, however through the PPP agreements, the investors have been helpful in aiding the assembly to raise funds for waste collection."

A principal officer at the GWMA, who made a similar submission, corroborated this point:

PPP in revenue mobilization in most cases have complemented the efforts of the assembly in terms of raising capital to finance service and infrastructural delivery.

Reduces the general risks to the assembly

The coming on board of a private partner to complement the local government leads to some form of sharing of risks that may be associated with infrastructural or service provision. For instance, the construction of markets and lorry park infrastructure become high risk through medium to lower risk ratings, irrespective of the capital risk associated with its provision. Once it is largely a prerequisite for people's socio-economic well-being, policy actors need to adopt mechanisms to cushion themselves in such a way that the risks are either absorbed or reduced. In some instances, this could have been catered through insurance, but that comes with other complications. Therefore, with a PPP module, where the risks are either wholly or partially borne by the private partners, goes a long way to reduce the risks or uncertainties that may befall the public purse (scarce resources). This point was largely mentioned in both study areas. For instance, an informant from AdMA explained:

"There is risk sharing in project implementation between the assembly and the private partner. This risk would have been borne by only the assembly during the market and lorry park construction."

Efficiency

The introduction PPPs has brought on board some form of efficiency in service and infrastructural provision. This is more effective as the introduction of private partners injects a renaissance and innovation in the process that is more efficient than the traditionally bureaucratic and 'go slow' attitude typical of the public sector, a majority of respondents explained as their defence of PPP. For instance, a key officer at GWMA remarked:

"It has brought about efficiency into the operations of the assembly due to the introduction of the private partner who aims to recoup his funds and also make profits."

This point was given support by another actor who explained the effectiveness that has been brought upon the organisational structure of the local government:

"Reduction in the number of roles and functions initially performed by the assembly."

This point was corroborated by observations in the GWMA where respondents cited similar examples of how PPP has brought about effectiveness. One principal officer explained:

"It has helped to address some of the sanitation challenges in the assembly. There were instances where we had challenges with refuse collection due to the breakdown of our vehicles and this created a serious sanitation issue for us but now that we have contracted private refuse collection organizations to do it on our behalf it. (It) has helped eliminate this challenge since there are more than one company collecting the refuse in the municipality at no extra cost to us because the private companies collect fees from the citizens."

Capacity building and opening up local economy

Through PPP arrangements, many local individuals could form a consortium to recruit local people in the delivery of certain services that used to be handled by local government units. On the other hand, well established private companies who enter into PPP arrangements with local governments in service delivery (for instance revenue collection), in most cases recruit people from the local area to facilitate the service provision. The argument here is that if a particular local government enters into various viable PPPs (say provision of markets, shopping malls etc.), it will open up the local economy for many people to be engaged in one form of job or the other through the long value chain that will be created. While the economy is opening up, the local government will be the net beneficiary where it will be able to generate more local revenue. In our discussion with key informants, the major theme that ran through was the PPPs' ability to create jobs in the assembly. One of the respondents in AdMA explained:

"PPPs help in job creation in the assembly...again because some of the projects are implemented both by the assembly and the private partners, it is helping to create jobs and also build the capacity of some of the workforce of the assembly as they learn from the partners".

Challenges associated with PPPs

PPPs have been touted globally as a panacea to government incapacities and managerial laxities. The second objective, therefore, sought to assess some of the challenges that affect the effectiveness of PPPs, as stated earlier. In an interaction with key participants and stakeholders of the local governments under study, the study uncovered myriad contextual constraints that in most cases appear to occur across the board. The following themes have been deduced from the data.

Centralised nature of decision-making and undue delays

A major challenge that affects PPPs in local government service delivery has been the current centralised nature of the process. Although the 1992 Republican Constitution and Local Government Act, Act 462, regards local governments as the highest decision-making bodies with their own leaders; the current PPP dispensation places the final authority in the Ministry of Finance. The promulgation of national policy guidelines or directives without appropriate devolution, adequate authority and responsibility to local governments largely delays PPP initiatives. This challenge was observed in both assemblies and was unanimously mentioned by all respondents. For instance, a key officer at the GWMA explained:

> "Prior to the implementation of any PPP project the assembly must write a concept note to the Ministry of Finance, Public Investment Division (PID). This Unit is solely responsible for all PPP projects...When the PID is satisfied with all requirements for the project then the project is approved. After the approval then the assembly contracts a transaction advisor to conduct feasibility studies on the project".

Another informant further corroborated this point:

> "Delays in the approval of PPP projects from the MoF sometimes leading to the withdrawal of the private investor or in some instance delays the implementation process."

This phenomenon was also prevalent in the AdMA and a principal officer at AdMA buttressed the same point:

> "However besides the PPP policy framework developed by the MoF there are no laws governing PPPs in the local governments. The MoF is the government ministry in charge of approving PPP programmes for local governments... delays in the approval of PPP projects from the MOF sometimes leading to the withdrawal of the private investor or in some instance delays the beginning and completion of the projects."

This finding suggests that contextual issues should be taken into consideration when devising national policies; without assessing such issues, policies may usually encounter challenges. The issues of institutional framework as a hindrance have been observed in different PPP studies (see Carnis & Yuliawati, 2013).

Political interference

Typical of most emerging democracies, there is mostly a tendency for partisan politics to take centre stage in operation and implementation of PPPs at the local level. Although in principle PPP has to subscribe to a value for money philosophy, there are tendencies for key decision-

makers to usurp this principle to hand pick, perhaps a novice with poor records and experience. Respondents explained this in GWMA:

> "There have been instances where the assembly has been advised against agreeing to certain PPP contracts but due to political affiliation of some of the private partners who support the government in power such projects were signed. And this signing was usually engineered by the MCE [municipal chief executive] who has the final say in the assembly."

Consequently, although PPP is an avenue to inject efficiency and effectiveness, this practice ends up selecting less qualified and party fanatics in the name of PPP, who may end up not possessing prerequisites for service delivery. This was well argued by one of the informants:

> "Inadequate financial resources on the part of the investor. There have been instances where the private partner gets stuck and funding for the projects stalls and this challenge really affects the dates for the completion of projects."

This point was given substantial support in AdMA by the majority of respondents, who expressed similar concerns. One of these argued:

> "There have been instances of political interference in some of the PPP projects but we were able to handle it with the help of the general assembly."

A greater challenge associated with this tendency and practice is that most PPPs do not go through a competitive tender process and even if they did, it would be a mere formality or cosmetic show. The resultant effect is that some private partners will be selected for PPP but will end up not possessing the required skills and capital, and all the 'juicy' potential associated with the private sector. Therefore, the needed renaissance or efficiency to be brought on board will be largely insignificant or negligent because of poor selection, largely powered by partisan consideration. One of the principal officers at AdMA further narrated:

> "Inadequate human resources on the part of the private partner to implement the project. For instance when they come with their proposals they state all the people who will be implementing the project, however when you go to the field for monitoring you don't see the people on the field but different people doing the implementation."

Politics and its resultant effect on PPP projects are devastating and erode the effectiveness expected from the process. Our findings provide further support for an argument by Flinders (2005) regarding the politics of PPP (see also Van Marrewijk et al, 2008).

Stalling of PPP projects

Whether poorly contracted due to ineffective feasibility assessment or partisan consideration, the incompetence of some private partners is demonstrated when it comes to real execution of tasks. Sometimes, the incompetence and inability to execute becomes so obvious that not even the best of partisan connections can save the private partner. One informant explained:

> "Inadequate financial resources on the part of the investor. There have been instances where the private partner gets stuck and funding for the projects stalls and this challenge really affects the dates for the completion of projects."

This observation was given additional support by another key informant, who narrated:

> "The assembly has on some occasions had to terminate the PPP agreement due to non-compliance on the part of the private partner to fulfill the part of the agreement as well as non-performance."

This observation suggests that the feasibility phase and tender processes must be handled with much competence and rationality; otherwise it will cost the public too much. In the observations above, whether the contracts were abrogated in the course of the process or not, the public moneys or resources in one way or another would go to waste.

Institutional laxities

Additionally, the study revealed that institutional laxities at the local government units largely impede the effective implementation of PPPs. The promulgation of national PPP guidelines by the MoF should have made provisions for building local capacities and providing corresponding structures to handle this all important technical function (Ghana; 2011; Maliha et al, 2013). However, there has not been any peculiar process of capacitating the people nor the structures on how to handle the process. For instance, in GWMA, one principal officer retorted:

> "A major problem is that there is a lack of a PPP unit in the assembly to spearhead and manage PPP programmes."

The net effect of this challenge was given in a separate submission by an interviewee:

> "There is poor record keeping of PPP documents. We have had an instance where documents covering a PPP agreement between the assembly and a private investor were not found upon expiration of the agreement for the private partner to handover the project to the assembly. However, the private partner produced his documents.

Another issue related to institutional challenge has been the guidelines/directives by MoF, which instruct local governments to solicit the services of a financial consultant whose cost or charge has exorbitantly been pegged by the Ministry of Finance in the policy document largely beyond the budgetary reach of many local governments in Ghana. This finding supports what Maliha et al (2013) found in their study on PPP in water provision in Ghana. A key local government actor at AdMA explained:

> "Inadequate funding to employ the services of a transaction advisor to conduct feasibility studies on projects and subsequently advise the assembly on the potential benefits and challenges associated with such projects."

Financial constraints/poor feasibility assessment

Providing effectiveness in PPP requires due process in the various phases of the process, which includes the feasibility phase, the briefing stage contract negotiation and contract administration and performance monitoring (Robinson & Scott, 2009; Tang & Shen, 2013). However, due to budgetary constraints coupled with the nature of the PPP policy document, which pegs the consultancy fee (threshold) too high, makes it difficult to carry out the feasibility phase very well.

This challenge was observed in both districts; at AdMA for instance, it was well explained:

> "Inadequate funding to employ the services of a transaction advisor to conduct feasibility studies on projects and subsequently advise the assembly on the potential benefits and challenges associated with such projects."

The point above was given support by another key informant, who explained:

> "According to the MOF, the minimum and maximum limits of how much an assembly can pay for the services of a transaction advisor is between GH¢500,000.00 and GH¢1,000,000.00, which the assembly cannot afford because the assemblies' annual returns are not even up to GH¢500,000.00."

Meanwhile, scholars such as (Meidut & Paliulis, 2011; Zhang, 2005; Ahadzi & Bowles, 2005) argue that a sound feasibility study is sine qua non PPP effectiveness and could save a project from major pitfalls. However, with MoF pegging money far above the threshold of many local governments, it will be difficult for this important phase to be carried out prudently.

Conclusion

From discussion, we conclude that PPP has high prospects for improving waste collection and revenue mobilisation in the two local governments studied. This suggests that if given the needed

attention, actors at the local level could use this module to improve waste collection and revenue mobilisation, which could go a long way to improve the living conditions of their citizens.

Secondly, a nationwide centralised PPP policy used to run local government units needs to take the context of specific local areas and need to correspondingly develop and equip local structures to power the process.

The feasibility and selection phases of entering into partnerships are very important and these should be done in a more technical and comprehensive manner. We conclude that when marred with political and other social considerations, PPP will end up selecting less qualified partners, which stall up processes, thereby rendering the 'efficiency' logo associated with PPP a mirage and even creating more problems for the public.

Finally, although PPP comes with associated benefits, there are potential challenges that need to be addressed in order to reap the benefits thereof. Efforts should be made to make the process more usable to local governments, taking into consideration their context rather than centralising elements, which may scare off local governments to even think of embarking on any contractual arrangement with private partners.

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Bridging social capital and the imperative of leadership development in Nigeria

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Abstract

This paper asserts that there is a nexus between the nature and character of leadership and the stock and genre of social capital in a polity. Specifically, it posits that low levels of bridging social capital (generalised trust) in contemporary Nigeria are reflective of the abysmally low levels of leadership capital possessed by the holders of State power in particular and the political class in general. The paper takes its bearing from the following postulations: First, it asserts that leadership is the central actor in the creation and maintenance of social capital, whether bonding or bridging. Second, it argues that low levels of bridging social capital in post-authoritarian Nigeria is largely due to the inability of the political leadership to engender trust among the diverse people that constitute the State. The low levels of bridging social capital, therefore, have serious negative implications on inter-ethnic and inter-group relations in the country. It concludes that an adherence to the idea of servant leadership would substantially increase the stock of bridging social capital in Nigeria and the spate of identity-related conflicts ravaging the nation (since until now, political leadership has not been able to create generalised trust) would drastically reduce.

Key words: Bridging social capital; contemporary Nigeria; leadership development; servant leadership.

Sumário

Este artigo afirma que existe um ligação entre a natureza e o caráter da liderança e o tipo de capital social em uma política. Afirma que baixos níveis de capital social de ponte (confiança generalizada) na Nigéria contemporânea são reflexo dos níveis abismalmente baixos de capital de liderança possuídos pelos detentores do poder do Estado em particular e da classe política em geral. O artigo baseia-se nas seguintes postulações: Primeiro, afirma que a liderança é o actor central na criação e manutenção do capital social, quer se trate de vínculo ou de ponte; segundo, argumenta que os baixos níveis de ponte de capital social na Nigéria pós-autoritária é em grande parte devido à incapacidade da liderança política para gerar confiança entre as diversas pessoas que constituem o Estado. Os baixos níveis de capital social de ligação, portanto, têm implicações negativas sérias nas relações inter-étnicas e inter-grupos no país. Conclui que a aderência à ideia de liderança servidora aumentaria substancialmente o estoque de capital social de transição na Nigéria e a confusão de conflitos relacionados à identidade que assolam a nação (até agora, a liderança política não conseguiu criar uma confiança generalizada) Reduzir drasticamente.

Palavras-chave: Capital social; Nigéria contemporânea; desenvolvimento de liderança; Liderança servil.

Introduction

The leader occupies a central role as a broker and facilitator of stakeholder relationship and ultimately as enabler of stakeholder social capital. Being embedded in and central to a network of stakeholder relationships, a leader is key in engaging stakeholders, co-opting them to realize a mutually desirable vision and in connecting them for the purpose of responsible change – thereby bridging structural holes. (Maak, 2007 pp. 336-337)

Leadership, be it of an organisation or a nation, has a crucial role to play in bringing people together to work harmoniously in order to achieve the collective goal. Indeed, it is the central actor in the creation and maintenance of the intangible resources or social capital required to wedge together diverse stakeholders to achieve collective goals. As a matter of fact, it has been observed that a responsible and responsive leadership facilitates the creation and maintenance not only of the stock but also the genre of social capital required for the nation's progress and development. Maak (2007 pp. 331-332) emphasises this when he writes that it is a key quality of responsible leaders to act as weaver and broker of social capital as well as contribute significantly to creating a network of complex relationships within an organisation or a nation and its stakeholders.

This is the backdrop against which a critical examination of the nature and character of the leadership of the Nigerian State and its implication on the stock and genre of social capital available in the polity is undertaken. This study posits that the negative outcomes of the in-group and out-group relationships in the country are a result of the inability of the nation's leadership to provide the right leadership. Weak leadership endangers the creation and sustenance of the stock and genre of social capital required to facilitate cooperation and collaboration for the common good among the diverse people that constitute a nation. Thus, this study makes a case for the need for leadership development targeted at raising the idea of servant leadership imbued with the culture of civic nationalism as opposed to the prevalent culture of ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism has a negative impact on the stock of social capital available in the country.

Broadly speaking, this study seeks to interrogate these questions: what are the effects of the low levels of bridging social capital on the sociopolitical and economic fortune of the nation? What can possibly be done to reinvent and transform the nation's leadership to become an agent for the creation and maintenance of the genre of social capital required in a multi-ethnic society such as Nigeria?

Our analysis in this study is developed in five broad parts: The first part of the study shall briefly dwell on the clarification of some key concepts employed in the study, namely, servant leadership, leadership development and bonding/bridging social capital. The second offers an overview of the nature and character of the nation's leadership and its relationship with the low levels of bridging social capital in the country; the third shall discuss the implications of the low levels of bridging social capital on the nation's body politics; the fourth explores how servant leadership can serve as elixir in the creation and maintenance of bridging social capital in multi-ethnic Nigeria. The fifth articulates the imperative of leadership development for the nation's political elite; and the final section presents the conclusions.

Conceptual discourse/key concepts

In this segment, the key concepts that underlie our exposition, namely, servant leadership, social capital, and leadership development, shall be clearly delineated to facilitate our understanding of the central argument.

Servant leadership

In order to have a lucid understanding of the concept of servant leadership, it is imperative that we shed light on the very idea of leadership. Leadership is the most critical factor in determining either an organisation's or a nation's fortune. It has to do with the management of people and resources towards the realisation of the goals and objectives of a group, an organisation or a nation. In fact, the centrality of leadership to the accomplishment of the goals, objectives and promotion of the general well-being of the people of a nation cannot be overemphasised. From whatever perspective we view it, leadership can make all the difference between success and failure in anything we do for ourselves or to any group to which we belong (Abolurin, 2012 p. 3). The fortune of an organisation or a nation is largely a function of the quality of leadership. Indeed, leadership is said to be the essential determinant of development and a core ingredient in organising, mobilising and inspiring societal resources for the attainment of goals (Ajayi, 2004).

Essentially, leadership is the force that inspires and motivates others towards the realisation of the corporate or collective goal of a group, organisation or a nation. A leading authority on leadership captures this when he writes:

> Leadership is leaders acting as well as caring, inspiring and persuading others to act for certain shared goals that represent the values – the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations – of themselves and the people they represent. And the genius of leadership lies in the manner in which leaders care about, visualize and act, on their own and their follower's values and motivations (Macgregor, cited in Philips, 1997).

Greenleaf first coined the term servant leadership in 1970 in an essay entitled 'The Servant as Leader,' where he describes the servant leader in the following words:

> The servant-leader is servant first... it begins with the natural feelings that one wants to serve, to serve first. Then conscious choice brings one to aspire to lead. That one is sharply different from one who is the leader first, perhaps because of the need to assuage an unusual power drive or to acquire material possessions. The leader-first and the servant-first are two extreme types... (Greenleaf, 1970).

Characteristically, the servant leader's motive is not to direct the activities of their followers. Instead, the servant leader's behaviour motivates, influences, inspires, and empowers followers to focus on ways to better serve others. It is a humble means for affecting followers' behaviour.

Servant leaders rely upon service to establish the purposes for meaningful work and to provide needed resources, including bridging social capital. Servant leadership characteristically exhibits a unique method for stimulating and influencing the behaviour of others for the accomplishment of the organisation's or a nation's collective goal.

Servant leadership evinces the leadership model that inspires the followership to be committed to the good of others rather to self or the group to which one belongs. The point that is being made here is that a servant leader, through his or her attitudes, behaviours, mores, policies and programmes, in terms of giving priority to serving the followership, inspires the generality of the people to be committed to the promotion of the collective good.

Social Capital

The concept of social capital, theorised by Bourdieu (1993) and Coleman (1988-1990) and popularised by Putnam (1993), represents assets possessed by the collective. This perhaps explains why it is often seen as capital from the social point of view and an endowment of social structure, not individuals (Sidgwich, 1883; Marshall, 1890; Coleman, 1990). The nature of this form of capital was apply captured by Coleman (1988 p. 898) and Paxton (2002 p. 256) when they note that:

> Social capital is explicitly social: thus, it is an asset that resides not in individuals but in the relations between individuals, it is conceptualized as the network of associations, activities or relations that bind people together as a community via certain norms and psychological capacities, notably trust, which are essential of civic society and productive of future collective action or goods in the manner of other forms of capital (James Farr, 2004 p. 9).

Social capital represents intangible assets collectively owned either by a group or community that facilitates and nurtures healthy relationship among individuals in terms of tolerance, trust, belongingness and open-mindedness required for the accomplishment of the collective and common good. Cohen and Prusak 2001 express this when they observe that social capital is the stock of active connection among people: the trust, mutual understanding, shared values and networks that make cooperative action possible. This explains why the concept of social capital is often referred to as social trust. Trust, it must be noted, is a moral resource that enables individuals and groups to cooperate and collaborate for the achievement of common good.

It is instructive to note here that two types of social capital have been identified; namely, bonding and bridging social capital (Putnam, 2001). Bonding social capital facilitates the promotion of cooperation in strong inwardly focused, fairly homogeneous groups. Woolcock (2001) expresses this when he opines that bonding social capital refers to homogeneous relationships with those of similar background and status. Bridging social capital creates and nurtures solidarity and facilitates reciprocity among individuals and groups from diverse background. It represents the social force that promotes cooperative relationships among individuals from diverse ethno-religious

and cultural backgrounds. It is a horizontal dimension referring to heterogeneous relationship with more distant friends, relations and colleagues (Woolcock, 2001).

Leadership development

According to Van Velsor and McCauley (2004), leadership development is defined as the expansion of a person's capacity to be effective in leadership roles and processes. It involves the acquisition of knowledge, virtues and mores that enhances the leadership capability in setting direction, creating alignment, and maintaining commitment in groups of people who share common work. It entails the infusion of the leadership with the right values and virtues with a view to strengthening its capacity to deliver and serve as drivers and sustainers of a society's or a nation's collective aspirations and goals.

On the nexus between leadership and the crisis of bridging social capital in contemporary Nigeria

Let us reiterate that leadership is the most important factor in determining a nation's socio-political, economic, environmental and cultural well-being. Indeed, leadership is often regarded as the most critical factor in the success or failure of institutions and nations. It is against this background that this segment explores the nature and character of Nigeria's leadership class with a view to bringing to the fore how it underlies the abysmally low levels of extant bridging social capital in the nation's polity. In other words, this paper seeks to show the relationship between the low levels of Nigeria's leadership capital and the deep-seated distrust and intolerance that characterise the relationship among the diverse ethno-religious groups that constitute the nation. In an interview, Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi, one of the foremost traditional rulers in the country, describes the nature of the relationships that exists among the various groups in Nigeria thus:

> Our differences define our perception of one another. The distrust is so deep-seated that we have an incongruent group of people rather than compatriots with a shared destiny. Our diversity has become our worst nightmare... After more than 50 years of independence, we are still not more than strange bedfellows forced to cohabit under the same roof. Our co-existence as a people has long been defined by our differences rather than the strength of our diversity (Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi, 2014).

The argument here is that the dysfunctional and disenabling social relations among the nation's diverse groups is largely a function of the nature and character of the nation's leadership. An overview of the nature and character of the leadership of the Nigerian state would help to provide an insight into one of the propositions of this paper that the low levels of bridging social capital in contemporary Nigeria is reflective of the abysmally low levels of leadership capital.

In light of the above, the question that looms large is: what are the factors responsible for the inability of the nation's leadership to galvanise the generality of the people of the Nigerian state to place the collective interest of all Nigerians above that of self or group? The truth is that the reasons for this dysfunctional situation are multi-dimensional.

First, the leaders are, to a large extent, ethnically inclined. The truth of the matter is that ethnically inclined leaders, especially in multi-ethnic societies such as Nigeria, cannot but have a profound negative impact on the creation and maintenance of bridging social capital. The leadership of the Nigerian State, right from the period of independence to contemporary times, is largely predisposed to promoting the interest of members of his or her ethnic origin over and above the others that constitute the nation. The tendency for Nigeria's leadership cadre to prefer and be committed to their ethnic base, it must be noted, was rooted in the pre-independence struggles against colonial rule. The struggles for independence from colonial rule were led by leaders who primarily saw themselves as leaders of their ethnic groups and carried this mindset over to post-colonial Nigeria.

Babawale notes the pivotal role of ethnicity in the making of the Nigerian state. He states:

Historically, the ethnic element has played a dominant role in the Nigerian political process since independence. The political parties of the First and Second Republics reflected the country's geo-ethnic divide. The Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) and the Action Group (AG) were based in the South-west among the Yoruba, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) and the Nigerian People's Party (NPP) in the South-east among Igbo, while the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) were based in the north, predominantly among the Hausa Fulani (Babawale, 2007:33).

The point that is being established is that Nigeria's colonial and post-colonial leaders were and still are largely driven by ethnic considerations in the formation of political parties and the management of the public sphere. To that extent, equity and justice that should be the guiding principles in the exercise of power as well as the distribution of resources are sacrificed on the altar of ethnicity (Paxton, 2002).

Also, there is the aversion of the nation's leadership to the principles of the rule of law and public accountability. Put differently, the Nigeria's political elite lacks the culture of constitutionalism that underlies democratic governance and promotes tolerance and understanding in multi-ethnic societies such as Nigeria. It should be noted that the respect for the rule of law and the idea of public accountability are basic features of democratic governance. Indeed, these elements, when observed in a polity, facilitate the promotion of trust and peaceful co-existence among people of diverse backgrounds. Unfortunately, individuals who are rabidly opposed to the enthronement of due process and public accountability largely constitute the leadership of the Nigerian state. Babawale (2007 p. 49) acknowledges this:

The challenge facing the current civilian dispensation is how to put in place a democracy that is profoundly transformative in the sense of changing the perception of the ruling class about power, changing the character of the Nigerian state, the deposition of the government to the people and the disposition of the political elite to democracy.

Third, the political corruption of the leadership of the Nigerian state is scandalous. The magnitude of corruption in the country is such that, for many, corruption is the guiding principle of governance in the nation. Commenting on the state of corruption in Nigeria, Pogoson (2009 p. 65) observes:

By 1999, when the Obasanjo administration assumed office, corruption had become pervasive and had eaten deep into the entire fabric of the Nigerian society. Surveys of nations by Transparency International, a Berlin-based non-profit organization, rank Nigeria among the most corrupt country in the world. In 2000, it was ranked the second most corrupt in the world. In 2001, 2002 and 2003, Nigeria was ranked the second most corrupt out of the surveyed. Year in year out, Nigeria's rating on the Corruption Watch Index continues on the upswing, so much so that it has affected the cognitive perception of Nigerians and the country's image among the comity of nations.

The truth of the matter is that 16 years down the democratic path, corruption in Nigeria has assumed alarming proportions. In the most recent release of the Transparency International Corruption Watch Index, the Nigerian state is placed as one of the most corrupt countries on earth. Consequent to this, the Nigerian state is seriously hindered from meeting the needs and promoting the well-being of the generality of the members of the country. This, of course, culminated in citizens looking to their ethno-religious groups for succour and, by implication, cultivating within group trust and networks at the expense of the much required between group solidarity and trust. Aiyede (2006) reflects the disenabling effects of corruption on a nation's polity in general and on social relations in particular when he notes that corruption undermines the legitimacy of government and democratic values of trust and tolerance.

Fourth, which is closely related to the issue of corruption of the leadership of the Nigerian state, is the mismanagement of the nation's resources. This pervades all levels of governance – local, state and federal. Interests outside the purview of collective or common interest largely dictate public policies and programmes that are supposed to be guided by the values and norms of multi-ethnic democracy. In a penetrating analysis of the factors that underlie the allocation of resources in Nigeria, Joseph (1991) contends that two fundamental elements of the sociopolitical system, which affect and often determine the allocation of public goods in Nigeria, are the phenomena of clientelism and prebendalism.

It is instructive to note that decades after the publication of Joseph's work and about 16 years of democratic experimentation, the pattern of distribution of the nation's resources is still hugely devoid of the principles of fairness, social justice, equity, transparency and concern for common

good. Thus, the result of this model of distribution of public goods is uneven development, structural discrimination, injustice, oppression and state authoritarianism (Eghosa Osaghae, 2006 p.3). Characteristically, all these gave birth to despondency in the generality of the Nigerian people due to the State not promoting their collective or common interest. Consequently, the generality of the Nigerian people, rather than be enthusiastic about affairs of the 'civic public', become passionate about issues related to their 'primordial public'. This, inevitably, continues to grow the bonding form of social capital at the expense of the bridging form of social capital required in a multi-ethnic Nigerian state.

Fifth and last, the leadership of the Nigerian state is characterised by a lack of vision and commitment to common goals or national interests. It goes without saying that the place of leadership commitment to common goals in the creation and maintenance of generalised trust (bridging social capital) in multi-ethnic societies cannot be overemphasised. Let us at this point state that it takes common goals to turn differences and value conflict and asymmetrical ties into bridging capital (Taylor and Scharlin, 2004). In contemporary Nigeria, the reality is that the greater percentage of the people are not too disposed toward any agenda that is meant to genuinely promote national cohesion and common destiny. They are more disposed toward promoting primordial and ethnic agendas. This, it must be pointed out, is due to the leadership penchant for throwing up the ethnic card to gain access to the state power and ultimately national treasury. This, perhaps, explains why the struggles for who controlled the presidency in 2015 (election year) were largely contested from an ethno-religious viewpoint rather than an ideological one.

Understanding the impacts of the crisis of bridging social capital in contemporary Nigeria

The low levels of bridging social capital in contemporary Nigeria engender devastating effects on the nation's sociopolitical and economic fortunes. The obvious lack of trust among the diverse groups in the country is manifesting in ways that seriously threaten the corporate existence of the Nigerian state.

Intense struggles occur for the control of state power among the various ethnic groups that constitute the county. Competition for power, particularly control of federal power, was and still is being informed by the lack of trust that underlies relationships among the various ethnic groups occupying the geographical entity called Nigeria. Pierre L. van den Berghe articulates the logic behind the competitive mistrust, which underpins the intense struggles for power when he notes:

By and large, people expect members of ethnic groups other than their own to be 'tribalists, i.e. to be biased in favor of their fellow ethnics and against 'strangers'... Most people assume that all others except those in the same circle of intimate (fellow kinsmen, fellow townsmen, or persons linked by patron-client ties) will behave in ways which further the other person's interest at the expense of oneself.

The perception of 'others' as groups that are seeking to undermine or possibly frustrate the realisation of one's group interest, which undergirds the relationship among the various groups in the Nigerian State, was actually at the root of the tension building up as the 2015 general elections in the country approached. The point here is that the intense clamour of the majority of the people from the south-south region for the return of President Goodluck Jonathan's administration to power in 2015 is largely due to the lack of trust in others from other parts of the county to promote their interests. The Hausa-Fulani from the north of the country agitated for the return of power to one of their own for reasons similar to those of the people of the south-south of the country.

Lately, however, there appears to be a consensus that power be rotated between the northern and the southern parts of the country. It is instructive to point out that the whole idea of power rotation as a way of promoting inclusiveness and belongingness of all stakeholders is indeed a clear testimony and a key framework for analysing and establishing the reality of low levels of generalised trust among the various groups in Nigeria. The point is that state powers are scarcely deployed to promote collective national interests in contemporary Nigeria. Eghosa Osaghae (2006 p.9), in his analysis of the end to which state power is made to serve in Africa, posits that "rather than be relatively autonomous, states in Africa have been captured and used by ethnic forces to further narrow ethnic agendas, including genocide".

Moreover, the identity related conflicts in virtually all parts of the Nigerian state are largely as a result of the very low levels of bridging social capital in the country. The degree of identity related conflicts in contemporary Nigeria are exacerbated by the proclivity of the nation's political elite to employ ethnic mobilisation to either gain access to power or to exclude other groups from it. It must be emphasised that ethnic mobilisation characteristically deepens differences and increases the risk of full-blown ethnic conflict. In this regard, Manuel Vogt (2014) observes that: 'ethnic mobilization exacerbated the existing competition, compromising ethnic equality and increasing the risk of violent conflict'. The reality is that the Nigerian State is a very good example of a multi-ethnic state that is being crippled by inter-group hostility and mistrust. This obviously is as a result of the paucity of the stock of bridging social capital available in the polity.

The abysmally low levels of bridging social capital also impact negatively on the quality of public policies and national discourse. Following deep seated mistrust among the groups in the country, public policies, more often than not, are designed and executed not with a view to promoting even development, justice and equity, but to further strengthening the prevalent hegemonic and oppressive domination of one group over the others. A very good example of state policy that was informed by ethnic consideration and prebendalism was the issue of state creation. Too many states, the bulk of which were not viable, had been created. Indeed, it was in response to this demand that the just concluded national conference recommended the creation of eighteen additional states. The reality of the situation is that groups demand states because they feel that their interests cannot be advanced within the existing state structure. This undoubtedly is a reflection of the growing bonding social capital as opposed to the increasingly depleted bridging social capital, which the Nigerian state actually requires.

Finally, it must be emphasised that the low levels of bridging social capital in contemporary Nigeria is posing a very serious challenge to the consolidation of the nation's fledgling democratic governance. It should be stated that the place of social capital in the flourishing of democratic process couldn't be overemphasised. Social capital can help to create democracy in a country that is not democratic. Alternatively, it can help to maintain or improve an already existing democracy (Pamela Paxton, 2000 p. 287). However, the potentiality of social capital to create and nurture democracy is both a function of the genre of social capital and the ethno-religious and sociopolitical configuration of a society. For example, nationalist groups within the framework of a multi-ethnic state are likely to exacerbate societal cleavages and interfere with democratic consolidation (Pamela Paxton, 2000 p. 255).

There is an upsurge of ethnic/nationalist groups due to the low levels of bridging social capital in contemporary Nigeria. The point is that these groups have characteristically undermined social cohesion and multi-ethnic democratic values such as tolerance, solidarity and belongingness. Consequently, the nation's democratic process, rather moving towards consolidation, is manifesting negative signals, suggesting the possibility of democratic reversal to authoritarianism. There was tension in the country while the nation prepared for a general election in 2015, obviously because of struggles over which of the ethnic groups should control the centre where the buck of the nation's resources are dispensed.

Given the above, the question that looms large is how do we reinvent the nation's leadership and what form of leadership has the characteristics to engender trust and promote belongingness among the diverse groups that constitute the nation? The next segment of the paper provides an answer to this question.

Servant leadership, bridging social capital and the imperative of leadership development in contemporary Nigeria

The leadership of a nation is critical to the creation and maintenance of bridging social capital, which is a social asset that is relevant to the promotion of national cohesion, stable peace and the proper functioning and flourishing of democracy in multi-ethnic societies. Indeed, it is axiomatic to posit that contemporary Nigeria is in dire need of a leadership that characteristically exhibits features that could elicit trust and solidarity among the diverse peoples of the nation.

Our argument in this paper is that a servant leadership is what the contemporary Nigeria requires to turn the fortunes of the nation around and engender generalised trust among the over 250 ethnic groups in the country. But before we discuss how this form of leadership can evolve, let us shed light on the importance of bridging social capital to the enthronement of stable sociopolitical and economic development in a polity.

First, bridging social capital creates the opportunity for better understanding among people of diverse religious, ideological combined with cultural backgrounds. Consequently, it facilitates cooperation and collaboration among diverse groups for the achievement of common or collective

good. In fact, a multi-ethnic society can hardly function productively without the availability of reasonable stock of this genre of social capital. It is a necessary foundation for the flourishing of a multi-cultural society.

Moreover, bridging social capital is critical to the development of the ingredients of a multi-ethnic democracy, that is, tolerance, power sharing, justice, fairness, accountability and equity. It goes without saying that the contemporary Nigerian state, more than any other time, is in dire need of these values to strengthen her fledgling democratic process. In fact, one could safely argue that these values are invaluable ingredients and vital to the establishment of national cohesion and social order in a multi-ethnic society. We must add that intolerance, injustice and lack of equity are some of the reasons for the failure of leadership of the Nigerian State to forge a national vision that could encapsulate the collective interests and aspirations of the generality of the Nigerians. This clearly explains why it was difficult to arrive at a consensus on how decisions were to be adopted at the recently concluded national conference set up by President Jonathan.

Furthermore, bridging social capital contributes to the promotion of constitutionalism and participatory democracy in a multi-ethnic society. This is due to the availability of the values characteristically dispensed by generalised trust, such as belongingness and solidarity, which facilitate cooperation among diverse groups that exist in a polity. These values characteristically encourage people's participation in collective or common good, which ultimately deepen constitutionalism and the democratic processes in general. Where there is lack of trust among the citizenry of a nation, the levels of commitment to the common good and the governance process is naturally very poor. In fact, in a polity where the relationship among the various groups is characterised by suspicion and mistrust, the tendency is for groups in the polity to seek to undermine each other and ultimately grind down the smooth running of the governance. This appears to be the case in contemporary Nigeria. Against this background, we could posit that the importance of bridging social capital to the consolidation of Nigeria's fledging democratic process in particular, and the transformation of the nation in general, cannot be overemphasised. Having established the centrality of a nation's leadership to the creation and maintenance of bridging social capital in a polity, there is the need to provide an overview of the nature and character of Nigeria's leadership class.

First and foremost, it must be emphasised that the crisis of leadership in Nigeria has become endemic. It could be argued that the Nigerian State has never had a responsible, dynamic and committed leadership since her independence from colonial rule. The Nigerian state, from the first democratic experiment in 1960 to military regimes and back to democracy as practice today, has been managed by leaders who are selfish and corrupt (Joseph C. Ebegbulem, 2009).

Consequently, it is imperative that Nigeria's leadership class be reinvigorated to serve as an agent of positive change and creator of bridging social capital. The truth is that there is the need to solve the leadership problem in Nigeria where people who know next to nothing about leadership are now in a leadership position... (David Oyedepo, 2014). The point being advanced

here is that before the diverse people that constitute the Nigerian State cooperate and collaborate for the achievement of collective good, there is the need to consciously and conscientiously build the capacity of the nation's leadership class with a view not only to divesting them of divisive values and tendencies and investing them with values that promote integration and cooperation of the Nigerian people, but also to imbue in the nation's leadership the values and ethos of servant leadership.

In a nutshell, this paper avows the premium leadership development that is targeted at raising leaders that would be guided by the collective interest of the generality of the Nigerians. The Nigerian State requires leadership that is, above every other consideration, committed to serving the people rather than being served. A servant leader, characteristically, is driven by passion to improve the well-being of the generality of the people, rather than that of any particular ethno or religious group. This leadership variant, undoubtedly, would galvanise people, irrespective of ethno-religious backgrounds, to cooperate and collaborate to promote mutual and collective interest.

Conclusions

The tension and apprehension with respect to the 2015 general elections and the unhealthy competition and rivalry about who occupied the presidential seat, coupled with the violence ravaging the Nigerian State, undoubtedly were largely due to the very low levels of generalised trust (bridging social capital) available in the nation's polity. This disenabling and dysfunctional state, we argued, was brought into being as a result of the inability of the nation's leadership to infuse Nigeria's body politics with multi-ethnic democratic values and virtues of belongingness and solidarity, which characteristically promote cooperation among ethno-religious and social groups that constitute the nation.

Given the preponderance of bonding social capital in the nation's politics largely due to the character and nature of the ruling elite, it is imperative that Nigeria's leadership class be reinvented to become agents for promotion of the much needed bridging social capital. We argue that the reinvention of the nation's leadership cadre can be achieved through a strategic leadership development programme focused at raising leaders who are committed to serving the generality of Nigerians rather than members of their ethnic or religious group. It is this kind of leadership, we submit, that can engender trust and substantially increase the levels of bridging social capital required to promote consensual politics, governmental efficiency, and dynamic interaction among the various groups and social order in multi-ethnic Nigeria.

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Theoretical appraisal of multimodal federalism as a framework of governance and the prospect of sustainable development in Nigeria

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Abstract

Arising from some retrogressive logic, an ongoing, unresolved debate rages about Nigeria's ever uncertain federalism. Compared to American history, five decades of nationhood is indeed relatively small. But with the opportunity of learning from existing successful federations coupled with her vast human and material resources, there seems no reason for Nigeria to remain as turbulent and underdeveloped as it stands at present. This paper adopts an historical approach and is subjected to the logic of comparative analysis and attempts, within the prism of well-developed prototype models of federalism, to appraise the workings of the Nigerian federal arrangement. It concludes that as a developing contentious multimodal federation, the leadership class has the arduous task of redefining the process of engagement and reconstruction in order to achieve much needed national consensus towards the attainment of equitable structures and accelerated national development.

Keywords: Federalism, multimodal federal systems, national consensus, leadership, nation building, development, Nigeria

Sumário

Suscitado de alguma lógica retrogressiva, um debate em curso, não resolvido, enfurece o federalismo sempre incerto da Nigéria. Em comparação com a história americana, cinco décadas de nacionalidade são relativamente poucas. Mas com a oportunidade de aprender com as federações bem-sucedidas existentes, juntamente com seus vastos recursos humanos e materiais, não parece haver nenhuma razão para a Nigéria permanecer tão turbulenta e subdesenvolvida como está atualmente. Este artigo adota uma abordagem histórica e é submetido à lógica da análise comparativa e tenta, dentro do prisma de protótipos bem desenvolvidos do federalismo, avaliar o funcionamento do acordo federal nigeriano. Conclui que, como uma federação multimodal contenciosa em desenvolvimento, a classe de liderança tem a árdua tarefa de redefinir o processo de engajamento e reconstrução, a fim de alcançar o consenso nacional necessário para a obtenção de estruturas equitativas e desenvolvimento nacional acelerado.

Palavras-Chave: Federalismo, sistema federal multimodelo, consenso nacional, lideranças, construção da nação, desenvolvimento, Nigéria.

Introduction

Of all the problems ravaging the Nigerian state, two have remained dominant and largely unmitigated. These are the persistent, uncertain logic of her federalism, and the attendant high prevalence of corruption. These two modal problems have cumulatively resulted in an incongruence of views on national goals and desirable path to development. Thus, not denying a few positive experiences such as the transition to democracy in 1979, 1999 and the pleasant surprises of the 2015 general election, after five decades of independence, Nigeria remains a federation by default. It is devoid of some critically needed positive motives and consensus on how to achieve the best possible acceleration of national consensus and attainment of sustainable development. Sensing the pronounced sociopolitical and economic incongruence of the nation before the advent of the ongoing Fourth Republic, Ayoade submitted:

> ...since 1963... the present day Nigeria remained a disaggregated federation... propelled by an adversarial relationship of near incompatibility... the Nigerian federation was, [and still remained], a design error... (Ayoade, 1997, p. 6)

According to Ogoma, however, Nigeria, "with the full participation and endorsement of Nigerian leaders then, and for the interests of the generality of Nigerians" (Ogoma 2014) adopted federalism as a framework of government. But even with its further modification with the federal character principle since 1979 as a mechanism for rationalisation of power and guiding principle of governance, which successive leaders have deployed as mere instruments of political appeasement (see Uhunmwuangho and Ekpu 2011), the fundamental question still is: how effectively has federalism, in view of rising aggression-soaked social taxonomies, contributed to addressing the problem of marginalisation and equitable sharing of power and resources in Nigeria? Ogoma concluded that despite the tendency to unite people and promote unity in diversity, unfortunately, federalism, as a framework of governance, has not been well utilised in Nigeria. Nigeria, at the close of the twentieth century, was a nation beset by avoidable uncertainties despite the adoption of the best framework suited for its governance. With diverse inhibitive factors working against the unity of the nation, there has been growing concern about the survival of the Nigerian federation. Isichei (1977) attested to cultural variegation. Suberu (1998) noted that it is one of the most ethnically diverse with over 250 ethno-linguistic groups. Osarhieme (1998), re-echoing Balewa, saw it as a country that merely exists on paper and is far from being a unified nation. Tamuno (1999) saw it as a country with combined forces of ethnic pluralism and cultural diversity, which tends to pull its people apart. To Otite, Nigeria is made up of apparently complimentary and yet contradictory social forces (Otite 1973), with distinctive dispersal and suffocating compressions of people (Osaghae 1999).

Still appraising Nigeria federal system, Osuntokun (1979) judged it as a country with an imposed asymmetric political system structure, colonially fabricated with the intent of neocolonial manipulation and sectional domination (William 1976), thereby laying a false foundation for

development (Shagari 1994). In the final analysis, Ayoade posited that: it is a disaggregating federal system propelled by an adversarial relationship of near incompatibility, a federation of design error (Ayoade, 1997). A country in which fiscal responsibility and taxing powers, despite the adoption of a federal system, still remain considerably centralised (Ewetan, 2012), and where, according to Lewis (1994), government's descent into unbridled corruption and patronage politics have led to the clear abandonment of the central objective of State existence (Joseph 1991). All these, breeding delinquent democratic experiences (Joseph, 1999) culminating in what Onyeoziri (1984) earlier described as an irrational system with an eroded state's capacity to ensure social cohesion and development, but instead, giving rise to unending chains of linear negativities, which led Easterly to conclude that ethnic conflict is "a tragic constant of human history". (Easterly, 2000). While there have been concerns and prepositions about the structure and survival of Nigeria's federal system, from power sharing, to balancing of national development and distribution of national resources, it remains very clear that federalism, as a mechanism of administrative/political coexistence and rapid national development, has essentially not been positively articulated and its principles not well-deplored in Nigeria.

The entrenchment of the federal character principle in the 1979 constitution shows the concern for the inclusion of diverse nationalities in the governance and development of the country at various levels. However, beyond nominal appointment of ministers into federal cabinet, attainment of these ideals has remained an uphill task for the operators of the Constitution. By their conducts and failures, they have only succeeded in exacerbating the negative aspect of ethno-regional differences. And, to the detriment of fostering national consensus on nation building and development, the political actors have, by their corrupt and parochial predisposition, reactivated centrifugal impulses within the polity. Just a little over 100 days in office, the Buhari administration, due to undue suspicion created by shortcomings of the immediate past administration that centralized almost every key position and national substance of the nation around Niger-Delta and the South East, was already being criticised just after making a few key appointments to establish his administration.

It is not gainsaying to submit that the immediate past administration of President Jonathan fell seriously short of expectation in most critical areas needing genuine national mobilisation and engagements, particularly in the last three years of his tenure as president. Though there were appointments of one minister per state, the administration ensured that the south-west and some part of the north were left out of the nucleus of the administration, to the exclusive gain of the Niger Delta and the south-east. Beyond ministerial appointments, most key positions in government were zoned to south-south and south-east – President, ministers of Finance, Petroleum, Education, Aviation, Health, Foreign Affairs, Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Deputy Senate President, Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, Chief of Defence staff, Chief of Army staff and Governor of the Central Bank, among others, Director-General of the Security and Exchange Commission, the Director-General of the Directorate of State Security Services, among others. North-west, north-central and north- east had Vice-President, Senate President, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and in addition, ministers of Works, Justice, etc. Under the

immediate past administration, in contrast to the experience under the two administrations that preceded it (Obasanjo and Yar'Ardua), who both ensured that national offices and resources were evenly spread, the west and north-east were seriously marginalised. Under the administration, the south-west had only the Majority Leader of the Senate and ministers of Agriculture as key figures representing them in the administration.

The Chairman of the House of Representatives' Committee on Federal character, Honourable Azubuike, whose region arguably was a major beneficiary of government patronage and booty in 2012, was a guest on NTA's Nigeria Today where he said that the essence of federal character had been defeated in the present order. Though the Chairman of the Federal Character Commission, Professor Oba, (also seated at the interview panel) shared a different view, the Commission Chairman, however, agreed that for the federal character principle to be more meaningful, it should retrace the path of equity and merit (NTA Network Service 2012, August 31, 09h00-09h30am). Thus, under the Jonathan administration, merit in equity and rationality in operation, as essential requirements for national integration and development within the logic of federalism, has experienced a more complicated and sacrificial model in favour of the corrupt and partisan politics of greed and sheer opportunism.

With an apparent dearth of rationally agreed national agendas, Nigeria, as it stood in 2015, was, as in the past, beset with a myriad problems that seriously threaten her corporate existence and survival as a nation. With a declining quantum of genuine statesmanship, it seems obvious that massive corruption and systemic short-changing, occasioned by growing sociopolitical errors, now more than ever places severe pressure on further development. Consequently, in the midst of all of these, and as things stood at the eve of the 2015 election, baring the 'change mantra', there seemed to be no national consensus on how to move Nigeria forward just as there is a growing indication of eventual organic paralysis, if left unaddressed. With a view to unearthing probable structural and operational solutions, this paper, drawing insight from a set of four well-distilled models of federalism, probes the structural templates for the faulty evolution and confused developmental debate in the Nigerian federal system.

Federalism: A conceptual analysis

An overview of theoretical formulations of federalism, beyond the identity of parties and interests, provides us with a hint of the importance of equality as a fundamental ingredient of constructing an ideal federal system. This is hinted at in the submission by Laski that:

> Federalism provides the one plane upon which men may meet under the conditions of equality, which alone gives validity to such ultimate solutions as we adopt... because society is federal, authority must be federal also. That involves... the making of decisions out of the interests which will be affected by them and in turn their application by those interests (to the extent that)... it means making the mining industry a unit of administration in the same sense as Lancashire (Laski, 1967, pp. 271).

It is often held that federalism recognises denominations, interests and powers of sub-national groups and tendencies. But the need to achieve consensus and unity on a national basis is coupled to reconciliation of these diversities. Despite the infinite number of scholars working on the theory and practice of federalism, its main thrust remains the intermixing and balancing of compromises and concessions in generating and protecting individual and group liberty within a well-rationalised architecture of national unity. The issues involved in this balancing include determining which concession or compromise should come first, knowing which one could be greater than the other, and ascertaining the factors or conditions for making one accept more compromise than concession, or vice versa. No doubt for Nigeria, having endured close to a century worth of federal experimentation, these questions remained largely unanswered. Logically, therefore, the conceptual analysis here is predicated upon the understanding that national consensus is difficult to achieve in most developing multimodal federal systems. This is particularly more difficult in contentious multimodal federal systems such as Nigeria, and if not properly resolved, could constitute a delay on setting an agenda for nation building and development.

If federalism is this contentious and prone to the difficulties associated with achieving consensus on modalities of national existence and development, then, what was obtained in Nigeria in the recent past in contrast to the experience in formative years of US federation, should be seen as a process of patriotic effort towards constructive and impartial engagement of all parties. It calls for a display of selfless governance built on the principle of commonwealth. As it is known, federalism is a system that:

> ...is formed by a compact, and agreement between political units that surrender their individual sovereignty to a central authority, [but retained] residuary power of government... [and this]... is frequently the case in societies or states where people are not ready to surrender all power to a central authority or government (Bankole Okuwa in Oyeneye, 1994, p. 144, see also Vincent Ostrom, 1988).

Hence, Herman Pritchett (1976, p. 15), commenting on American federalism, sees it as a polity in which the exercise of power is divided between two or more levels of government, each having the use of those powers as a matter of right, and each acting on the same citizen body. Judging such arrangement as conflict prone, Pritchett went further to submit that: viewed over the long reaches of United States history, there is an obvious trend towards increasing the powers and functions of the federal government, just as there have been periods when the centralising trend was reversed. Ever present and everywhere, the central-local relationship has been the product of political conflict, compromise and consensus. Imbedded in such a struggle, therefore, is the need to reach consensus on modalities for sharing state power, functions and resources as equitably as possible. Reiterating this central local power-sharing tussle, William Riker (cited in Akinyemi, 1979, p. 37) wrote:

An initial difficulty in any discussion of federalism is that the meaning of the word has been thoroughly confused by dramatic changes in the institutions to which it refers. Hence, a word that originally referred to institutions with emphasis on local self-government has come to connote also domination by a gigantic impersonal concentration of force.

Deduction from this debate is that there is no single 'once and for all' rule for determining the structure and functioning of federal systems; what is paramount for successful operation of any political system, federations inclusive, as shall subsequently be established, are men willing to let go of their personal ego and hidden agenda of their primordial enclaves for the collective good of the whole. It is an irony, particularly in Nigeria, that most avowed apostles of devolution at the local and state levels often resort to centralisation and parochialisation upon graduation to a higher level of authority and influence in state affairs. Rationalisation of power and resources in a federal system thus seems to depend upon which end of the spectrum the advocate stands. Because in many instances, as devolution and equity is being canvassed with one edge of the mouth, selfish aggregation and acquisition is actively advanced and justified at the other. Therefore, over history, federalism is more or less a conceptual variable adjusted to meet the recurrent needs of nations and stakeholders as they evolve. And much of what could be achieved in this is subject to the cognisance attached, by those in power, to truly discern the implications of the structural origin and the unending process of federal reconstruction. In all of these, the role of true visionary leadership, as displayed by American federalists, cannot be misplaced.

Over history, federalism as a conceptual variable, has attracted as wide a range of definitions and conceptualisations as there are types and schools of thought concerning all shades of centripetal and centrifugal persuasions. However, for brevity, it is safe to adopt Wheare's classical conceptualisation that sees it as a system of government in which there exists two or more tiers of government, operating on the principles of independence and coordinacy, with each having within its unfettered control enough resources constitutionally guaranteed to enable it to discharge its allotted functions (Wheare and Ransome, 1943; Wheare, 1963). One gap in this framework, however, is non-notation of the variability of structural texture and the evolutionary trajectory of federal systems as a governing construct. Beyond Wheare, but also as distillations of American federalism, several types have been rationalised by scholars, policy analysts and decision-makers, not necessarily expeditiously, but that seems to have altered, to some extent, the neat observance of these Wheare's classical principles. Just to mention a few, we have had the following:

Dual federalism or layer-cake federalism of the US 1865-1945
Characterised by dualism, this was a form in which state and national governments have almost irreconcilable powers of existence and determination. From history, the Fourteenth Amendment of 1861-1868 in America led to the primacy of the national government and the entrenchment of the fundamental rights of citizens over and above the precarious manipulation of any state. It was generally agreed among analysts that rapid industrialisation and the consequent emergence of

the US as a strong global economic power between 1868 and 1945 brought about an increased role for the private sector, with the federal government assuming greater regulation of both national and international economic interests of America. Still rationalising further, the Roosevelt's New Deal Era that addressed the great depression through the early till mid-twentieth century was further observed as the beginning of the emergence of a new type of federalism in which all have a role to play but under the coordinating power of the national government. Though the US tagged this New Deal Federalism, it more or less resembled what is here considered as a Consensual Unimodal Federal System.

Cooperative or marble-cake federalism

This was a federal system that prevailed in the US between 1945 and 1969. It intertwined national-state-local relations, with the task of governance, seen as mutual responsibility of all in a seamless flow of power and activity. The system, which resembles the form considered in this paper as a 'consensual multimodal federal system', permits state and local governments to administer many of the federal programmes, with the states depending heavily on federal funds to support their own programmes. In this system, it does not matter which pole controls what power or resources, the object of governance remains seeing and meeting the raison d'être of the state as patriotic responsibility of all.

New federalism

In adjusting the power relations further towards ensuring more engaging development through the collaborative performance by all, the 'new federalism' that emerged in United States in 1969 championed the shedding of power to the sub-national entities. This reconstruction derived from the reasoning that the power of the central government was becoming too overwhelming and suffocating for the state and local governments. And this had to be readjusted to ensure that the goals of the state and governance were best served.

It should, however, be noted that many analysts of these typologies consider this a periodic or episodic effervescence of federal systems, with attention paid only to such variables as division of power, resource sharing, economic and administrative control; most have little or no consideration for structural origin and the evolutionary process as the nodal factors determining how federal systems function and respond to periodic challenges. In the US, the enduring lessons of the causes and effect of the civil war remains a guiding norm for successive careful and non-interruptive reconstruction of her federal system.

While a number of nations have survived many of the challenges they have had in relation to fostering national unity using a federal construct, many, particularly the less-developed heterogeneous ones, which also are more suited to federal arrangement, have failed to outlive their inorganic challenges using the federal framework. To achieve sustainable development, a federal system must have the capacity to achieve relative economic equilibrium among constituent units and, by extension, a balanced power relation if the union is to continue to exist (Babalola,

2015). Whereas, attentions are directed to other variables, it is here argued that what determines the efficacy of a federal system is, at all times, traceable to its structural origin and the process of its continued reconstruction. This affirmed that it is neither the abundance nor lack of resources as given that determines the functionality of federations. But, just as it is in most successful systems, human rationality has been the magic – found only in the willingness and selflessness of stakeholders to allow for effective determination and balancing of federal consensus (gains and compromises by constituent interests), and in careful observance of the primary contradictions (their structural origin and evolutionary process). In this sense, no two countries run exactly similar systems of federalism, just as no system also ever succeeded using exactly the same system over a long period of time. What operates at any point in time is largely a product of structural origin and the process history of a nation's material existence. For nations such as the US, there was a major difference between the North and the South, a civil war and the bulk of patriotic and selfless statesmen – the federalists. In Nigeria, just like the US, there were strong ethno-cultural differences and a civil war, but less selfless and patriotic statesmen than the federalists of America. After recognising the fundamental fault lines and their guiding basic principles, pragmatic reengagement and reconstruction by stakeholders determines the degree of success or failure that a federal system can achieve. Along this line, four conceptual variables of federalism, based on the logic of their structural origin and process of reconstruction is here deduced, the understanding of which could help in better managing the fault lines.

Attempts to correctly appraise the origin-process logic of federalism beyond such concepts as ethnicity, heterogeneity, devolution, decentralisation, centralisation, national consensus and national integration, also warrant paying attention to the dynamics of statesmanship as supplemental theoretical underpinnings of federalism. Federalism has never succeeded anywhere without patriotic and selfless state leadership. For postcolonial entities that are further burdened by colonial, neocolonial, prebendal and clientelistic tendencies, and corruption, the utilitarian influence of leadership cannot be misplaced. A federal system, by its very nature, is constructed on the principle of one unit also seeking to advance its interest against the other, or at best primarily promoting its interests through collective platforms. Where the latter principle fails to avail expectations of component members, the former becomes the premium. Maintaining systemic equilibrium, therefore, lies in efficacy of moderating the leadership class. Particularly in nations such as Nigeria, the leadership class has failed, more apparently in the immediate past administration. Briefly explained, from the focus of this paper, the two principal determinants of how federal systems turns out are their structural origin and evolutionary process.

Structural origin
This hinges on the number of distinct, identifiable social groupings that make up a given federal political system; with the assumption that a federal system will consist of at least one (unimodal) or more (multimodal) major ethnic grouping(s) alongside other minor distinctions. This approach

is justified because the evolution of most federal systems is predicated upon the existence of noticeable natural or cultural differences. Key among these differences is language. According to Isaac George (1976):

> Members of any speech community that share one language usually have a feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic group, and all other speech communities with whom direct linguistic communication is impossible are automatically regarded as alien. It may, in fact, be the case that the aliens have many non-linguistic features in common with the group, but once they are separated by language; other similarities are almost obliterated. Language then is a magnetic force, binding a speech community together, since it provides a means of identifying its members as belonging to a specific group (see also Vincent Ostrom 1988).

Because of the exacerbation of this natural distinction, other distinctions such as religion, and differing levels of economic and human development, and the failure on the part of the leadership to govern for the interests of all, become very potent instruments of discord in developing federations like Nigeria.

Evolutionary process

The second criterion that determines the efficacy of a federal system from a theoretical viewpoint is the process of evolvement, construction and reconstruction. This hinges on how the socioeconomic and political principles and structures are crafted – whether voluntary, in which case it will be spontaneous, or negotiated or enforced. Whichever of these paths a nation takes in evolving a federal framework, it fundamentally affects the logic of operation of her federal system. And, this also determines what needs to be done, in terms of engagement, reengagement and reconstruction in order to ensure sustenance.

Therefore, in an attempt to theoretically distill modelling of federalism by nature or structural origin, two grand types can be identified, which when juxtaposed with the process of evolution, can give rise to four prototype models of federal systems (see Figure 1, 2 and 3). A third major type – bimodal, could also be distilled. But, the fact remains that federalism runs towards either unity or diversity (one or many), and aims at either integration or devolution. Since in every state or society there will always be other lines of social distinction as hinted above, for the purpose of conceptual clarity, it is here assumed that it is safe to subsume other possible denominations under the above spectrum; the rationale for this will become obvious upon deeper insight into the four models. Therefore, for analysis, we can conveniently settle on unimodal and multimodal federalism as archetypes of natural federations.

Fig. 1: Classification of federal systems

STRUCTURAL ORIGIN (1)	PROCESS (2)	
	Compulsive	Consensual
Unimodal	Dominative A	Integrative C
Multimodal	Contentious B	Cooperative D

The above diagram (see also Fig 2) reveals that either of the two types of federalism (unimodal or multimodal) can produce compulsive or consensual systems. In this case, it is possible to have a compulsively engineered, dominative unimodal federal system in which there is a high level of reprehension manifesting high degrees of socio, economic and political centralisation and turbulence, but usually not as catastrophic and intimidating as compulsively engineered, contentious multimodal federal systems, as obtained in Nigeria, Yugoslavia, and the South-Central African federation, whose disintegration gave birth to Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

On the reverse side, a federal system can be multimodal and yet cooperative just as unimodal can be genuinely integrative. It is the rudiments of socioeconomic and political processes of evolution, engagement and reconstruction that from a structural point of view determine whether or not a federal system fails or succeeds outstandingly. From the purview of this paper, in the main, three key factors determine the continued subsistence of all systems, including federations: one, the nature of a society; two, the circumstances of its formation; and three, developmental experiences. Of the three, given the natural determination of nature, once formed, most nations only have the privilege of managing just one of the above variables – developmental experience – here considered as the process of reengagement and reconstruction. Given visionary leadership, nations have used the process of reconstruction to rewrite their history, permitting desirable alignments and realignments in power and resources. The central postulation here reaffirmed is that, depending on how a nation, through the process of governance, handles her developmental experiences, almost every federal system could succeed or fail outstandingly. Analysts such as Woodrow Wilson, Bruce Catton, Gardner and O'Nell, Edwin C. Rozwene, Edward C. Martin, Martin W. Sandler and C. Herman Pritchett have all shown that America's arch-federalism did not attain the contiguity and congruency it has today without some trying moments; it takes the ingenuity of human agency to determine the fate of nations. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, history has shown that no matter how powerful, almost every federal system could fail if developmental experiences so condition.

'Structural origin' and 'evolutionary process' as the determinants of forms of federal systems

The origin and evolutionary process of federal systems are the grand norms that determine their success or failure. Even though the US emerged arguably from heterogeneous systems, like average African states such as Nigeria, with major distinct cultural affinities between the North and the South and between the original thirteen colonies, the process of pacting federalism in America had no direct input from colonial masters. Though, it was colonially-related, it was simply a response to colonial challenges and not its product. The American federation, unlike the Nigerian experience, had no colonial infrastructure and input, it was purely a product of ingenious political engineering of Americans completely devoid of British interest. This is evident considering the statement credited to Little Poor Richard of American's Commonsense, which drew the attention of mankind into the American dispute with Great Britain. Paine, citing Richard, noted:

> The British constitutional system was noble for the dark and slavish time in which it was erected, but no longer suffices for American need in a more complex era. England's system could not be America's. Its interest were no longer America's, England's future was limited. America was not... (cited in Gardner and O'Nell, 1974:49).

Even though these two countries are the best of international allies and powers today, it nevertheless points to the importance of a people and nation independently determining what their goals and path to achieving it should be.

Although it has been noted that factors of heterogeneity are many, the following appears more deterministic: ethnicity (race, language, culture, etc.), resources: (socio, economic political inequalities or variations); history (this exists where people do not experience a similar past socially, economically or politically). However, with the history of the United States, Switzerland, and the reinvented Germany, all federal systems can be successful, depending on the degree to which the process efforts are geared toward success, paying informed attention to the 'origin' of such political architecture, and in the process, producing either a federal system that is organic or inorganic. In furtherance of the process argument that hinges more on the importance of leadership, the ongoing arguments are further reinforced, that: one, society is made up of several groupings and each subset strives for survival and self-preservation; and, two, cells or groups will embrace any relationship that guarantees their continued existence, but dispel if otherwise. This is largely a function of process.

Fig. 2: The conceptual variables of the prototype models of federalism

Type A: Compulsive Unimodal Federalism (Dominative)	Type B: Consensual Unimodal Federalism (Integrative)
1. One visible dominant group	1. One visible dominant group
2. Formation by coercion or compulsion such as the colonial balkanisation and packaging of African states	2. Formation by negotiation and agreement arising from curiosity to cooperate as a result of socio, economic exigencies such as threat of war, or external domination, etc.
3. Asymmetric order	3. Consociationalism
4. Autocratic political system	4. Popular participation in governance
5. Parochial, conservative and characterised by primitive accumulation	5. Equity, liberty and fairness
6. Ethnic domination, deprivation and terrosism	6. National integration and cooperation
7. Poor sense of national identity	7. High degree of national loyalty and patriotism
8. Oligarchical government	8. Aristocratic coalition of various interests in governance
9. Poor socio, economic and political development	9. Commendable socio-economic development
10. Occasional breakdown of law and order	10. Major positive breakthroughs
Type C: Compulsive Multimodal Federalism (Contentious)	**Type D: Consensual Multimodal Federalism (Cooperative)**
1. Prevalence of several distinct socio ethnic groups with a strong basis of ethnic pride and means	1. Prevalence of several distinct dominant but unity-desiring groups
2. Mostly formed as a legacy of colonial compression	2. Formation by negotiation and agreement to either withstand external aggression or for socio-economic and political advantages
3. Have dominant features of domination and contention	3. Cooperative and highly mobilised citizens
4. Praetorian and unstable sociopolitical order	4. Cooperative polycentrism and a commendable degree of democratic institutionalisation
5. Undue centralisation, parochial and prebendalistic economic order	5. Institutional and economic liberalisation aimed at mutual development of all based on nationally agreed modalities
6. Poor national cooperation and unsuccessful integration efforts	6. High level of social cooperation, integration, social diffusion and mobilisation
7. Poor national identity, high degree of ethnocentrism, prevalence of ethnic acute rivalry, disturbance and terrorism.	7. High sense of national loyalty and patriotism as displayed by the political authority in America to protect the universal interest of Americans and avoid the tarnishing of its image over the Bush/Florida saga in the last presidential election of George Bush (Jnr)
8. Conservatively autocratic	8. Proven observance of ethics of liberal democracy
9. Distorted socio-economic and political development	9. Stably developing socio-economic, political and scientific order
10. Major breakdown of law and order, sporadic ethnic confrontation, civil war and disturbances.	10. Major breakthroughs that makes significant contribution to the well-being of the society.

Fig. 3: Criteria of classification

1	Societal social structure
2	Origin of the federal structure
3	Nature of the federal arrangement
4	The political order
5	Institutional order of economic control
6	Social condition
7	Degree of patriotism and national unity
8	Nature of governance
9	Developmental level
10	Major occurrences or events

It is appropriate to state at this point that most federating systems in Africa are inorganic; a kind of federation in which the line of demarcation remains apparent, maintained and aggravated for the specific, exclusive objectives of each of the subsisting component units, with little or no care for the continued health of the systemic whole. Only organic federations can properly function as a political system, in that each and every component sees itself contributing to, and deriving its existence and well-being from the health of the whole. America, Canada, Switzerland and Germany have achieved this feat. It is also appropriate to affirm that Nigerian federalism is largely construed, and has been functioning as, an inorganic political system. As a contentious multimodal federal system, rarely is a sufficient good number of leaders from component units greatly burdened about the survival of the whole other than preservation of their respective primordial interests.

However, there is consensus among scholars that Ancient Greek and even some traditional African societies, as found in the large kingdoms and empires and in micro kingdoms with well-ordered layered systems of government among the Ekitis, the Ijebus and the Egbas, had some semblance of a federation. However, there is no iota of doubt as to the fact that the orthodox and contemporaneous concept and practice of federalism had its origin in America. According to Alexis de Tocqueville (cited in Vincent Ostrom, 1988):

> In that land (North America) the great experiment of the attempt to construct society upon a new basis was to be made by civilized man; and it was there, for the first time, that theories hitherto unknown or deemed impracticable; were to exhibit a spectacle for which the world had not been prepared by the history of the past.

Hence, the American system, which correlates to the cooperative multimodal model (D) in the above figures, is often referred to as mother or arch-federalism. The circumstances leading to the evolution of federalism in America was well documented by Gardner and O'Nell (1974,

p.68), noting that since their fight against British colonialism was waged, in their view then, to destroy tyranny, "public men in the post-war era were naturally most concerned with preventing its reoccurrence." This was the central political issue of the time and it was recognised as such by everyone, whether federalists or anti-federalists. "They differ mainly in the degree of power the central government ought to have and also where threat to liberty originated" (ibid). Obviously, the then American leaders compartmentalised into two opposing major groups, had mutual fear of possible domination. Those in the party of Washington and Hamilton were federalists demanding or eager to see an America where there would be "less local autonomy and a stronger central government will exist to facilitate trade and partly to check democratizing tendencies" which to them was the chief threat to liberty thought to be the strongest at the grassroots level (ibid). Gardner and O'Nell continued by saying that the second major party composed of anti-federalists – notable among which were Jefferson and Madison, who feared: "centralized power more than they did local democracy. They were more concerned with preserving agriculture than with encouraging trade. They idealised farmers and detested towns and townsmen" (ibid). This shows that a gulf of differences exist between the two contending parties. Therefore, the need for negotiation, arrangements, compromises and consensus cannot be over-exaggerated. Hence, according to the analysts, "the result of these competing forces and ambition was an ingenious compromise that worked because it secured or conceded the chief interests of both sides" (*ibid*).

It is, therefore, needless to spend time convincing anyone that where tendencies towards over-centralisation exist in a profoundly heterogeneous society, there cannot be but fear, rivalry, jealousy and fear of domination. Where the fear seems imminent due to an uncaring disposition of those in government, each subunit will have no alternative but to be determined to protect and advance their interests over and above the health of others within the commonwealth. This further makes the task of nation-building an arduous one, as the units nursing the fear of central encroachment on their authority will not easily find it expedient to cooperate in the art of state governance. Burn in 1963 (cited in Ostrom, 1988) had affirmed that:

> ... the structural characteristics of decision-making arrangements comprising each unit of government (reveals that) the juxtaposition of opposite and rival interest among autonomous units capable of imposing vetoes in relation to one another is likely to be accompanied by stalemate among those decision structure and yield what might be referred to as a deadlock of democracy.

Examples of such stalemates are many in Nigeria. There have been stalemates in leadership elections at party and national levels. As revealed in press reports on 7 August, 2001, there was a stalemate on resource control and the revenue allocation formula. There have been several skirmishes on the secularity of the Nigerian State, just as there have been controversies and stalemates on corruption control, sometimes leading to disagreement between the federal authorities and State governments, or between parties in and out of government, and between

groups within the nation as to how corruption should be handled, depending on who or what region, or class of culprit was concerned.

Just as controversies trail the federal state fiscal and politico-administrative relations at higher tiers of government, so there are conflicts between the State and the local governments. A discussion on the network service of the Nigerian Television Authority on 3 September, 2012 just as it was happening in virtually all the states in Nigeria, revealed the high tension between Imo state government and the local government authorities over revenue sharing. Babalola (2015), in his appraisal of Nigeria, submitted that fiscal federalism has not spurred the desired development as envisaged by the architects of the system. In Babalola's analysis, the country's over-dependence on oil, as well as the concentration of economic resources at the federal centre, are at the heart of the country's lack of economic success. Placing the 'local component' as a fundamental subset of federalism, in his rationalisation, which must have been informed by 'Dillon rule', Dominel asserted: "in the final analysis, state-local relations are conditioned by the doctrine of state supremacy". And, based on the Nigerian constitutional framework and experience, Ayoade noted that the negation of the principle of a third tier of government is revealed in the action of state legislatures abrogating the flat tax. Whereas the constitution allocated the function of the collection of rates, radio and television licenses to the local governments, the political authority at the state level took political decision, thereby abrogating the flat tax. Ayoade summed up the functional and constitutional consequences thus: "apart from creating problems of economic viability, one wonders whether that is not tantamount to a positive breach of the constitution". As an added sign of improper pacting of federal arrangement in Nigeria, in so far as the states, just like the national authorities, unilaterally decide to usurp the powers and functions, and keep the constitutionally allocated rights and resources of the local government to itself, it is to that extent that there will exist an incongruence of opinions between the federation and the state on the one hand, and between the state and local governments on the other hand, in matters of national development. When this occurs, other sociological discord variables easily crept in, leading to "fissiparous ethnic loyalties, resulting in the modern forms of segementary oppositions ... [where] the salience of ethnic domains contend against the authority and autonomy of the African state" (Ekeh, 1989 p. 2).

Probing into the problem of achieving cohesion in a multiethnic society, Grigulevish (1979:292) noted that the so-called tribes and clan groups of certain people hid deep class antagonism. In the same vein, Ismagilova cited Soviet Africanists – Olderogge, Potekhin, Ismagilova, Yablochkov and others – to establish the fact that tribes and clan communities survive in Africa in many cases only as an outer shell that does not correspond to the new social content. In their submission, behind the external diversity of ethnic tribes, anonymous, bigger ethnic communities are already concealed. It is indisputable that despite several decades of attempt at national unity, to these analysts, there are still considerable traces of a clan/tribal consciousness in Nigeria and Africa, as relics of clan/tribal structures and of many social phenomena characteristic of past epochs. As a result of the poor attempt at nation-building and jaundiced developmental experiences, a number

of developing federal systems in Africa still portray a semblance of the nineteenth century German society in which:

> Everywhere was rigidly stratified into hide bound castes which looked upon each other with contempt or envy and movement between which was extremely difficult (Elie Kedourie, 1979 p. 42-.56.)

In such societies where distinct social structures are dictatorially subsumed under a gigantic ethnicised central domination, we cannot but have "the overriding and pervasive feelings of alienation... the indeterminacy of what are the citizens' rights, obligations and responsibilities... [as well as the consequential], weakness of the state" (Olowu et al p. 2). To Olowu et al (1995 p. 2) therefore:

> everywhere one turns in Nigeria, one is confronted by the strong feeling of alienation among people... reflected in people not being sure how they belong to the 'modern' postcolonial Nigerian state, and whether they are expected to have any stake, commitment or obligation to that state.

In the middle of the second decade of the twenty-first century, due to failure of the leadership class to fashion and keep reconstructing mutually beneficial federal logics in Nigeria, various groups, ranging from socio-economic to cultural and from political to tribal, seem mainly to be interested in their own advancement. Many of these groups rarely see Nigeria as a project worth nurturing, let alone to begin to think of how to ensure its smooth governance through nationally agreed modalities.

Conclusion

One major implication drawn from the above is that federations are of various types based on structure and process. Federations are never static but dynamic systems that structures and logistics of operation change according to times and tides. It has also been proven that most developing federations such as Nigeria, consequent upon failure of the leadership class at pacting, as occasions demands, systems that are mutually beneficial to all, often have to contend with inherent and incessant social discord and developmental stalemates. All the constitutional tinkering has come to naught and the power to make the constitution is held by leaders with monarchical ambition or those for whom power is an inevitable life support system (Abdul-Rahman 2012). Thus, the failure at following the path towards availing equitable structures and processes has also stalled the achievement of effective and strong states that developed federations such as America, Switzerland, and Germany have. Therefore, these dominant and contentious federations in the less-developed region of Africa, unlike the integrative and cooperative federal models and

experiences of the developed federations, using the expression of Migdal (1988), overtly lacked the genuine capacity to penetrate their society, regulate its social relationships, and has prevented them, the states, from being able to extract the resources they need from the society. As it is in Nigeria, almost in all cases, due to corrupt governance that is absent of national ideals and goals, they have also all failed to appropriate or use those resources towards national development. With continued leadership failure at fostering national unity and development, several of these federal experiments remains threatened as they grow in age.

With major fault lines such as heterogeneity, imagined or real manifestation of ethnic domination, consequent ethnic motivated polycentric tendencies, lack of national loyalty and patriotism, and the ever increasing attendant scourge of corrupt governance, most developing multimodal federal systems such as Nigeria urgently require the emergence of a leadership class that will transcend primordial proclivity. Sustaining federal arrangement in systems such as Nigeria requires statesmanship that will, through selfless commitment to the task of nation-building, demonstrate with noticeable patriotic examples and achievements, that federations are not frameworks constructed for unending struggles for survival of the fittest, but a veritable means of pooling resources to enjoy political economics of scale (see Anyebe, 2015) by consenting to sub-national component units. On the contrary, from the theoretical distillations attempted here, the more attempts at neglecting the fundamental differences in social taxonomies and interests, the more the prevalence of corrupt and parochial leadership in acutely underdeveloped and contentious multimodal federal systems like Nigeria, and the more the continued eruption of catastrophic political landmines. It is precisely this difficulty of pacting a mutually-benefitting federal arrangement that has made the task of setting, pursuing and attaining national development agendas very difficult. Also, it is the same bane that has made the control of all forms of social vices very difficult and their continued propagation very easy.

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Nigerian political parties and internal democracy

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Abstract

Political parties are known as a platform for recruitment of political leaders and the organisation of parliament and government, both in advanced and developing democracies. Since independence in Nigeria, the concept of internal democracy has been relegated to the background through the activities of political parties from the First Republic and the germane issue has become contending in the present Fourth Republic. Research has shown that this lack of internal democracy in political parties led to crisis in the past civilian regimes, and a causal factor on which the military anchored its intervention in 1966. Conflicting interests and ramblings in the Nigerian present political parties is attributed to a lack of internal democracy in the political parties. This study discusses the following: the emergence of political parties in the Nigerian project, political parties and internal democracy and Nigerian experience, as well as the challenges. A way forward to enhance peaceful existence, internal democracy within political parties in Nigeria and full development of the Nations democratic process is suggested. A descriptive research method was utilised, both primary and secondary data was used to gather data, and documentary analysis was used to analyse data to arrive at reasonable conclusions.

Keywords: political parties, internal democracy, Nigeria, Constitution, policy.

Sumário

Os partidos políticos são conhecidos como uma plataforma para o recrutamento de líderes políticos e a organização do parlamento e do governo, tanto em democracias avançadas ou em desenvolvimento. Desde a independência, na Nigéria, o conceito de democracia interna tem sido relegado ao fundo através das atividades dos partidos políticos, da Primeira República e a essa questão tornou-se relevante na presente Quarta República. A pesquisa mostrou que esta falta de democracia interna nos partidos políticos conduziu à crise nos regimes civis passados e a um factor motivadora em que os militares fixaram sua intervenção em 1966. Os conflictos de interesses e as divergência internas nos partidos políticos atuais nigerianos são atribuídos à falta Da democracia interna nos partidos políticos. Este estudo discute o seguinte: o surgimento de partidos políticos no projeto nigeriano, partidos políticos e democracia interna e experiência nigeriana, assim como os desafios. Um caminho a seguir para reforçar a existência pacífica, a democracia interna dentro dos partidos políticos na Nigéria e o pleno desenvolvimento do processo democrático das Nações é sugerido. Utilizou-se um método descritivo de pesquisa, sendo utilizados dados primários e secundários para a coleta de dados, e usou-se a análise documental para examinar dados que conduzem a conclusões razoáveis.

Palavras-chaves: partidos políticos, democracia interna, Nigéria, Constituição, politica.

Introduction

Political parties have existed since time immemorial in the history of the Nigerian project and internal democracy has always been a bone of contention. Independence in Nigeria was said to have broken the cord of colonialism and the nation became a sovereign state to decide her future. What is attainable today is a total deviation from the Nationalists' architecture. Nigeria adopted the concept of federalism in 1946 and became a federal state through the Lyttleton Constitution of 1954. This was to help manage diversity and political tensions, negotiation and agreement. Political parties are the central features of any democracy; they are the vehicles through which the citizens come together freely to campaign for public office, express their interest and needs, and defend their aspirations for their society (NDI, 2008). Internal democracy is a crucial factor for the existence of internal cohesion in the Nigerian political parties. Absence of a well-structured, non-participation of the members, rules and processes, denial of party member rights, and a weak approach to handling grievances are as a result of the absence of internal democracy and poor leadership in the Nigerian political party system (Ikelegbe, 2013). Position integration is also a crucial factor and is necessary in a conflictual environment, hence this conflict could destabilise a nation if taken into the political system and not properly managed. Parties must stick to broad membership and democratic principle in a group integration process (Mathias and Fernando, 2008). Internal democracy provides an atmosphere where the party members have free access to information, participate in the decision-making process and consent to party rules. This political study dissects the following issues: Nigerian political parties, internal democracy in Nigerian political parties, the challenges and a suggested way forward for a good sustainable democratic process.

Conceptual discourse

Political party

A political party is an organised participant in the government – an organised group, a formal organised group with structures, hierarchy and leadership. A political programme, which may be different from others, states its goals, policies, strategies and method. Its major goals are to solely control the machinery of government and to seek popular support of the citizenry to achieve their goals (Ikelegbe, 1995, p. 88). It is a voluntary association formed by people with common interests whose aim is to retain power through the election of its candidates to various public offices at different levels of government (Oarhe & Ikelegbe, 2009). Political parties are the primary channel through which the populace's expectations and fears are expressed and conveyed to government institutions and the parliament (Kadima, 2008). Nnoli, (2003) sees a political party as a group of people with common ideals of organisation and usage of a state's power. Political parties could be perceived as organs responsible for interest articulation to seek power for the implantation of this interest (Idike, 2014). Political parties play roles such as interest aggregation, formation of governments, developing and promoting policies, and selection of political leaders

(Carothers, 2006). Political parties serve as a measure and indicator of an effective democracy (Akubo et al, 2014). Political parties are faced with the responsibility of ensuring a successful democratic system. The presence of political institutionalisation and party autonomy is crucial to cope effectively with these enormous responsibilities (Omotola, 2009).

Political parties can be seen from the above definition as a mediators between the people and the government, and as a platform on which public officers seek to attain government office.

Democracy

The word 'democracy' was popularly conceptualised by Abraham Lincoln in Gettysburg as 'the government of the people, for the people and by the people'. To many people, anything short of this definition is considered the opposite of democracy. Democracy is a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power, either directly or indirectly through representatives in a periodical election (Appadorai, 2004, pp. 137-139). To Jega, (2002) democracy means different things to different people, despite the multiplicity of concept and its contradictory nature. The essentials of democracy allow free discussion, free association and periodical elections, and continuous participation of the people in the Government. The success of democracy demands: a certain level of ability and character from the common man; rational conduct and active participation in the government; intelligence to understand public affairs; independent judgement; tolerance; and unselfish devotion to public interest (Appadorai, 2004). Democracy is a political system where the citizens are governed through any form of government and exercise of power through the people's representatives (Osakwe, 2001, Idike, 2014). Democracy assures civic capacity on the part of the citizens, which involves three qualities: intelligence, self-control and conscience. The citizens must understand communal interest and subjection of their will to that of the public, as well as their responsibility to the public, and the exercise their civic responsibility for the good of the general public (Bryce, 1929).

The essentials of democracy include: government responsibility to the people, existence and implementation of the rule of law, popular participation in both social, economic and political activities, transparent election, freedom of the press, sound political ideology, independence of the judiciary, freedom of communication, democratic equalisation among the people, and regular consultation of the people through the representatives (Aderigbe, 2001, Ugwu, 2007). The role of the political party in this regard is to ensure that a government is elected based on a free and fair election and ensures the citizens commitment to the continuity and survival of the state (Idike, 2014). Internal democracy deals with the coordination of political parties' affairs transparently within the tenets of the party rules and should inculcate equity and fairness (Akubo et al, 2014). Firstly, according to Nzongala-Ntalaya, (2001) democracy refers to three fundamental ideals, which include: a moral imperative that indicates representation of aspirations of people for freedom, for a better social and political order. Secondly, democracy is a social process that involves a continuous process of promoting equal access to fundamental human rights, and lastly, democracy is a political practice anchored on the principles of popular sovereignty, rule of

law, accountability, change and popular participation. Democracy is costly to operate, its process of policy formulation is rigorous, and it serves the elites' interest rather than that of the majority (Oarhe and Ikelegbe, 2009).

Conclusively, democracy is a government established by the people and for the people. Thus, democracy is still considered as the best form of government in the modern world compared to other systems of government. It allows full participation of the citizens, an independent judiciary, respect for human rights and rule of law, and the existence of political parties on which candidates secure a position in government office to represent their various constituents in a periodic election.

Literature review

Political parties are the vehicles through which public officers seek recruitment into various government offices at different levels of government. Internal democracy is a crucial factor for a peaceful coexistence and full development of a party system. Much work was carried out in political parties and internal democracy, but emphasis was laid on party ideology, violence and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The Akubo et al, (2014) study found out that Nigerian political parties' challenges are as a result of a lack of institutionalisation and personalisation. In the study, the absence of internal democracy in the party is due to the heavy influence of the political godfather on their candidates: incessant party violence. They concluded that political parties in Nigeria are weak and vulnerable without a future, so there is an urgent need for internal democracy for party effectiveness and efficiency. Omotola, (2009) asserted that the connection is complex. Because the political parties forms the government which is an institution of the state, they are interdependent of each other. The study also placed an emphasis on the need for party ideology in a well-defined relationship, hence this absence pose a threat to political liberalisation, democratisation and democratic consolidation. The conclusion was that Nigerian political parties lack party ideology and there is a need for sound intra-conflict management as a functional tool of ideology – this could be achieved through the help of both the elites and civil society in reforming the party and the members to achieve a good democratic process. Idike, (2014) work concerning political parties, political apathy and democracy in Nigeria shows that political parties are organs of interest articulation for the purpose of attaining power and the implementation of interest. The political party is a global phenomenon and a germane issue to developing countries like Nigeria.

Ikelegbe, (1995) focused his study on the process of citizens politically organising themselves through interest groups and the political parties. The study went further to equate political parties as organised groups with the objective to have control of the state and to exercise power. The study concluded that the Nigerian political parties emerged through organisations and movements due to the presence of colonialism, and that these movements later became political parties that mobilised the citizenry to support and participate in its favour. Omoweh, (2012) asserted that the nature of political parties and its capacity to conduct free and fair party elections has to do with the political leadership; the level of intra-party and inter-party democracy determines the existence of democracy. Firstly, the study revealed three conditions for political parties' growth

and this includes the weakness of internal democratic practices within political parties, which is detrimental to democratic processes in all countries of the world. Secondly, it revealed that the ethnic basis of the Nigerian political parties speed up the rise of autocratic and ethnic hegemonic leaders who have not be able to rise above this ethnic consideration, both at the regional and at the national level. Thirdly, the beneficiaries of the factions within the political parties in Nigerian and South Korea tends to resist democratisation. The conclusion of the study was that steps to help bring a true democratic developmental state include: the involvement of civil society organisations (CSOs), and the need for vibrant labour unions to be the watchdogs in fighting corruption and ensuring true democratic practices in public institutions.

Oarhe & Ikelegbe, (2009) are of the view that political parties are essential to democracy and good governance and act as a central instrument. The study also shows that the ruling party between 1999 and 2007 performed below expectation in the promotion of good governance, and this could be ascribed to the problem of godfatherism. The conclusion was that there is an urgent need to imbibe discipline to enhance democratic process and good governance. Aleyomi, (2014) work on the role of political parties in renewing Nigeria's democracy was based on the compatibility of neoliberalism and democracy through the viability of the political party system in Nigeria. The study shows that the inability to democratically manage intra-party sources of conflict could escalate and pose a threat to national stability and economic growth. Lamidi and Bello, (2012) concluded that the activities of political parties from 1999 failed to engage on issues of governance; they rather spent quality time on internal crises due to factions and tribal loyalty. Therefore, party reformation is a prerequisite for a proper democratic process. To Badejo and Akpowoghaha,(2015) the Nigerian Fourth Republic 1999 political system has continued to experience a proliferation of political parties and decamping of members, and this development in the Nigeria scenario is due to a lack of internal democracy and the selfish interests of its members. It was concluded that government financial grants to political parties, the 'get rich quick' syndrome by party elites, inefficient internal conflict management, the multi-ethnic nature of the nation, and a lack of internal democracy were causal factors for members cross-carpeting and proliferating political parties. For a peaceful coexistence, the parties must observe internal democracy and respect for constitutional provisions Aleyomi, (2013) findings were that politicians in Nigeria take political parties and politics very seriously, and this is due to their personal interests. According to the study, those who decamped often anchored their lack of political integrity on lack of internal democracy and political patronage, and this behaviour is as old as the nations' independence and sovereignty.

Also, there is a lack of party ideology. It was concluded that relevant sections of the 1999 constitution such as section 68(1) and section 109 (1) of the 1999 constitution became a platform for decamping for party members. This could pose a threat to the multi-party system and have a direct effect if not put in place to check on political progress and stability and clamour for a political party who place people at the centre (people oriented) and uphold political culture as an ideology. Finally, Okhaide, (2012) study titled 'Quest for internal party democracy in Nigeria' examined the 2010 Electoral Act. In the study, it was revealed that the provision in section 87

(1) and (2) of the act prescribed the procedure for political parties' nomination of members, but the repealed section 87 (9) of the act, which empowers the political party members on candidates' nominations, led to the demise of internal democracy in the Nigerian political parties. It was concluded in the study that the primaries conducted by political parties could serve as a yardstick for measuring internal democracy in these political parties due to non-compliance with the constitutional provisions. This made it difficult for the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) to effectively carry out its mandate, it gave opportunity to party lords to select candidates of their choice, and it was at the expense of internal democracy in political parties.

This research focuses on the absence of internal democracy in Nigerian political parties, the effect of godfatherism on the party system, the lack of atmosphere transparency and accountability in parties' objectives, and the non-inclusiveness of the grassroots members in decision-making.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for this study would engage the system approach to the study of politics by David Easton. The purpose is to reduce multiplication of efforts to integrate all knowledge and to treat all systems as inter-related. Parts of a system should be treated as organic parts of the same system, not as separate units. According to this theory, every unit has its own structures and sub-structures that function with the help of inputs, throughputs outputs and feedback. Emphasis is laid on certain forces that come from the environment and play a part in the decision-making process (output). The feedback plays its own part in connecting the input and outputs with the result from political system activities (Joharis, 2013). Political parties don't exist in a vacuum; it takes people who are the elite, middle class and poor in the party who operate in the environment. All party members must be carried along and involved in the decision-making process, regardless of the class they belong to; they must be treated with equity and respect. Grassroots-oriented parties are central to representative democracy and in order to enable them to perform this role effectively, a party system in a nation must embrace stability (Kadima, 2008).

The activities of political parties determine party viability and peaceful coexistence. Internal democracy is a crucial factor for its survival, and for party members' satisfaction.

Materials and methods

This study utilised descriptive research method. Internal democracy in the Nigerian political parties is a crucial element for the proper development of party system but where there is observance of this factor, especially in developing countries, there is bound to be intra-party conflict. The result in the Nigerian scenario is defection of members of a particular political party to another at will. Parties' primaries lack transparency. This development has gone a long way to hamper internal democracy and the opposition's viability in the Nigerian party system. Documentary analysis was adopted to arrive at reasonable conclusions. Sources of data are both primary and secondary sources. The primary source was through questionnaires and interviews, while the secondary source was from textbooks, published journals, internet materials and newspapers.

The origin of Nigerian political parties

The Nigerian democratic experiment commenced in 1999 under the 1999 constitution (as amended). Political parties have existed and disappeared in different guises in the nation's political history (Adeleye, 2013). Herbert Macaulay, known as The Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), formed the first political party in Nigeria in 1923. Its activities were restricted to contesting the election only in the Lagos City Council. UNDP hegemonic activities over the years led to the emergence of the Lagos Youth Movement (LYM), which became the Nigerian Youth Movement in 1934 and defeated the NNDP for the available three seats allocated for Lagos (Omotola, 2009). There was a new turn of events by 1944 due to the agitations of Nationalists, which resulted in the formation of The National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (CNCN) under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay and later Nnamdi Azikiwe. In the 1950s, most socio-cultural organisations transformed themselves into political parties.

The Yoruba Egbe Omo Oduduwa became The Action Group (AG) under the leadership of Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the Northern People's Congress emerged from the North in 1959. The emergence of the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) was as a result of a breakaway faction of the NPC, the Radical Youth based in Kano, which later dominated the political landscape in their respective regions, and spurred them on towards independence and the First Republic (Sklar, 1963). The First Republic political parties drew their strengths on a regional basis from the three regions. The aborted third Republic saw the activities of two major political parties, which were introduced by the then, Head of State General Gbadamoisi Babangida: Nigerian Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP). They contested until the annulment of the June 12 election, which the SDP was proposed to have won (Adeleye, 2013). According to Emordi et al, (2006) upon assumption of office by Abacha, the two existing political parties were dissolved and five political parties were inaugurated: the United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP), Grassroots Democratic Party of Nigeria (GDM), Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN), National Centre Party of Nigeria (NCPN) and Congress for National Congress (CNC). These political parties were said to have conspired and adopted Abacha as their presidential candidates for his third term bid agenda. Upon transition to democracy, the candidate of the People's Democratic Party, General Olusegun Obasanjo, emerged as the winner of the 1999 election and became the manager of the Nigerian economy till the merger formed by CPC, ANPP and ACN – APC opposition party – emerged as the winner of the 2015 general election.

The First Republic political parties – the Northern People's Congress (NCPC), mainly the Hausas Party, the Action Group (AG) (the Yoruba), the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) (represented the Igbos in the East) – were based on tribal, ethnic and religious regional identities (Corentin Cohen, 2015). The narrow focus of the pre-independence political parties served as a defined policy for challenging colonial rule and to attain independence for the nation. Parties' activities were not regulated but the mobilisation was for their immediate constituencies. This became a platform for the promotion of ethnic and primordial interests that later sabotaged their connections and later

encouraged suspicion and rivalry, violence, and the termination of agenda that served as a basis for military takeover in Nigerian politics (ALF, 2000). Tribalism and ethnicity was inherited from the pre-independence political parties and is still very strong in the six geopolitical regions of the country. The Professor Ekelis theory of the two publics can be used as an illustration where an ethnic group dominated the primordial society and civic society was the government (Nigeria). Most of our nationalists were nationalists by day and tribal men by night. Tribal sentiments pose an obstacle to a sustainable democratic process and party development as even the anti-corruption war of the present president, President Muhamadu Buhari, have seen most people frown when their tribal man is indicted.

The absence of a truly national party and the lapses in the formation of Nigerian political parties led to the demise of internal democracy in the present democratic dispensation.

Political parties, internal democracy: the Nigerian experience

Despite the constitutional considerations and provisions of section 221-229 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which made provisions for intra-party democracy, the activities of political parties in Nigeria lack internal democracy. Internal democracy encompasses two instruments of intra-party democracy: organisation of free and fair elections, and a periodic election of party members and its representatives – equal and popular participation of its members, and equal representation of interests (Okhaide, 2012). This ranges from the nomination of candidates to party primaries, alliances and many others. The mistake of the Nigerian ruling class is its failure to build a strong and socially stable system for a democratic practice to take root (Musa, 2015). Ukaeje, (2011) was clear in his assertion that Nigerian political parties are likened to a paradox, due to the lack of democratic principles such as internal coherence and discipline. What is obtainable is the opposite: this absence of internal democracy poses a stumbling block to a sustainable democratic process. Nigerian political parties have neither risen above ethnic considerations nor observed internal democracy in its structure, organisation and its politics, but have been bedridden with crisis and become an avenue for corruption in the country. Politics has become a profession to the detriment of public interests, and a source of primitive accumulation and profit maximisation (Jinadu, 2013). Parties have adopted the role in contemporary democracies as aggregators, mediators, and solutions to collective action problems. Politics provides a platform for political aggregation, organising and coordinating votes, a vehicle for solving collective action problems, and it facilitates the activities of political actors (Allen, 2008). The question of internal democracy in Nigerian political parties is of paramount importance for the development of a political and democratic process in a contemporary society (Oarhe & Ikelegbe, 2009). The health and strength of a Democratic Party system serves as a determinant factor and success of any democratic experiments in a nation (Allen, 2008). According to Omeje, (2015) ways of ensuring internal democracy include: popular participation; accessible party leadership to the people after winning elections; involvement of non-Governmental organisations such as churches, mosques, student, trade unions, and farmers; the establishment of a quality research team for investigations;

and adopting a quota system to reserve a certain percentage for ethnic minority. In the Nigerian context internal democracy is far from a reality, and this lack of internal democracy in the political parties led to the breakdown of The Nigerian People's Democratic Party (PDP) which is yet to come to terms with the opposition role it has to play in the Nigerian politics.

Given the recent development in the All Progressive Party power tussle, we could deduce that, though the people clamour for change, change was not secured. The democracy process is heading for failure, hence the elected officials don't consider the electorate's needs and aspirations but are only concerned with who gets what and from what region. Ugwu, (2007) likened Nigerian political parties to warlords of Ancient Confucius China, who operated as semi-gods in political parties, giving orders and commands. He argued further that parties in Nigeria lack ideology and internal democracy, and their reward system is based on patronage. Turning the periscope towards the current conflict in the Nigerian National Assembly, it is attributed to a lack of internal democracy and is the symptom of regime reproduction among the party lords. The performance of the past administration has not encouraged internal democracy either; for example, it was noted that there were no party primaries for the PDP presidential candidate in the 2015 general election and that President Good luck Jonathan was assumed a consensus candidate based on a 'Yes' or 'No' ballot with no contestant. Even with the aggrieved going to the court of law to stop the procedure, the wind vein pointed the direction that the supposed party leaders made it to point and this was a mockery of a sustainable democratic process. Another vivid example worth noting is the current Bayelsa September 2015 controversial APC governorship primaries that were flawed. The Chairman who was to conduct the primaries was allegedly whisked out of the arena due to miscreant activities, which led to the cancellation of the result, and thus the primaries were full of irregularities. Elections have been more controversial in manipulated public institutions, which result in a high level of poverty for the populace (Yagboyaju, 2011). As a matter of fact, this is what the Nigerian political parties anchor their activities on: internal conflicts as a result of conflicting interests of party members. Jega, (2015) put some light on the state of political parties in the nation when he asserted that the germane issue is that too much opportunity is given to these parties to be hijacked by the powerful private individual, who later become the boss and determine 'who becomes who', that there is need to put in place a mechanism to make political parties public-owned institutions, and internal democracy can only be found in smaller parties. The Nigerian political atmosphere is characterised by money politics, political vagrancy, indiscipline and a lack of cohesion (Omotola, 2009).

The elements that form cohesion of political parties in the democratic transition were to facilitate internal democracy. These elements, according to Jinadu, (2013) include: party conventions; party nomination primaries; establishing a party bureaucracy to help identify party technocrats and career politicians; instilling a new democratic culture through the encouragement of political participation that will give birth to politicians with system-supporting orientation to the polity; strong political ideology that reveals the difference in each political party; discouraging the personalisation of political parties; and giving room for accountability and transparency in dispensing party finance.

The challenges

The problem with political parties in this geographical location is not the absence of laws; existing laws are meant to govern its activities. The candid issue of substituting candidates after primaries was as a result of the flaws in the electoral act, which gave room for impunity (Jega, 2015). Onwe, (2015) further equated the Nigerian political parties to public liability companies, whose actual owners are the rich shareholders who put in both material and financial effort for its establishment and control its operations. This is the position of the president or governor upon assuming political office, who utilises the resources at his disposal to dispense as political patronage. He asserted further that this activity has made the nation's political water shark-infested and muddy. Given the fact that the Nigerian political parties have not grown above ethnic consideration is an issue open to public debate. Once a candidate is nominated, his credentials are usually based on his ethnic origins, not on merit. Momoh, (2013) enumerates the bases on which most Nigerian political parties were established in the Fourth Republic – the proliferation of political parties, which led to the demise of the past republics and internal contradiction, encouraged factions and ended up promoting the creation of new parties by the aggrieved. The issue is that deepening democracy is secondary to contemporary political parties. Rather, focus is geared towards winning elections by all means to make them able to control the nation's resources in their best interests, even when the interests of the poor masses is at stake, given the political behaviour.

Another issue in the Nigerian party system is the attitude of the ruling elite towards its members and godfatherism. A recent example of the absence of internal democracy in Nigerian political parties is the controversial emergence of the new Kogi state governor. He was not part of the inconclusive 15 February governorship election, but was used as a replacement for the late governorship aspirant (Abubaka Audu). This transpired despite the provisions of section 181 of the 1999 constitution, the father of all laws and acts, which states that if a State Governor dies before being sworn in, the Deputy shall elect his Deputy with support of a simple majority of the House of Assembly of the State. The Attorney- General of the nation's grounds for party replacement with a new candidate who did not partake in the inconclusive election was anchored on section 33 of the electoral Act, which states: if a Governor dies, there is room for a replacement. This led to the situation where James Falake (Former Deputy), who was to be nominated as the Governor, was asked to remain as Deputy and Yahaya Bello, who never partook in the inconclusive election, was nominated as the Governorship candidate by the party lords. The aggrieved is now in ordinary court to try and get his mandate back. We could deduce from the following case that the problem of godfatherism is the rationale behind the retarded growth and non-observance of intra-party democracy in the Nigerian political system. This view was supported in Ikelegbe, (2013) when he asserted that the problem was due to the following: internal contradiction in the parties; state actors' authoritative attitude towards party members; and inequality, which later led to their inefficiency. The weak leadership, weak cohesion, divisibility and grounds for conflict and violence was due to poor leadership of the political party lords. Parties procure their electoral victory through fraud and violence. Electoral violence is based on a party's capability, resources and incumbent power,

which indicate the ruling party as the perpetrators (Ikelegbe, 2013). The Nigeria party system is weak and vulnerable, with a future hijacked by desperate politicians who don't have national interests at heart (Akubo et al, 2014). Parties' primaries usually face many challenges, such as encouragement to step aside, horse-trading, and a culture of imposition of preferred candidates by godfathers. This development led to the shrinking of democratic space and a lack of credible leaders with the responsibility to deliver good governance (Osumah & Ikelegbe, 2009). Godsons are placed in various public positions by their godfathers, their financial backing in return for consensus and promise of loyalty, influence in the running of the affairs of the State, contracts, appointments, employment and allocation of resources (Osumah & Ikelegbe, 2009).

The points noted above reveal that where this challenge looms, such parties spend quality time on settling internal conflicts instead of getting involved with issues of governance and instilling internal democracy in the party. This could prevent growth, peaceful coexistence, and pose a stumbling block to the full development of the Nigerian political parties.

Results/findings

The findings of this research are as follows:

1. Lack of internal democracy in the Nigerian party system is due to the influence of godfathers, whose level of interference is very high in the day-to-day running of the State for their own interest.
2. That incessant defects of politicians has weakened the activities and political integrity of the opposition party.
3. The future of Nigerian politics is characterised and marred by ambitious politicians who take to violence in order to claim political victory.
4. Patronage and the politics of favouritism is a stumbling block for political parties to assume their enormous responsibility of helping the nation to attain a proper democratic process.
5. The dearth of internal democracy is attributed to the repealed section 87 (9) of the 2010 Electoral Act, and the noncompliance of section 87 (1) (2) of the Act.
6. Lax implementation of the constitutional provision and the omission of relevant sections based on the selfishness of politicians.
7. Lack of transparency in parties' primaries and non-inclusiveness of the grassroots members is due to the absence of internal democracy in the party system.

Conclusions and recommendations

The issue of internal democracy in Nigerian political parties remains an issue that is yet to have a permanent solution. The Nigerian experience is worrisome. The existing internal conflict could be attributed to the conflictual interests of the party members. There is the need for Nigerian political parties to embrace internal democracy as guide for viability and full development of the parties. The grassroots must be involved in the development agenda, and there is a need for strong party ideology, aims and objectives to enable the citizens to believe in the parties' policies

and programmes, as this would help strengthen the democratic system, and lead to peaceful coexistence. Intra-party conflict, particularly in the ruling party, could escalate to the country as well if not properly managed.

Based on the above discussion in this study it was recommended that political leadership of any political party must instil party discipline and engage with the people on a continual basis. It was also suggested that there is a need for Nigerian political parties to adhere to constitutional provisions on their formation and in intra-party activities. The party should endeavour to be people oriented, not only to a few political elites, but to the grassroots in policies and decision-making as this would reduce internal conflict among the party members, and increase party effectiveness.

It was also recommended in the study that the Nigerian political parties should endeavour to observe internal democracy so as to give room for transparent party primaries, as this would reduce incidences of replacing candidates, thereby promoting an atmosphere for peaceful coexistence, equity and fairness. The problem of godfatherism should be drastically reduced to give room to the people to be able to choose the best to represent them as this would go a long way to strengthening the democratic process in the country. Finally, it was recommended that the parties should have strong political ideology as this would serve as a guide to parties' objectives.

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Online document	Author, A.A. (2000). *Title of work*. Retrieved Month day, year, from web address	
Referencing other sources		
A book with only one author	Rose, L. (1977). *Crime and punishment*. London: Batsford.	
A book by two authors	Gordon, E.W., & Rourke, A. (1966). *Compensatory education for the disadvantaged*. New York: College Entrance Examination Board. In order to avoid possible communication problems all procedures should be explained to the patient (Gardner & Sheldon, 1967, p. 40)... Gardner and Sheldon (1967, p. 40)	When quoting a book with two authors in the text, use the word 'and' between the names; if the reference is in parentheses, use '&' examine the problem...

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A book by three or more authors	Meyer, B.S., Anderson, D.P., Bohning, R.H., & Fratanna, D.G., Jr. (1973). *Introduction to plant physiology.* New York: Van Nostrand. ...the traditionalist personality (Riesman, Denney & Glazer, 1968, p. 40) restrains him from doing... ...due to his "other-directness" modern Western man in a sense is at home everywhere and yet nowhere (Riesman et al., 1968, p. 40).	In referring to a work by three, four or five authors all the relevant names have to be furnished in the **first** reference to the work. In **later** references to this work only the first author's name is stated, and the abbreviation '*et al.*' is used. In referring to a work by six or more authors, cite only the surname of the first author followed by *et al.* (italicised and with a full stop after "al"), and the year for the first and subsequent citations. **In the reference list, provide the initials and surnames of the first six authors, and shorten any remaining authors to *et al.***
Reference to more than one publication of the same author in the same year	Johnson (1994a, p. 48) discussed the subject... In his later works (Johnson, 1994b, p. 56) he argued... Johnson, P.D. (1994a). *Pedagogy.* London: Routledge. Johnson, P.D. (1994b). *Advanced Pedagogy.* London: Routledge.	
Different authors with the same surname	According to B. Smith (1989) and F. Smith (1997), ...	When you refer to publications by different authors with the same surname, use their initials in the reference.
A book with an institution, organisation or association as author	You can also use the name of the body as part of the sentence. ...it had long been evident that the intellectual potential of the Afrikaners on the Witwatersrand was under utilised (Rand Afrikaans University,1976, p. 48)... ...thus the Rand Afrikaans University (1963, p. 30) concluded that... Rand Afrikaans University (1970). *The new university: A practical guideline.* Johannesburg, Gauteng: Rand Afrikaans University.	Where reference is made to the work by a body (institution, organisation, association, etc.) where no specific author is responsible for the work, the official name of the body is used as author. When the author and publisher are identical, use the word Author as the name of the publisher.
A book with (an) editor(s)	Driver, E., & Broisen, A. (Eds.). (1989). *Child sexual abuse.* Basingstoke, UK: MacMillan Education Ltd. Strunk, W. (Ed.). (1976). *Adult learning.* New York: MacMillan.	
A chapter in a book (not edited)	Capra, F. (1983). The systems view of life. In *The turning point: science, society and the rising culture* (pp. 376-399). London: Fontana Press	
Part/chapter of an edited book	Hartley, J.T., Harker, J.O., & Walsh, D.A. (1980). Contemporary issues and new directions in adult development of learning and memory. In L.W. Poon (Ed.), *Aging in the 1980's: Psychological issues*, (pp. 239-252). Washington: American Psychological Association. Shirom, A. (1989). Burnout in work organisations. In C. L. Cooper & I.T. Robertson (Eds.), *International review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, Vol. IV (pp. 25-49). New York: Wiley.	
Anonymous work	A recent article (Anonymous, 1993) stated that... In the case of articles in newspapers or magazines where no author is named, the title is used instead of the author. A recent article (War over, 1991) stated that... Anonymous. (1993, 17 February). Best practices. *The Star*, p. 10. War over. (1991, 7 January). *The Star,* p. 1.	When a work's author is designated as "Anonymous", cite in text the word 'Anonymous'.

Referencing other sources (continued)		
A work with a foreign title	Spyridakis, A. (1987). *E historia tis Helladas* [A history of Greece]. Athens: Therios ita Iona.	
Translated works	Luria, A.R. (1968). *The mind of a mnemonist: A little book about a vast memory.* (L. Solotaroff, Trans.). New York: Basic Books. (Original work published 1967). A recent study (Luria, 1967/1968).	In text, cite the original publication date and the date of the translation.
Second, further or revised editions	Dyson, G.G.H. (1977). *The mechanics of athletics.* (7th edn.). New York: Homes and Meier. Cohen, J. (1977). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (Rev. edn.). New York: Academic Press.	
Date of publication unknown	Wolverton, H. (n.d.). *The geological structure of the Black Hills*. Wilmington: Prairie Press.	
Dictionaries	*The concise Macquarie dictionary.* (1982). New South Wales: Lane Cove. Nguyen, D.H. (1966). *Vietnamese-English dictionary.* Rutland Vermont: Charles Tuttle Company. Sadie, S. (Ed.). (1980). *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians* (6th edn, Vols. 1-20). London: MacMillan.	
Encyclopedia	Bergmann, P.G. (1993). Relativity. In *The new Encyclopaedia Brittanica* (Vol. 26, pp. 501-508). Chicago: Encyclopaedia Brittanica.	If an entry has no byline, place the title in the author position.
Personal communication	According to T.K. Lutes (personal communication, April 18, 2001)...	Personal communications may be letters, memos, some electronic communication (e. g., email or messages from non-archived discussion groups or electronic bulletin boards), personal inter-views, telephone conversations, and the like. Because they do not provide recoverable data, personal communications are not included in the reference list. Cite personal communications in text only. Give the initials as well as the surname of the communicator, and provide as exact a date as possible.
Unpublished manuscript submitted for publication	Jordan, B. (1989). *Psychology of adolescent parents*. Manuscript submitted for publication.	
Unpublished manuscript not submitted for publication	Ryder, M. (1987). *Wonder woman: An Amazon legacy.* Unpublished manuscript.	
Newspaper article	Lamb, J. (1970, 20 October). The perfect plants for lazy gardeners. *Weekend Australian,* p. 3.	
Periodical article	Phillips, E. (1985). The Australian scene. *Australian Journal of Ecology*, 3(2), 25-29.	If a journal or newsletter does not use volume numbers, include the month, season, or other designation with the year, for example (1994, April). Only indicate the issue number after the volume number if each issue begins on page 1.
Journal article in press	Phillips, E. (in press). The Australian scene. *Australian Journal of Ecology.* In text: Phillips (in press) or (Phillips, in press)	
Abstract	Phillips, E. (1985). The Australian scene [Abstract]. *Australian Journal of Ecology*, 3(2), 25-29.	

Referencing other sources (continued)		
Non-English journal article	Ising, M. (2000). Intensitätsabhängigkeit evozierter Potenzial im EEG: Sind impulsive Personen Augmenter oder Reducer? [Intensity dependence in event related EEG potentials: Are impulsive individuals augmenters or reducers?]. *Zeitschrift für Differentielle und Diagnostische Psychologie*, 21, 208-217.	Give the original title, as well as an English translation in brackets.
Published dissertation or thesis	Bevins, G.D. (1987). *Theory and practice at an Australian university.* Doctoral dissertation. Montreal: McGill University.	
Unpublished dissertation or thesis	Little, P. (1965). *Helplessness, depression and mood in end stage renal disease.* Unpublished master's thesis, Wits University, Johannesburg, South Africa. Or: Unpublished doctoral dissertation...	
Dissertation abstract	Ross. D.F. (1990). Unconscious transference and mistaken identity: When a witness misidentifies a familiar but innocent person from a lineup (Doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1990). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 51, 417.	
Government publications	According to The Bill of Rights (1996)... Education is in the process of transformation (Department of Education, 1995)... The Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the Republic of South African. (1996). *Government Gazette.* (No. 17678). Department of Education. (1995). White Paper on Education. *Government Gazette.* (Vol. 375, No. 45621). Commission on Civil Rights. (1967). *Racial isolation in the public schools.* Washington: United States Government Printing Office. Republic of South Africa. (1997). Basic Conditions of Employment Act, No. 75 of 1997. Pretoria: Government Printers.	When referring to a government publication, the date is sufficient for in text referencing. Provide all numbers, sections, chapters or volume numbers that is available, in brackets.
Unpublished raw data, untitled	Bordi, F., & LeDoux, J.E. (1993). [Auditory response latencies in rat auditory cortex]. Unpublished raw data.	Use brackets to indicate that the material is a description of the content, not a title.
Booklet, pamphlet or leaflet	South African College of Advanced Education. (1976). *Referencing: the footnote and Harvard system* [Brochure]. Johannesburg: Wits Technikon. Research and Training Center in Independent Living. (1993). *Guidelines for reporting and writing about people with disabilities* (4th edn.). [Brochure]. Lawrence, K.S.: Author.	
Study guide	Speedy, C. (1999). *Study Guide: Electrical Engineering 1.* America: South American College of Engineering.	
Conference proceedings, no author or title	International Microcomputer Conference. (1984). *Conference proceedings held at the Western Australian Institute of Technology*, Perth, 22-24 May 1984. Perth: Western Australian Institute of technology.	
Conference proceedings, with author	Field, G. (2001). Rethinking reference rethought. In *Revelling in Reference: Reference and Information Services Section Symposium, 12-14 October 2001* (pp. 59-64). Melbourne, Victoria, Australia: Australian Library and Information Association.	
Unpublished paper presented at a meeting	Lanktree, C., & Briere, J. (1991, January). *Early data on the Trauma Symptom Checklist for Children (TSC-C).* Paper presented at the meeting of the American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children, San Diego, CA.	

Referencing other sources (continued)		
Publication of limited circulation	Klombers, N. (Ed.). (1993, Spring). *ADAA Reporter.* (Available from the Anxiety Disorders Association of America, 6000 Executive Boulevard, Suite 513, Rockville, MD20852).	For a publication of limited circulation, give in parentheses immediately after the title a name and address from which the publication can be obtained.
Review	Schatz, B.R. (2000). Learning by text or context? [Review of the book *The social life of information*]. *Science,* 290, 1304. Kraus, S.J. (1992). Visions of psychology: A videotext of classic studies [Review of the motion picture *Discovering Psychology*]. *Contemporary Psychology*, 37, 1146-1147.	
Electronic sources		
In-text reference where the author of the electronic source is known	The project website was created using *Aldus Pagemaker version 3* (1987-1988)... Several films (e.g. Bertolucci, 1988) have used this technique... Azar and Martin (1999) found that...	Simply use whatever you used as author in the reference, as well as the year of publication.
In-text reference to a web site	Rainbow MOO is a virtual space designed especially for teachers and their elementary-school students (http://it. uwp. edu/rainbow). Jones, 2000: ¶5) Jones, 2000: Conclusion, para. 7)	To cite an entire web site (but not a specific document on the site), simply give the site's URL in the text. When a specific part of an electronic source has to be quoted and no page number can be found, use the paragraph number if available, preceded by the ¶ symbol or the abbreviation para. If these are absent, cite the heading and the number of the paragraph following it.
Internet site with author	Holmes, A. (1998). *Greenpeace wins media war.* Retrieved November 25, 1998, from http://www.independent.co.uk/ international/green25.htm	
Internet document without author	GVU's 8th WWW user survey. (n.d.). Retrieved August 8, 2000, from http://www.cc.gatech.edu/gvu/user_surveys/ survey-1997-10/	
Article from an online periodical with DOI assigned	Author, A.A., & Author, B.B. (Date of publication). Title of article. *Title of Journal, volume number* (issue number). doi: 0000000/000000000000	
Personal electronic communication (email)	According to T.K. Lutes (personal communication, April 18, 2001)...	Because personal email do not provide recoverable data, they (like other personal communications) are not included in the reference list. Cite personal communications in text only. Give the initials as well as the surname of the communicator, and provide as exact a date as possible.
Article in an Internet-only journal	Fredrickson, B.L. (2000, March 7). Cultivating positive emotions to optimise health and well-being. Prevention & Treatment, 3, Article 0001a. Retrieved November 20, 2000, from http://journals. apa. org/prevention/volume3/ pre0030001a. html	

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Electronic copy of a journal article retrieved from database	Borman, W.C. (1993). Role of early supervisory experience in supervisor performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78, 443-449. Retrieved October 23, 2000, from PsycARTICLES database.	
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Paper presented at a virtual conference	Tan, G., & Lewandowsky, S. (1996). *A comparison of operator trust in humans versus machines.* Paper presented at the CybErg 96 virtual conference. Retrieved May 16, 2000, from http://www.curtin.edu.au/conference/cyberg/centre/outline.cgi/frame?dir=tan	
Abstract	Isaac. J. D., Sansone, C., & Smith, J.L. (1999, May). Other people as a source of interest in an activity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 35, 239-265. Abstract retrieved June 7, 1999, from IDEAL database: http://www.europe.idealibrary.com	
Article in an electronic magazine (ezine)	Adler, J. (1999, May 17). Ghost of Everest. *Newsweek.* Retrieved May 19, 1999.	
Newspaper article	Azar, B., & Martin, S. (1999, October). APA's Council of Representatives endorses new standards for testing, highschool psychology. *APA Monitor.* Retrieved October 7, 1999, from http://www.apa.org/monitor/oct99/in1.html	
Review	Parfit, M. (1997, December 7). Breathless [Review of the book *The climb: Tragic ambitions on Everest]. New York Times on the Web.* Retrieved October 7, 1999, from http://search. nytimes. com/books/97/12/07/reviews/971207.07parfitt.html	
Letter to the editor	Gray, J. (1999, May 7). Pesticides linger in land and air—and in our bodies [Letter to the editor]. *Lexington Herald-Leader.* Retrieved October 7, 1999, from http://www.kentuckyconnect.com/heraldleader/news/050799/lettersdocs/507letters.htm	
Government publication	Bush, G. (1989, April 12). Principles of ethical conduct for government officers and employees Exec. Order No. 12674. Pt. 1. Retrieved November 18, 1997, from http://www.usoge.gov/exorders/eo12674.html	
CD-ROM	Hawking, S. (1994). *A brief history of time: An interactive adventure* [CD]. Sacramento: Crunch Pod Media.	

Electronic sources		
Sound recording	Williamson, C. (1985). Prairie fire. *On Arkansas traveler* [CD]. Oakland, California: Olivia Records. *Rock 'n roll classics.* (1986). [Cassette] San Diego, California: Uptown Sound.	
Motion picture/film	*Transactional analysis* [Motion picture]. (1974). Los Angeles: Research Films. Bertolucci, B. (Producer). (1988). *The last emperor* [Motion picture]. Los Angeles: Columbia Pictures.	
Television broadcast	Crystal, L. (Executive Producer). (1993, October 11). *The MacNeil/Lehrer news hour* [Television broadcast]. New York and Washington, DC: Public Broadcasting Service.	
Video recording	*Babakuieria.* (1986). [Video recording]. Sydney: ABC Drama Department. Sutton, P. (Producer). (1986). *Kay Cottee: First Lady* [Video Recording]. New South Wales: Direct Video Pty Ltd. Cochrane, C., (Executive Producer) & Graham S., (Director). (1988). *The Superkids' fitness video* [Video Recording]. Perth: Dynami Australia.	
Microfiche	Illinois State Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (1971). *Toys for early development of the young blind child: a guide for parents.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 065 201)	
Computer programme	*Aldus Pagemaker version 3. 0* [Computer software] (1987-1988). Seattle, Washington: Aldus Corporation. Schwarzer, R. (1989). Statistics software for meta-analysis [Computer software and manual]. Retrieved from http://www.yorku.ca/faculty/academic/schwarze/meta_e.htm	

Commonly used abbreviations

Appendix – app. Chapter – ch. Column – col.

Columns – cols.

Editor – ed. Editors – eds. Edition – edn. Editions – edns. Number – no. Numbers – nos. No date – n. d.

No publisher, no page – n. p. Page – p.

Pages – pp. Paragraph – para.

Revised – rev. Reprinted – rpt.

Supplement – Suppl.

Technical Report – Tech. Rep. Translated, translator – trans. Volume – vol.

Volumes – vols. Written – writ.

Rule: a capital letter for the abbreviation for editor or editors i.e. Ed. or Eds. Use lower case for edition i.e. 2nd edn.

Latin abbreviations

And others – *et al.* (et alii) Used where there are too many authors to list

In the same work – *ibid.* (ibidem) Signifies the same work as the one cited immediately before, but a different page

The same – *id.* (idem) The item cited is by the author of the item cited immediately before

In the work cited – *op. cit.* (opere citato) Refers the reader back to the author's previously cited work, but to a different page

Without place – *s. l.* (sine loco)

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