

## **COURSE GUIDE**

**PAD 202**

### **NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION**

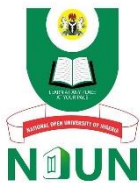
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## **COURSE GUIDE**

Welcome to PAD202: Nigeria Government and Administration. This course is a three-credit unit compulsory for students studying Public Administration and related programmes in the Faculty of Management Sciences. The course has been arranged for you in twenty-two distinct but related units of study activities. This Course Guide gives you an overview of the course. It also provides you with information on the organization and requirements of the course. In this Course Guide, you will find out what you need to know about the aims and objectives of the course, components of the course material, arrangement of the study units, assignments, and examinations.

## **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

The course content will tell you the nature of Nigeria Government and public administrative system. The course will also discuss concept of colonialism which has to do with the process of industrialization of developing countries by the Europe nations in 19th century. The unit will introduce you to the basic ideas of British Administrative Policies in Nigeria, creation of Native Courts and Divisions during the colonial era in Nigeria. The establishment of Native Courts, Provinces, and Divisions was one of the administrative policies of the British Colonial Government. The course will trace the creation of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900. The course will explain the historical development of taxation in Northern in Nigeria, concept of restructuring in Nigeria, constitution development and Civil Service in Nigeria. In the next four units under this module we shall be discussing other issues that fall within the purview of background to Nigeria Government and administration.

## **THE COURSE AIM**

The course is aimed at acquainting you with the knowledge of public administration in Nigeria. In the process of doing this, you will come across some basic concepts and ideas of Nigeria Government and public administrative system in Nigeria. The course will provide you with the require knowledge on the principles and practices of administration in Nigeria. This will invariably involve discussion on the British Colonial Government, constitution development, historical development of taxation in Northern in Nigeria and restructuring in Nigeria.

To ensure that this aim is achieved, some important background information will be provided and discussed. These include:

## MEASURABLE OUTCOMES

To achieve the stated aims the course sets specific objectives at the beginning of each unit which you should read before studying the unit.

You should endeavour to look at the units objectives after completing a unit to be sure you have attained the unit requirement. To complete the course, you are required to study the units, read the textbooks and other materials listed under further reading plus any other material provided by the National Open University of Nigeria. Each unit contains activities and tutor-marked assignments for assessment purposes. There is a final examination at the end of the course.

There are two parts to the assessment of the course. First are the tutor-marked assignments and second there is a written examination. When completing the assignments, it is expected of you to apply the knowledge acquired during the course. There are thirty tutor- marked assignments in this course and you are encouraged to attempt all which constitute 30%.

The final written examination for this course will be of three hours' duration and will have a maximum value of 60% of the total grade. The examination will consist of questions which reflect the course content.

The time between completing the last unit and sitting for examination should be used to revise the course. It may be useful to review your activities and tutor-marked assignments before the examination.

One of the advantages of distance learning is that you can read through specially designed materials at your own pace, and at the time and place that suit you best. It may take place in an isolated village with a hurricane lamp or in an urban centre with electricity but the lecturer (replaced by the study units) is the same. Just as a lecturer might give you in-class exercise, your study units provide activities and tutor-marked assignments for you to do at appropriate times. Each of the units follows a common format in this sequence – introduction to the subject matter; objectives (let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed a particular unit); the main body of the unit (guides you through the required reading with activities); summary; conclusion; tutor-marked assignments and further reading. Activities are meant to help you achieve the objectives of the unit and prepare you for the tutor-marked assignments and the final examination. When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking; do not wait for its return before commencing work on the next unit. When the marked assignment is returned go through the comments of your tutor carefully and mail any questions or any difficulties encountered to him.

**SELF-ASSESSMENT-EXERCISE (SAES)**

Two Self-assessment Exercises each are incorporated in the study material for each unit. Self-assessment Exercise helps students to be a realistic judge of their own performance and to improve their work. Promotes the skills of reflective practice and self-monitoring; Promotes academic integrity through student self-reporting of learning progress; Develops self-directed learning; Increases student motivation and Helps students develop a range of personal, transferrable skills.

**SUMMARY**

Each Unit contained a summary of the entire unit. A summary is a brief statement or restatement of main points, especially as a conclusion to a work: a summary of a chapter. A brief is a detailed outline, by heads and subheads, of a discourse (usually legal) to be completed: a brief for an argument.

**POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE(S) WITHIN THE CONTENT**

The materials contained Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content. The possible Self-assessments answers enable you to understand how well you're performing in the contents. It is a way of analysing your work performance and any areas for growth. Reflecting on your strengths, weaknesses, values and accomplishments can help you determine what goals to work toward next.

## MODULE 1 HISTORY OF COLONIALISM IN NIGERIAN

- Unit 1: History Of Colonialism in Nigerian  
 Unit 2: British Conquest and Colonial Administration of Nigeria  
 Unit 3: Amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914  
 Unit 4: The Creation of The Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900  
 Unit 5: History and Development of Taxation

### UNIT 1: HISTORY OF COLONIALISM IN NIGERIAN

#### Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 History of Colonialism in Nigeria
  - 1.3.1 The coming of missionaries to Nigeria
  - 1.3.2 History of Commerce in Nigeria
- 1.4 Exploration and First colonial claims
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



#### 1.1 Introduction

We heard about the concept of colonialism which has to do with the process of industrialization of developing countries by the Europe nations in 19th century. We are also aware that Britain colonization in Nigeria. In this unit, we shall be discussing history of colonialism in Nigeria, the coming of missionaries to Nigeria and genesis of commerce in Nigeria.



#### 1.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the history of Colonialism in Nigerian
- Trance the coming of missionaries to Nigeria
- Explain the genesis of commerce in Nigeria

- Discuss the exploration and First colonial claims in Nigeria



### 1.3 History of Colonialism in Nigeria

The industrialized nations of Europe used colonialism to rule over African governments, cities, and kingdoms during the 19th century. What is now known as Nigeria was a British protectorate when Africa was divided in 1884, and for nearly a century, Britain colonized Nigeria.

The main goals of British colonialism included the enforcing the outlawing of the slave trade and other illegal business practices, the maintenance of law and order in society, and the opening up of the territory to British trade and commerce through diplomacy and, where resistance was met, military force. Lagos was annexed in 1861, while other regions, such as Nigeria's southern and northern regions, were gradually acquired and given administrative frameworks. The Lagos colony, the Southern and Northern protectorates, with administrative centers in Lagos, Calabar, and Kano, were Nigeria's three divisions. The protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria, as well as the colony of Lagos, were combined into what is now known as the Federal Republic of Nigeria by 1914. Initially, Lord Lugard served as the governor general.

The British colonialists used the successful indirect rule system first employed in the Northern protectorate to govern the new nation. “According to Duke (2010:66) indirect rule involved the use of influential and resourceful members of the various communities who were made warrant chiefs and native political agents with mandates or warrants which empowered them to obtain the cooperation of the natives for the furtherance of the objectives of colonialism”.

The warrant chiefs' responsibilities included tax collection, colonialist projection, law and order enforcement, and, if necessary, the arrest and detention of people who were unwilling to participate. The colonial master's kangaroo courts presided over the trials of those who had been arrested. The warrant chiefs were also given orders to seize Nigerian products that were considered contraband and, where required, to apprehend and bring charges against Nigerian businesspeople who dealt in goods that their British employers had forbade. “Duke (2010) and Kiggundu (1991) appraised the colonial rule this way: Lord Lugard built a system which blended the British-style machinery of government with a grassroots administrative instrument in the form of a hybrid strategy that combined British official at the top of the executive, legislative and judiciary wings of government on the one hand and the native chiefs and prominent members of the local society at the lower rung of the ladder on the other hand”.



The British administrative style had already begun to permeate Nigerian state governance at this point, and it had a significant impact on how the region organized itself politically, socially, and economically. The colonization of Nigeria's peoples in this way resulted in political dominance of the society, which had structural and psychological repercussions for the country's existing public and private organizations.

Due to the existing institutions, especially those run by the state, having to function within the parameters of the restrictive style chosen by the British colonialists, colonialism's strict circumstances also had an impact on the application, nurturing, and growth of modern management practice. "Colonialism essentially became the tool that was deployed in relegating and decimating the local institution and management practices while these were supplanted with western-style administrative structures that were invariably regarded as superior to the indigenous ones (Kiggundu, 1991)".

### **1.3.1 Coming of missionaries to Nigeria**

In the fifteenth century, Portuguese Roman Catholic priests who traveled with traders and officials to the coast of West Africa brought Christianity to the Edo Empire. To service the Edo people and a limited number of African converts, several churches were constructed. The impact of the Catholic missionaries decreased, however, as direct Portuguese links with the area were cut off. There were no longer any signs of Christianity by the eighteenth century.

Vital missionary effort for Africa did not begin until the 1840s, despite the fact that churchmen in Britain had played a significant role in the movement to end the slave trade. Missionaries used to work in the region between Lagos and Ibadan for a while. The Church Missionary Society of the Church of England established the first missions (CMS). Additionally, missions were created in the 1860s by Roman Catholic religious organizations. Other Protestant faiths from Great Britain, Canada, and the United States also opened missions. Catholic missions similarly avoided duplication of effort among the several religious organizations working there as Protestant missionaries did by segmenting the country into zones of action to avoid competition. While the CMS worked with the Yoruba, Catholic missionaries were particularly active among the Igbo Duke (2010).

Africans were first given leadership opportunities by the CMS in the realm of missions; for example, Samuel Ajayi Crowther was selected as the first Anglican Bishop of the Niger. After receiving his education in Sierra Leone and Britain, where he was ordained, Crowther, a freed Yoruba slave, returned to his own country with the first batch of CMS

missionaries. The Anglicans and other religious organizations actively pursued the creation of indigenous ecclesiastical structures in order to gain independence from Europeans. A British priest succeeded Crowther as bishop. Long-term adoption of Christianity by a significant portion of

Nigerians relies on the different faiths adjusting to local circumstances.

African clergy were growing more frequently chosen for the missions. European missionaries largely accepted the value of colonial control in terms of advancing welfare, health, and educational programs, successfully reinforcing colonial policies. Some Christian communities in Africa established their own autonomous churches. Throughout the 1800s, the power of the missionaries increased. They significantly altered traditional society by dismantling religious practices including infanticide, human sacrifice, and secret societies that had previously influenced political power and communal life (Kiggundu, 1991).

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1**

1. Discuss the history of colonialism in Nigerian.
2. In the fifteenth century, Portuguese Roman Catholic priests who travelled with traders and officials to the coast of West Africa brought Christianity to the Edo Empire. Discuss

#### **1.3.2 History of Commerce**

Before petroleum products were created for that purpose, palm oil and palm kernels were utilized in Europe to make soap and as lubricants for equipment, making them the main commodities of legitimate trade. Despite the fact that this trade increased significantly—palm oil exports alone were worth \$1 billion annually by 1840—it was focused close to the coast where there were many palm trees. However, the trade gradually brought about significant economic and social improvements in the interior, even though it did little to end slavery and the slave trade. Slavery became more prevalent in local societies.

The majority of palm oil (and later palm kernels) originated in Igboland, where densely populated territories of the Ngwa, Nri Kingdom, Awka, and other Igbo peoples were covered in a canopy of palm trees. Locals made use of palm oil for cooking, food from the kernels, palm wine from the trees, and building materials from the fronds. Transporting the oil to the rivers and streams that led to the Niger Delta so that it could be sold to European traders was a relatively easy adjustment for many Igbo families. Particularly after 1830, exports experienced a significant rise at the exact same time that slave shipments began to decline. Slaves were diverted by the Igbo into the home economy, particularly to grow yams, a key crop, in northern Igboland for marketing (Kiggundu, 1991).

From 800 to 20,000 tons annually between 1815 and 1840, palm oil exports surged by a ratio of 25. While the Portuguese and others continued the slave trade, British traders dominated the palm oil market. A large portion of this oil was traded throughout the British Empire. The economy of the southern region transitioned from primarily subsistence to the production of palm oil as a commercial crop in order to produce all of this oil. Previously recognized for the export of slaves, the Niger Delta and Calabar are today well-known for the export of palm oil. "Oil rivers" was the name given to the Delta waterways. Every municipality had "houses," which were fundamentally family-run businesses that fostered loyalty in their workforce. A "home" was the trader's extended family, which also included slaves and retainers. The master trader, who served as its leader, levied taxes on other traders who belonged to his "house." He also kept a huge dugout canoe for use in battle for the harbor's protection. A trader was required to establish his own "home" once he had achieved enough success to maintain a war canoe. economic rivalry between these "houses" was so fierce that trade often erupted into an armed battle between the crews of the large canoes (Kiggundu, 1991).

European traders moored their ships outside of harbors or in the delta, using them as trading stations and warehouses due to the dangers of the environment and tropical diseases for Europeans and the lack of any centralized authorities on the mainland receptive to their interests. They later traveled up the Niger River to set up stations in the interior after initially constructing warehouses on land. Onitsha was one location where they could directly barter with local suppliers and buy things that were likely to be profitable.

Only when the trade in slaves became too risky did some European traders move to legal enterprise. The traders felt they were at the whim of the unpredictable coastal rulers and suffered from the perils of their occupation. As a result of the growth in trade, businesspeople asked the British government to appoint a consul to serve the area. As a result, John Beecroft received accreditation in 1849 as consul for the Benin and Biafra Bights, a region encompassing Dahomey and Cameroon. Beecroft served as the British ambassador in Fernando Po, where the Royal Navy's African Slave Trade Patrol was stationed (Kiggundu, 1991).

The British established a "Court of Equity" at Bonny in 1850, presided over by Beecroft, to settle commercial disputes. Based on a contract with local Efik traders that forbade them from interfering with British merchants, another court was set up in Calabar in 1856. A new level of presumed British sovereignty over the Bight of Biafra was symbolized by these tribunals, which had a majority of British members. West Africa

also bought British exports, supplying 30–40% of the demand for British cotton during the Industrial Revolution of 1750–1790 (Kiggundu, 1991).

#### **1.4 Exploration and First colonial claims**

British researchers were also curious by the Niger River's route and associated communities at the time. The huge river's mouth was hidden by the delta, and for many years Nigerians refrained from sharing their country's secrets with Europeans. Mungo Park, a daring Scottish surgeon and naturalist, was hired in 1794 by the African Association in Great Britain to find the Niger's headwaters and follow the river downstream. The following year, Park traveled inland from the Gambia River to the upper Niger. Even though he reported on the Niger's eastward flow, he was compelled to return when Muslim Arab slave smugglers stole his equipment. He embarked on a second voyage in 1805, he set out on a second expedition, sponsored by the British Government, to follow the Niger to the sea. His mission failed, but Park and his party covered more than 1,500 kilometres (930 mi), passing through the western portions of the Sokoto Caliphate, before drowning when their boats overturned in rapids near Bussa. On a subsequent expedition to the Sokoto Caliphate, Scottish explorer Hugh Clapperton learned about the mouth of the Niger River, and where it reached the sea, but after suffering malaria, depression and dysentery, he died before confirming it. His servant, Richard Lander, and Lander's brother John were the ones to demonstrate that the Niger flowed into the sea. The Lander brothers were seized by slave traders in the interior and sold down the river to a waiting European ship (Kiggundu, 1991).

The first British attempts to establish trade with the interior via the Niger were unsuccessful due to the environment and diseases like malaria. A riverine expedition in 1842 lost one-third of its members. The discovery of quinine as a malaria treatment in the 1850s helped a Liverpool trader named Macgregor Laird unlock the river. The extensive accounts of Heinrich Barth, a pioneering German explorer who traveled across most of Borno and the Sokoto Caliphate and documented information on the area's topography, economy, and inhabitants, inspired Laird's work.

Because Lord Palmerston abhorred slavery, he encouraged its destruction in 1851 by utilizing factions in local politics, the presence of Christian missionaries, and the machinations of the British consul John Beecroft. King Akintoye of Lagos, who had been overthrown, asked the British for assistance in doing so in 1851. Beecroft agreed on the terms of outlawing the slave trade and giving British traders a monopoly over goods. In November 1851, the Royal Navy shelled Lagos, drove out the pro-slavery Oba Kosoko, and signed a contract with the newly-installed Oba Akintoye, who was logically more sympathetic to British objectives. The

Lagos Treaty of Cession was used in 1861 to annex Lagos as a Crown Colony. The final decades of the nineteenth century saw a rapid growth of the British Empire. There were numerous attempts to put an end to the Yoruba conflicts during Lagos Colony's early history. The British Governor, assisted by the CMS, was able to impose peace agreements on the interior in response to threats to the fragmented Yoruba states from Dahomey and the Sokoto Caliphate, as represented by the emirate of Ilorin. Lagos in the past was a bustling, international port. As many of the black aristocracy were English-speakers from Sierra Leone and freedmen returning from the Empire of Brazil and Spanish Cuba, its architecture combined elements of both Victorian and Brazilian styles. Residents worked in government positions and ran successful businesses. On the Lagos Legislative Council, a largely appointed body, Africans were also represented. The British Colonial Office in London eventually took control of the colony. The colony's administrator, Captain John Glover, organized a Hausa militia in 1861. This evolved into the Nigerian Police Force, then the Lagos Constabulary. To the great dismay of its local holders, the British government and traders demonetized the Maria Theresa dollar in 1880 in favor of the pound sterling. The Bank of British West Africa was established in Lagos by the African Banking Corporation in 1891 (Kiggundu, 1991).

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2

1. Explain the term exploration during the British colonial area in Nigeria.
2. Describe the form of commerce in 1840 before petroleum products.



### 1.4 Summary

The unit meticulously discussed the history of colonialism in Nigeria, starting with the pivotal arrival of missionaries in the region which signalled the beginning of significant changes. This period saw the exploration and establishment of initial colonial claims in Nigeria, marking the genesis of a new socio-political era. Additionally, it highlighted the emergence of commerce in the Nigerian landscape, showcasing the interplay of economic interests that further shaped the trajectory of colonial rule in the country. The intricate connections between religion, exploration, commerce, and colonialism all come together to paint a comprehensive picture of the multifaceted impact that this historical period had on Nigeria as a whole.



### **1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

Duke, (2010). The Impact of colonialism on the development of management in Nigeria. *International Journal of Business and Management*, 5(8), 65-78

Kiggundu, M. N. (1991). The challenge of management development in sub-saharan Africa. *Journal of Management Development*, 10(6), 32-47

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial_Nigeria)



## 1.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Discuss the history of colonialism in Nigerian.

The industrialized nations of Europe used colonialism to rule over African governments, cities, and kingdoms during the 19th century. What is now known as Nigeria was a British protectorate when Africa was divided in 1884, and for nearly a century, Britain colonized Nigeria.

The main goals of British colonialism included the enforcing the outlawing of the slave trade and other illegal business practices, the maintenance of law and order in society, and the opening up of the territory to British trade and commerce through diplomacy and, where resistance was met, military force. Lagos was annexed in 1861, while other regions, such as Nigeria's southern and northern regions, were gradually acquired and given administrative frameworks. The Lagos colony, the Southern and Northern protectorates, with administrative centers in Lagos, Calabar, and Kano, were Nigeria's three divisions. The protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria, as well as the colony of Lagos, were combined into what is now known as the Federal Republic of Nigeria by 1914. Initially, Lord Lugard served as the governor general. The British colonialists used the successful indirect rule system first employed in the Northern protectorate to govern the new nation. "According to Duke (2010:66) indirect rule involved the use of influential and resourceful members of the various communities who were made warrant chiefs and native political agents with mandates or warrants which empowered them to obtain the cooperation of the natives for the furtherance of the objectives of colonialism".

The warrant chiefs' responsibilities included tax collection, colonialist projection, law and order enforcement, and, if necessary, the arrest and detention of people who were unwilling to participate. The colonial master's kangaroo courts presided over the trials of those who had been arrested. The warrant chiefs were also given orders to seize Nigerian products that were considered contraband and, where required, to apprehend and bring charges against Nigerian businesspeople who dealt in goods that their British employers had forbade. "Duke (2010) and Kiggundu (1991) appraised the colonial rule this way: Lord Lugard built a system which blended the British-style machinery of government with a grassroots administrative instrument in the form of a hybrid strategy that combined British official at the top of the executive, legislative and judiciary wings of government on the one hand and the native chiefs and

prominent members of the local society at the lower rung of the ladder on the other hand”.

The British administrative style had already begun to permeate Nigerian state governance at this point, and it had a significant impact on how the region organized itself politically, socially, and economically. The colonization of Nigeria's peoples in this way resulted in political dominance of the society, which had structural and psychological repercussions for the country's existing public and private organizations. Due to the existing institutions, especially those run by the state, having to function within the parameters of the restrictive style chosen by the British colonialists, colonialism's strict circumstances also had an impact on the application, nurturing, and growth of modern management practice. “Colonialism essentially became the tool that was deployed in relegating and decimating the local institution and management practices while these were supplanted with western-style administrative structures that were invariably regarded as superior to the indigenous ones (Kiggundu, 1991)”.

**2. In the fifteenth century, Portuguese Roman Catholic priests who travelled with traders and officials to the coast of West Africa brought Christianity to the Edo Empire. Discuss**

In the fifteenth century, Portuguese Roman Catholic priests who traveled with traders and officials to the coast of West Africa brought Christianity to the Edo Empire. To service the Edo people and a limited number of African converts, several churches were constructed. The impact of the Catholic missionaries decreased, however, as direct Portuguese links with the area were cut off. There were no longer any signs of Christianity by the eighteenth century.

Vital missionary effort for Africa did not begin until the 1840s, despite the fact that churchmen in Britain had played a significant role in the movement to end the slave trade. Missionaries used to work in the region between Lagos and Ibadan for a while. The Church Missionary Society of the Church of England established the first missions (CMS). Additionally, missions were created in the 1860s by Roman Catholic religious organizations. Other Protestant faiths from Great Britain, Canada, and the United States also opened missions. Catholic missions similarly avoided duplication of effort among the several religious organizations working there as Protestant missionaries did by segmenting the country into zones of action to avoid competition. While the CMS worked with the Yoruba, Catholic missionaries were particularly active among the Igbo.



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Throughout the 1800s, the power of the missionaries increased. They significantly altered traditional society by dismantling religious practices including infanticide, human sacrifice, and secret societies that had previously influenced political power and communal life.

## Answers to SAEs 2

### 1. Explain the term exploration during the British colonial area in Nigeria.

British researchers were also curious by the Niger River's route and associated communities at the time. The huge river's mouth was hidden by the delta, and for many years Nigerians refrained from sharing their country's secrets with Europeans. Mungo Park, a daring Scottish surgeon and naturalist, was hired in 1794 by the African Association in Great Britain to find the Niger's headwaters and follow the river downstream. The following year, Park traveled inland from the Gambia River to the upper Niger. Even though he reported on the Niger's eastward flow, he was compelled to return when Muslim Arab slave smugglers stole his equipment. He embarked on a second voyage in 1805, he set out on a second expedition, sponsored by the British Government, to follow the Niger to the sea. His mission failed, but Park and his party covered more than 1,500 kilometres (930 mi), passing through the western portions of the Sokoto Caliphate, before drowning when their boats overturned in rapids near Bussa.

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**2. Describe the form of commerce in 1840 before petroleum products.**

Before petroleum products were created for that purpose, palm oil and palm kernels were utilized in Europe to make soap and as lubricants for equipment, making them the main commodities of legitimate trade. Despite the fact that this trade increased significantly—palm oil exports alone were worth \$1 billion annually by 1840—it was focused close to the coast where there were many palm trees. However, the trade gradually brought about significant economic and social improvements in the interior, even though it did little to end slavery and the slave trade. Slavery became more prevalent in local societies.

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The British established a "Court of Equity" at Bonny in 1850, presided over by Beecroft, to settle commercial disputes. Based on a contract with local Efik traders that forbade them from interfering with British merchants, another court was set up in Calabar in 1856. A new level of presumed British sovereignty over the Bight of Biafra was symbolized by these tribunals, which had a majority of British members.

West Africa also bought British exports, supplying 30–40% of the demand for British cotton during the Industrial Revolution of 1750–1790.

## UNIT 2: BRITISH CONQUEST AND COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF NIGERIA

### Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 The conquest Of Nigeria
  - 2.3.1 The conquest of the bight of Biafra (Oil River or Niger Delta)
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 2.1 Introduction

In our last unit discussed history of colonialism in Nigeria, the coming of missionaries to Nigeria and genesis of commerce in Nigeria. In this unit, we shall look at the British conquest and colonial administration of Nigeria, Discuss the Conquest of Nigeria and describe the conquest of the bight of Biafra (Oil River or Niger Delta).

Before the British colonists arrived, Nigeria was home to several towns, villages, chiefdoms, kingdoms, ethnic groups, and city states. Each of these groups was peacefully coexisting. Each of them retained their individuality and adhered to their respective traditions and principles.

They also fostered positive relationships between groups, especially during festivals, through trade, unions of different cultures, and cultural connections. They occasionally discovered that they disagreed on certain points, which frequently resulted in conflict, conflict management, and conflict resolution. In actuality, the populace had a fully functional government, economy, religious structure, and social structure that all reflected their culture and traditions. All of these were hampered by their interaction with the colonizers, who gradually dispersed and destroyed them before finally bringing them completely under their rule. The British Government finished their task of conquest in 1914 and devised what they called the Amalgamation of Nigeria. The several autonomous entities eventually lost their prior political and cultural powers on that auspicious day, January 1, 1914, and submitted to the rule of the Governor General appointed by the British Government under the over lordship of Lord Fredrick Lugard. According to Tamuno (1980) “by 1914 Britain had succeeded in making herself the new paramount ruler over most of

Nigeria”. He also noted that there were still pockets of resistance after 1914, but “these and other instances of restlessness under increasing colonial rule were forcibly suppressed with the assistance of the military and police resources at the disposal of the government. British rule in Nigeria was in the finally analyses buttressed by force or by threat of using it”.



## 2.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain Background of British conquest and colonial administration of Nigeria
- Discuss the Conquest of Nigeria
- Describe the conquest of the bight of Biafra (Oil River Or Niger Delta)



## 2.3 The Conquest of Nigeria

When John BeeCroft stormed Lagos in 1851, it was evident that the British were interested in Nigeria. The British government has been looking for a viable solution to put an end to the slave trade and establish a legal trade, particularly in Africa, ever since it was outlawed. John BeecCoft was hired by the British naval authority in 1849 and appointed British Consul in charge of the Bights of Benin and Biafra. This according to Onwubiko (1973) “marks the beginning of the British influence in Nigeria. It was to Beecroft’s credit that, he laid the foundation on which British influence and interest were made permanent and extended into the hinterland”. It should be remembered that the British chose BeeCroft in order to end the objectionable slave trade. Researchers have suggested that finding and securing a steady market for the rising industrial goods brought on by the industrial revolution was also in the British government's best interests. Quoting Ade Ajayi, Onwubiko (1973) noted that Britain’s intervention in Lagos bombardment was not just a philanthropic desire to destroy the slave trading activities of the Portuguese and Brazilians there, but also the economic desire to control trade of Lagos from which they hoped to exploit the resources of the vast country stretching to and beyond the Niger.

There is no question that the British government wanted to stop the slave trade. The fact remains that they both desired to safeguard her citizens' economic interests. The events that followed the British's efforts in various parts of the nation genuinely made their economic and political

desires clear. As a result of BeeCroft's bombardment of Lagos in 1851, King Akintoye was reinstated and agreed to sign treaties with the British, ending the slave trade in Lagos and guaranteeing the protection of British merchants and missionaries. He also reiterated his commitment to continuing legal trade, particularly with British merchants who were fiercely competing with Portuguese merchants. The reign of Akintoye was favourable to the British who flocked Lagos for legitimate trade. The British, who rushed to Lagos for legal trade, benefited under Akintoye's rule. It is known that a separate consulate was established for the oil Rivers in 1853.

The passing of King Akintoye sparked a power struggle in Lagos. The British accused King Dosumu, who later succeeded as ruler of Lagos, of resuming the slave trade. A series of contracts that king Akintoye signed with the British, particularly the treaty of 1852, which almost turned the monarch of Lagos into a British puppet, rendered him unable to work. The threat and worry that the exiled king Kosoko might return in the event that the British defeated king Dusumu. He might have been afraid that King Kosoko would seize the opportunity if the British Government lost faith in him and withdrew its assistance. He made the decision to subject himself to British terms as a result. In truth, it appeared like the British were in charge of Lagos directly before 1861. In 1861, the annexation of Lagos was hardly a surprise. It was pre-planned by the British and the natural outcome of the shelling of Lagos in 1851. Onwubiko (1973) noted *that the explanation usually given by official British sources for the annexation is that the slave trade was being revived under King Dosumu and that the actions had become indispensable to complete suppression of slave trade in order to secure forever the free population of Lagos from the slave traders and kidnappers who oppressed them.*

This was of course the usual British strategy of clothing the economic wolf with the dress of the humanitarian lamb. In the words of Asiwaju, (1980 : 430)

*however relevant the slave trade argument, its significance as a factor in the establishment of European colonial rule must be related to considerations of British commercial interest and the associated hostility against the African middlemen in the area*

It should be emphasized that the colonial master began making systematic intrusions into the original Yoruba country after the defeat and annexation of Lagos. The British had easy access to Yoruba land because of the anxiety caused by what had transpired in Lagos and by the numerous

inter-tribal battles that were taking on there at the time. To achieve success, they made use of all necessary elements, including missionaries and freed Africans. According to Asiwaju (1980), from 1862 to 1893, nearly all the towns in the Yoruba territory up to Ilorin were under British dominion. He pointed out

*As elsewhere in Nigeria and other parts of Africa, two main methods of British*

*imperial expansion in Yoruba land were treaty making and military conquest.*

*But in spite of episodes such as the bombardment of Lagos in 1851 and the Ijebu*

*expedition of 1892, it is especially important to emphasize that protectorate*

*treaty with indigenous African authorities and a series of International agreement with France, more than outright military subjugation characterized*

*the process of British imperial establishment in Yoruba land.*

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1**

1. Before the British colonists arrived, Nigeria was home to several towns, villages, chiefdoms, kingdoms, ethnic groups, and city states. Each of these groups was peacefully coexisting. Discuss
2. Explain the conquest of Nigeria when John BeeCroft stormed Lagos in 1851.

### **2.3.1 The Conquest of the Bight of Biafra (Oil River or Niger Delta)**

Other British Colonialists in the oil River Protectorate were infiltrating the population at the same time as British officials were frantically trying to suppress the Yoruba people. They also indulged in accusing "Stubborn" rulers who crumbled alongside them. BeeCroft reenacted the episode from Lagos in 1951 in the Bonny region of Nigeria. King Pepple of Bonny, like King Kosoko of Lagos, highly treasured his independence and sovereignty and did not want any type of British meddling. He was prepared to fight off any intrusion from a group or authority. He claimed that the British had broken the stipulations of the anti-slavery treaties of 1839 and 1841, which included a promise to pay reparations.

He therefore orchestrated anti-British acts that halted commerce with the merchants. In fact, this damaged British business interests. In 1853, he also assaulted the Amakiri of Kalabari, which halted trade along the oil River. The British supercargoes at Bonny requested John BeeCroft's assistance as a result. As a result, BeeCroft presided over a Court of Equity meeting. King Pepple was exiled to Fenando Po in 1854. Despite

being permitted to come back in 1861, he was kept as a puppet until his passing in 1866. Onwubiko (1973) remarked that, the “deportation of king Pepple marked the declining state of the monarch in Bonny. This is because his successor Prince Dappo Pepple was a British creation and as such he was a puppet just like king Dosumu. He was made to sign many treaties”. In one of the agreements, the monarch was restricted from trading and had to rely instead on custom fees and other public funds. The "New Men," primarily ex-slaves commanded by Alali, rose to power as a result of King Pepple's absence. These "New Men" rebelled against the king's rule by joining forces with the white traders.

Similar events occurred in Calabar, which prompted the British consul John BeeCroft to offer his assistance. A significant presence of missionaries and freed slaves emerged in Efik. Some of the freed slaves established a group known as "Blood Men" with the intention of defending the interests of the former slaves, particularly in opposition to the actions of the Ekpe society. When the Ekpe society imprisoned some former slaves in Duke Town in 1851, the Association of Blood Men revolted and threatened to set the town on fire. This caused a great deal of unrest and anxiety in the neighborhood. British businessmen were concerned that this might lead to a halt in commerce. As a result, they invited the British consul BeeCroft, who eventually served as the meeting's chair and helped to resolve the conflict. The meeting's conclusion was a weakening of the Ekpe society as some adjustments were made. When king Archibong I passed away in 1852, BeeCroft presided over the election of the new king, and as a result, he had a significant impact on the choice of the new monarch. It appears that the new king was terrified of.

As a result of the scramble and partition of Africa agreement reached by the European powers in Berlin Conference in 1884–1885, the British government made major efforts to intrude into and acquire Nigeria's interior, particularly the regions with economic promise. One of their areas of interest was Bonny and Opobo. One of their hardest meetings was when they met Jaja of Opobo. Jaja had become one of the wealthiest African businessmen in the oil Rivers before the British arrived in Opobo.. According to Onwubiko, (1983) “through sheer force of his own personality and rare business acumen, he became the wealthiest African trader in the oil rivers. In a treaty dated 4th January 1873, Jaja was recognized by the British as king of Opobo”. He was so much determined to protect his kingdom and sovereignty to the extent that he refused to sign treaty of protection. He demanded to know the full meaning of the word protection. He argued that protection may mean, losing his sovereignty. Onwubiko quoting J.C. Anene said that “Jaja alone, out of all the coastal chiefs asked for a full explanation of what was meant by protection”. Jaja also rejected any section of the article referring to free



trade. In a treaty with the British in 1884, he insisted that anything that has to do with free trade should be removed. In fact, he wanted to maintain the kind of monopoly that was enjoyed by the Royal Niger Company in Northern part of Nigeria.

Owing to Jaja's difficulty in the wheel of the British colonization ambition, the then

British Acting Consul Harry Johnston leveled serious accusations on Jaja. Character assassination, perfidy, and treachery were used by Harry Johnston. Jaja was charged with plotting to sell his nation to the French and intimidating the hinterland's indigenous population. Until Johnston begged Jaja to come for a peace settlement, all of Johnston's previous attempts to outsmart Jaja had failed. For negotiations, he extended an invitation for him to board the HMS Goshawk. You will be free to come and go, Johnston wrote to Jaja. Jaja climbed aboard the battleship believing that the remark was made by an honest Englishman. Onwubiko pointed out that, despite promising not to hold Jaja against his will, Johnston treacherously ensnared him into a warship in 1887 and deported him to the West Indies. Jaja kept on while in the West Indies to. With his death, the British government made further head way into the conquest of "stubborn" leaders of Nigerian descendants. Asiwaju (1980:432) noted that, "In 1894, for reasons similar to the forceful removal of king Kosoko of Lagos in 1851, British political ambition in the Niger Delta led to the deportation of Nana, the Itsekiri, Headship of Ebrohimi and the resultant imposition of British rule over Itsekiri land". He quoted Salubi as saying that,

*it was the removal of Nana of Itsekiri and Oba Ovonramwew of Benin in 1894 and 1897 respectively that accelerated the pace of the extension of treaty of British autonomy over the Urhobo country which began in 1889 when the British concluded the treaty of protection with Abraka*

It should be noted that owing to British interest to consolidate their authority on Benin kingdom, a prominent king of Benin, Oba Ovonramwew was deported and taken to exile in what is known as the British Expedition.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

1. Discuss the conquest of the bight of Biafra in respect to oil river or Niger Delta.
2. Briefly explain the term amalgamation of Nigeria.



## 2.4 Summary

This unit explored the historical context surrounding the British conquest, shedding light on the intricate web of events that led to their colonial administration of Nigeria, particularly focusing on the conquest of the bight of Biafra, also known as the Oil River or Niger Delta. It went on to explore the multifaceted aspects of the conquest of Nigeria, analyzing the strategic maneuvers, political implications, and socio-economic changes that defined this pivotal period in the region's history. Through examining these key moments, the unit aimed to offer a comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics at play during the British expansion into Nigeria, highlighting the lasting impacts and legacies of their conquests on the land and its people.



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## 2.6 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

**1. Before the British colonists arrived, Nigeria was home to several towns, villages, chiefdoms, kingdoms, ethnic groups, and city states. Each of these groups was peacefully coexisting. Discuss**

Before the British colonists arrived, Nigeria was home to several towns, villages, chiefdoms, kingdoms, ethnic groups, and city states. Each of these groups was peacefully coexisting. Each of them retained their individuality and adhered to their respective traditions and principles. They also fostered positive relationships between groups, especially during festivals, through trade, unions of different cultures, and cultural connections. They occasionally discovered that they disagreed on certain points, which frequently resulted in conflict, conflict management, and conflict resolution. In actuality, the populace had a fully functional government, economy, religious structure, and social structure that all reflected their culture and traditions. All of these were hampered by their interaction with the colonizers, who gradually dispersed and destroyed them before finally bringing them completely under their rule. The British Government finished their task of conquest in 1914 and devised what they called the Amalgamation of Nigeria. The several autonomous entities eventually lost their prior political and cultural powers on that auspicious day, January 1, 1914, and submitted to the rule of the Governor General appointed by the British Government under the overlordship of Lord Fredrick Lugard. According to Tamuno T.N. (1980 : 393) “by 1914 Britain had succeeded in making herself the new paramount ruler over most of Nigeria”. He also noted that there were still pockets of resistance after 1914, but “these and other instances of restlessness under increasing colonial rule were forcibly suppressed with the assistance of the military and police resources at the disposal of the government. British rule in Nigeria was in the finally analyses buttressed by force or by threat of using it”.

**2. Explain the conquest of Nigeria when John BeeCroft stormed Lagos in 1851**

Other British Colonialists in the oil River Protectorate were infiltrating the population at the same time as British officials were frantically trying to suppress the Yoruba people. They also indulged in accusing "Stubborn" rulers who crumbled alongside them. Bee Croft re-enacted the episode from Lagos in 1951 in the Bonny region of Nigeria. King Pepple of Bonny, like King Kosoko of Lagos, highly treasured his independence

and sovereignty and did not want any type of British meddling. He was prepared to fight off any intrusion from a group or authority. He claimed that the British had broken the stipulations of the anti-slavery treaties of 1839 and 1841, which included a promise to pay reparations.

He therefore orchestrated anti-British acts that halted commerce with the merchants. In fact, this damaged British business interests. In 1853, he also assaulted the Amakiri of Kalabari, which halted trade along the oil River. The British supercargoes at Bonny requested John BeeCroft's assistance as a result. As a result, BeeCroft presided over a Court of Equity meeting. King Pepple was exiled to Fenando Po in 1854. Despite being permitted to come back in 1861, he was kept as a puppet until his passing in 1866. Onwubiko (1973) remarked that, the "deportation of king Pepple marked the declining state of the monarch in Bonny. This is because his successor Prince Dappo Pepple was a British creation and as such he was a poppet just like king Dosumu. He was made to sign many treaties". In one of the agreements, the monarch was restricted from trading and had to rely instead on custom fees and other public funds. The "New Men," primarily ex-slaves commanded by Alali, rose to power as a result of King Pepple's absence. These "New Men" rebelled against the king's rule by joining forces with the white traders.

Similar events occurred in Calabar, which prompted the British consul John BeeCroft to offer his assistance. A significant presence of missionaries and freed slaves emerged in Efik. Some of the freed slaves established a group known as "Blood Men" with the intention of defending the interests of the former slaves, particularly in opposition to the actions of the Ekpe society. When the Ekpe society imprisoned some former slaves in Duke Town in 1851, the Association of Blood Men revolted and threatened to set the town on fire. This caused a great deal of unrest and anxiety in the neighborhood. British businessmen were concerned that this might lead to a halt in commerce. As a result, they invited the British consul BeeCroft, who eventually served as the meeting's chair and helped to resolve the conflict. The meeting's conclusion was a weakening of the Ekpe society as some adjustments were made. When king Archibong I passed away in 1852, BeeCroft presided over the election of the new king, and as a result, he had a significant impact on the choice of the new monarch. It appears that the new king was terrified of.

As a result of the scramble and partition of Africa agreement reached by the European powers in Berlin Conference in 1884–1885, the British government made major efforts to intrude into and acquire Nigeria's interior, particularly the regions with economic promise. One of their areas of interest was Bonny and Opobo. One of their hardest meetings was when they met Jaja of Opobo. Jaja had become one of the wealthiest

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Owing to Jaja’s difficulty in the wheel of the British colonization ambition, the then

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It should be noted that owing to British interest to consolidate their authority on Benin kingdom, a prominent king of Benin, Oba

Ovonramwew was deported and taken to exile in what is known as the British Expedition.

## Answers to SAEs 2

### 1. Discuss the conquest of the bight of Biafra in respect to Oil River or Niger Delta.

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It should be noted that owing to British interest to consolidate their authority on Benin kingdom, a prominent king of Benin, Oba Ovonramwew was deported and taken to exile in what is known as the British Expedition.

## **2. Briefly explain the term amalgamation of Nigeria.**

The British Government finished their task of conquest in 1914 and devised what they called the Amalgamation of Nigeria. The several autonomous entities eventually lost their prior political and cultural powers on that auspicious day, January 1, 1914, and submitted to the rule of the Governor General appointed by the British Government under the overlordship of Lord Fredrick Lugard. According to Tamuno T.N. (1980 : 393) “by 1914 Britain had succeeded in making herself the new paramount ruler over most of Nigeria”. He also noted that there were still pockets of resistance after 1914, but “these and other instances of restlessness under increasing colonial role were forcibly suppressed with the assistance of the military and police resources at the disposal of the government. British rule in Nigeria was in the finally analyses buttressed by force or by threat of using it”.

## UNIT 3 AMALGAMATION OF NIGERIA IN 1914

### Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 British Administrative Policies in Nigeria
  - 3.3.1 British Economic Policies
- 3.4 Creation of Native Courts and Divisions during the colonial era in Nigeria
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 3.1 Introduction

In our last unit we discussed the British conquest and colonial administration of Nigeria; we also discuss the conquest of Nigeria and describe the conquest of the bight of Biafra (Oil River or Niger Delta). In this unit, we shall look at the British Administrative Policies in Nigeria, British Economic Policies and the Creation of Native Courts and Divisions during the colonial era in Nigeria.

The British bombardment of Lagos in 1851 marked the beginning of the systematic conquest of Nigeria. It was difficult for the British because, although having more advanced weapons and strategies, the African leaders still put up a fight. The British strategy of fragmenting popular power was successful for them.

They adopted the system of friendship and safety treaties. They made agreements with select individuals and supported them with military might, enslaving them in a protectorate or colony and using them as a weapon against others.

After forcing king Kososko into exile, the British ultimately dealt with king Dosumu in 1861. As a result, Lagos was designated as a British colony, a process known as the annexation of Lagos. According to Ade Ajayi “it marked the first major step taken by the British government in the 19th century to acquire economic and political domination over the people of Nigeria”. The Royal Niger Company was able to deliver a document at the Berlin Conference in 1884–1885 that supported the notion of effective occupation of Nigeria as a result of the treaties they signed and their successful expeditions into the Niger Delta and beyond.

Tobman Goldie had reportedly signed 37 treaties with Nigerian chiefs and kings as of 1884, it should be mentioned. These agreements allowed British delegations, of which Goldie was a member, to assert British sovereignty over the Niger regions at the Berlin West African Conference in 1885. The British government successfully established a Protectorate over the Oil Rivers in 1885 because to this chance. The British were more interested in the Oil Rivers after this announcement. By 1891, an office was created in Old Calabar and a Commissioner and Consul General were appointed for the Oil River Protectorate. Lokoja and Benue were added to the Oil River Protectorate in 1893, and the name was altered to Niger Coast Protectorate. The British annexed Benin to the Niger Coast Protectorate as of 1897 after deporting Oba Ovonranwew of Benin and completing their occupation of Benin.

Going back to Yorubaland, the British Government, working out of Lagos, was able to conclude a treaty with the Alafin of Oyo in 1888. This agreement established a British protectorate over the whole Yoruba population. The British subsequently proclaimed Lagos a colony and protectorate. The British made another step in acquiring all of Nigeria's land on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1900. The Protectorate of Southern Nigeria was given a new name, and the title of the job of Consul General was altered to that of High Commissioner. The Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos were combined on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1906. They adopted the name Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, with Lagos designated as the administrative center and headed by a High Commissioner.



### 3.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the British administrative policies in Nigeria
- Explain the creation of Native Courts and Divisions during the colonial era in Nigeria
- Examine the British Economic Policies



### 3.3 British Administrative Policies in Nigeria

It should be emphasized that the Colonial Office in London served as the base for the first and best British Colonial Administration, which was led by the Colonial Secretary and developed and carried out significant colonial policies on behalf of the entire British Empire with the help of the British Cabinet. However, the British Colonial Administration has

mostly concentrated on the exploration and exploitation of the hinterland since 1914, when the British Government, led by Lord Lugard, combined the Southern and Northern protectorates of Nigeria. Lord Lugard therefore developed a number of administrative reforms for the efficient management of the rural populace. According to Bade Onimode (1983:39), Lugard fashioned the apparatus of Indirect Rule. The Resident Commissioners, who were in control of the Provinces under Lugard, who was the Governor General at the time, and the Division Officers, also known as the D.Os, were in charge of divisional matters. Additionally, there were numerous colonial officers working in various Departments. The Warrant Chiefs, a lower rung of British officers who provided support, were also present. Essentially, this group was made up of Traditional Chiefs known as Warrant Chiefs. The British Colonialists were able to rule the populace up to the level of Wards or Villages/Hamlets thanks to the hierarchies of Chiefs under the Residents and D.Os. These Warrant Chiefs' duties included, but were not limited to, the imposition and collection of monetary taxes and dues in cash and kind, the extraction of court fines and levies, the mapping out and allocation of land to the Colonial Government for construction projects like police stations, prisons, and courts, as well as the leasing of land to trading companies, and the encouragement of the peasants to grow crops that would serve as raw materials for the Colonial Government. In the words of Bade Onimode (1983:40),

*the oppressive colonial functions of these feudal agents of imperialism included*

*the collection and imposition of monetary taxes and dues in kind of extraction of court fines and levies, alienation of land to the colonial administration and imperial trading firms and recruitment of forced and contract labour*

These agricultural products included cotton, cocoa, rubber, ground nuts, and produce from palm trees. They also assisted mining companies in finding labor. They were primarily used to maintain law and order, which the colonists, their trading agents, and the missionaries much prized for efficient operations and the effective exploitation of the people's human and material resources. Indirect Rule actually made the Warrants Chiefs the submissive agents of the Colonial Authority. In the words of Ajayi and Crowther (1974:517)

*They had the specific duty of collecting taxes and conscription of forced labour,*

*part of which was given to the colonial administration and part of which was*

*retained by them for administration of their chieftaincies.*

**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1**

1. Discuss events that lead to the Amalgamation of Nigeria In 1914.
2. Explain the British administrative policies in Nigeria.

**3.3.1 British Economic Policies**

Bade Onimade (1983:40) noted that for Lord Lugard to effectively enjoy British control of the peoples economy, “he moved swiftly to extend the system of Indirect Rule that he practiced in the Northern to Southern Nigeria and imposed Warrant Chiefs on the people of Southern Nigeria where no feudal chiefs existed.” With this new system of governance, the British Colonial Masters effectively introduced some economic policies such as taxation, forced labour and introduction of new cash crops. The European merchants on the other hand embarked on commercialization and privatization of land through treaties and leases.

**3.4 Creation of Native Courts and Divisions during the colonial era in Nigeria**

The establishment of Native Courts, Provinces, and Divisions was one of the administrative policies of the British Colonial Government. This was done in order to condense the administrative areas under a colonial supervisor. Prior to the 1914 amalgamation, this policy had already been in place. Consider the Onitsha region in southern Nigeria as an example. After the British successful occupation of Otuocha land around 1891,(Ezeogidi Cynado 2013:93)comprising Aguleri and Umuleri and other towns, the people were placed under the Onitsha Division, which is under Onitsha province with headquarter, in Onitsha. The division was headed by a Division Officer, while the Province was headed by the Resident Officer. The intelligence Report by Stone (A.D.O.) reported in 1932 that “all the villages (which included Aguleri and Umuleri attend Onitsha Native Court”. This report treated Aguleri and Umuleri as “Umuigwedu”. It further reported that “in 1904, a Native court was established at Aguleri which was attended by Igbariam, Umuleri, Nando, Umulokpa, Omenim and all the Anam and Nza villages”.(NAE CSE 1/85/4880)

Divisional Officers in Onitsha Province made proposals for the establishment of additional Native Courts in the early 1930s in an effort to deliver justice to the populace. As a result, Onitsha Province now has a large number of native courts. The intelligence report on the Umuleri and Edomai gangs courts Onitsha Division 1932–1939, according to (NAE Ondist 12/1/164), stated that:

*in a letter dated 27/09/1933, the Division officer Onitsha Division wrote the resident officer Onitsha province requesting for approval that from 1st October, 1933, Umuleri Native Court be established.*

Grade "D" Court status was assigned to the new Native Court. The New Native Court of Umuleri group was created with the consent of the Resident Officer of Onitsha Province, H.F.M. White, on October 18, 1933. On December 18, 1933, the Lieutenant Governor of the Southern Province, W. Buchanam Smith, added his name, stating that:

*under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 22 of the Native courts Ordinance and with the approval of the Governor, I hereby order that the native court of Umuleri group in the Onitsha province established by warrant dated 14th day of October, 1933 shall be a court of appeal to hear appeals in cases from the villages courts of Aguleri, Nteje and Igbariam of the Umuleri group*

Following this development, local village courts took their appeals to Onitsha. It is important to note that the British colonists were successful in overthrowing the local political order and installing Colonial Authority over the populace through the establishment of Native Courts, Divisions, and Provinces.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

- |   |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Vividly explain the establishment of native courts, provinces, and divisions.</li> <li>2. Enumerate the British and European economic Policies in Nigeria.</li> </ol> |
|---|



### **3.5 Summary**

In this unit, an in-depth analysis is provided on the British Administrative Policies that were implemented in Nigeria during the colonial era. It highlights the strategies employed by the British government to exert control over the Nigerian territory through various administrative structures and methods. Additionally, a detailed exploration is conducted into the British Economic Policies that influenced Nigeria's economic landscape, examining how these policies shaped the country's development and interactions with global markets. Furthermore, the unit

examines into the establishment and functioning of Native Courts and Divisions under British colonial rule, shedding light on the role these institutions played in governance, justice systems, and local administration in Nigeria. Overall, the discussions within this unit offer a comprehensive insight into the complex dynamics of colonial governance in Nigeria and its lasting impact on the socio-political and economic fabric of the country.



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### 3.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

#### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Discuss events that lead to the Amalgamation of Nigeria In 1914.

As mentioned in this chapter, the British bombardment of Lagos in 1851 marked the beginning of the systematic conquest of Nigeria. It was difficult for the British because, although having more advanced weapons and strategies, the African leaders still put up a fight. The British strategy of fragmenting popular power was successful for them.

They adopted the system of friendship and safety treaties. They made agreements with select individuals and supported them with military might, enslaving them in a protectorate or colony and using them as a weapon against others.

After forcing king Kososko into exile, the British ultimately dealt with king Dosumu in 1861.

As a result, Lagos was designated as a British colony, a process known as the annexation of Lagos. According to Ade Ajayi “ it marked the first major step taken by the British government in the 19th century to acquire economic and political domination over the people of Nigeria”. The Royal Niger Company was able to deliver a document at the Berlin Conference in 1884–1885 that supported the notion of effective occupation of Nigeria as a result of the treaties they signed and their successful expeditions into the Niger Delta and beyond. Tobman Goldie had reportedly signed 37 treaties with Nigerian chiefs and kings as of 1884, it should be mentioned.

These agreements allowed British delegations, of which Goldie was a member, to assert British sovereignty over the Niger regions at the Berlin West African Conference in 1885. The British government successfully established a Protectorate over the Oil Rivers in 1885 because to this chance. The British were more interested in the Oil Rivers after this announcement. By 1891, an office was created in Old Calabar and a Commissioner and Consul General were appointed for the Oil River Protectorate. Lokoja and Benue were added to the Oil River Protectorate in 1893, and the name was altered to Niger Coast Protectorate. The British annexed Benin to the Niger Coast Protectorate as of 1897 after deporting Oba Ovonranwew of Benin and completing their occupation of Benin

## 2. Explain the British administrative policies in Nigeria.

It should be emphasized that the Colonial Office in London served as the base for the first and best British Colonial Administration, which was led by the Colonial Secretary and developed and carried out significant colonial policies on behalf of the entire British Empire with the help of the British Cabinet. However, the British Colonial Administration has mostly concentrated on the exploration and exploitation of the hinterland since 1914, when the British Government, led by Lord Lugard, combined the Southern and Northern protectorates of Nigeria. Lord Lugard therefore developed a number of administrative reforms for the efficient management of the rural populace. According to Bade Onimode (1983:39), Lugard fashioned the apparatus of Indirect Rule. The Resident Commissioners, who were in control of the Provinces under Lugard, who was the Governor General at the time, and the Division Officers, also known as the D.Os, were in charge of divisional matters. Additionally, there were numerous colonial officers working in various Departments.

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the submissive agents of the Colonial Authority. In the words of Ajayi and Crowther (1974:517)

*They had the specific duty of collecting taxes and conscription of forced labour, part of which was given to the colonial administration and part of which was retained by them for administration of their chieftaincies.*

Answers to SAEs 1

### **1. Vividly explain the establishment of native courts, provinces, and divisions.**

The establishment of Native Courts, Provinces, and Divisions was one of the administrative policies of the British Colonial Government. This was done in order to condense the administrative areas under a colonial supervisor. Prior to the 1914 amalgamation, this policy had already been in place. Consider the Onitsha region in southern Nigeria as an example. After the British successful occupation of Otuocha land around 1891,(Ezeogidi Cynado 2013:93)comprising Aguleri and Umuleri and other towns, the people were placed under the Onitsha Division, which is under Onitsha province with headquarter, in Onitsha. The division was headed by a Division Officer, while the Province was headed by the Resident Officer. The intelligence Report by Stone (A.D.O.) reported in 1932 that “all the villages (which included Aguleri and Umuleri attend Onitsha Native Court”. This report treated Aguleri and Umuleri as “Umuigwedu”. It further reported that “in 1904, a Native court was established at Aguleri which was attended by Igbariam, Umuleri, Nando, Umulokpa, Omenim and all the Anam and Nza villages”.(NAE CSE 1/85/4880)

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Following this development, local village courts took their appeals to Onitsha. It is important to note that the British colonists were successful in overthrowing the local political order and installing Colonial Authority over the populace through the establishment of Native Courts, Divisions, and Provinces.

## **2. Enumerate the British and European economic Policies in Nigeria.**

1. Taxation
2. Forced labour and
3. Introduction of new cash crops.

The European merchants on the other hand embarked on:

4. Commercialization and privatization of land through treaties and leases.

## **UNIT 4: THE CREATION OF THE PROTECTORATE OF NORTHERN NIGERIA IN 1900**

### **Unit Structure**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 The Creation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900
  - 4.3.1 State creation since 1967
- 4.4 A cost-benefit analysis of state creation
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### **4.1 Introduction**

In our last unit we discussed the British Administrative Policies in Nigeria, British Economic Policies and the Creation of Native Courts and Divisions during the colonial era in Nigeria. In this unit, we shall look at the creation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900, describe the history of State creation since 1967 and analyse the cost-benefit of state creation. Following Frederick Lugard's merging of the then-separate northern and southern protectorates on behalf of the British Crown, Nigeria became a unified nation in 1914. The country was split into three parts, namely the eastern region, the northern region, and the western region, later in 1949 as a result of the adoption of the Richard's Constitution. There were other ethnic groups within each of them, but the Igbo, Hausa-Fulani, and Yoruba were the largest ethnic groupings in the east, north, and west, respectively, in terms of both numbers and politics.

These sparked worries of hegemony and separatist movements among several ethnic minorities in the various regions. The Calabar-Ogoja-River (COR) State Movement, for instance, was in the east. The Benin and Delta Movements were in the west, and the Middle Belt Movement was in northern Nigeria. These groups' top priority was to be free of their perceived dominance by their numerically superior partners. The British colonial regime established the Henry Willinks Commission in 1958 in response to such agitations. Its goal was to research the concerns of Nigeria's ethnic minorities and make recommendations for easing those concerns, including the establishment of separate states for them.

Nevertheless, the Commission did not suggest the creation of states for ethnic minority groups in Nigeria. On the contrary, it held the view that there were other alternatives for addressing their fears, including the entrenchment of human rights, the establishment of special development authorities, and the sustained implementation of democratic practices (Azikiwe, 1943; Awolowo, 1947: 54). Also, both Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo did, at various times, suggest the creation of states during the colonial era. While Azikiwe suggested the use of existing provinces, Awolowo advocated ethnicity as the solution (Olusanya, 1999: 536-537; Ojiako, 1981: 40-46). The midwestern region was separated from the western region in 1963. The tripod regional structure that had been in place in the nation during the colonial era was altered by this action. Nigeria's subsequent territorial reorganizations had to wait until 1967, when Yakubu Gowon's military regime abandoned the regional setup. An alternative was a twelve-state system. The twelve-state organization was expanded to nineteen states in 1976, ten years after Murtala Mohammed overthrew the Gowon dictatorship. There were already 19 states in Nigeria when Ibrahim Babaginda assumed power as the country's fourth military dictator in 1985. In 1996, his successor General Sani Abacha established six new states. Thus, there are at present, thirty-six states in Nigeria. Ironically, the agitations for more states by different groups in the country have not abated. Instead, they have increased in intensity.



## 4.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

1. Trace the creation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900
2. Describe the history of State creation since 1967
3. Analyse the cost-benefit of state creation



## 4.3 The Creation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900

It should be emphasized that the Royal Niger Company oversaw Nigeria's entire Northern region before 1900 on behalf of the British Government (RNC). a Chartered Company with George Tobman Goldie as its director.

The Royal Niger Company controlled all the regions in question, according to a claim made by the British government in 1887, although the Company retained control of those areas. In order to oust some other European interests in the region, they gained direct control of the region

in 1900. According to Saad Abubakar (1980: 449) the realization that the Royal Niger Company had failed to keep away other European rivals from the Niger-Benue territory led to the revocation of its charter by the British Government in 1900. After that, a Protectorate was established over the company's claimed area, with Captain Lugard serving as its High Commissioner. The British authorities made the decision to combine the two Protectorates after successfully establishing the Northern Protectorate of Nigeria. The Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria were combined on January 1st, 1914, and given the name Nigeria, which was first proposed in 1900 by Flora Shaw, a former Colonial Correspondent for The Times Newspaper who later wed Lord Lugard. Sir Frederick Lugard was chosen to serve as the first Governor General following the amalgamation on January 1st, 1914.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1**

1. Discuss the Following Frederick Lugard's merging of the then-separate northern and southern protectorates on behalf of the British Crown, Nigeria.
2. Clarify on the creation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900.

#### **4.3.1 State Creation Since 1967**

Nigeria continued to manage the regional setup from 1960 to 1966. However, the nation had to be divided into 36 States between 1967 and 1996. The Yakubu Gowon administration carried out the first state-creation exercise in 1967. Aguiyi Ironsi served as Nigeria's first military head of state before Gowon came to power, but after his murder in July 1966, Gowon took over as the nation's new military leader. On May 5, 1967, he disbanded the nation's four regions and subsequently founded twelve States. Out of the previous northern area, six States were created.

These included the states of the North-Western, North-Eastern, Kano, North Central, Benue-Plateau, and Kwara. The Western State and Lagos State were created out of the former Western region. While three new States were formed from the former eastern region, the former mid-western region became the Mid-Western State. These were the South-Eastern State, the East Central State, and the Rivers State. In 1976, a second attempt to establish a state was made after Murtala Mohammed's military coup that had ousted Yakubu Gowon. Murtala Mohammed formed the following States upon taking power: Anambra, Bauchi, Benue, Imo, Niger, Ogun and Ondo, bringing the total number of States to nineteen, from the original twelve States created by Gowon. It took another eleven years (1987) for State creation exercise to be undertaken in the country. That was under the regime of Ibrahim Babangida (1985 –

1993). In 1987, Babangida created two States namely, Akwa Ibom and Katsina. He also created nine additional States in 1991. These were: Abia, Enugu, Delta, Jigawa, Kebbi, Osun, Kogi, Taraba and Yobe. It is instructive to note that Akwa Ibom State was carved out from Cross River State, while Katsina State was created from Kaduna State. Similarly, Adamawa and Taraba States were carved out from the former Gongola State, and Enugu State out of Anambra State, while Edo and Delta States replaced the old Bendel State. Also, Yobe State was created from Borno State, and Jigawa out of Kano State, while Kebbi and Osun States were carved out from Sokoto and Oyo States respectively. Kogi State came from Kwara and Benue States. Altogether, there were thirty (30) States by 1991. Sani Abacha became Nigeria's next military Head of State in 1993 after ousting the Ernest Shonekan-led Interim National Government (ING). Due to stringent agitations for more States, Abacha set up the National Constitutional Conference (NCC) which recommended, among other things, the creation of new States. Thus, on October 1, 1996, he created six additional States namely, Ebonyi (from Abia and Enugu States), Bayelsa (from Rivers State), Nasarawa (from Plateau State), Gombe (from Bauchi), and Ekiti (from Ondo). Arranged in an alphabetical order, year of creation, and the rulers that created them, the States created over the years are:

Table 1

**STATES CREATED IN NIGERIA,**

Yakubu Gowon 1967-1996	Murtala Mohammed 1967	Ibrahim Babangida 1987	Ibrahim Babangida 1991	Sani Abacha 1996
East Central	Anambra	Akwa Ibom	Abia	Bayelsa
Benue-Plateau	Bauchi	Katsina	Enugu	Ebonyi
Kano State	Benue		Delta	Ekiti
Kwara State	Borno		Jigawa	Gombe
Lagos State	Gongola		Kebbi	Nasarawa
Mid-Western	Imo		Osun	Zamfara
North-Eastern	Niger		Kogi	
North-Central	Ogun		Taraba	
North-Western	Ondo		Yobe	
Rivers State	Oyo			



South-Eastern	Plateau			
Western State	Sokoto			

Thus, there are currently a total of thirty-six States in Nigeria. These are: Abia, Adamawa, Akwa Ibom, Anambra, Bauchi, Bayelsa, Benue, Borno, Cross River, Delta, Ebonyi, Edo, Ekiti, Enugu, Gombe, Imo, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Kogi, Kwara, Lagos, Nasarawa, Niger, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers, Sokoto, Taraba, Yobe, and Zamfara.

**4.4 A Cost-Benefit Analysis of State Creation**

It is important to consider if Nigeria's economic progress has been significantly aided by the various state-creation initiatives. In other words, has the establishment of states improved the social and economic conditions of the vast majority of Nigerians? It is challenging to provide a solution to this issue. Although the establishment of States has psychologically helped the general populace, in terms of material gain, it is the elite who benefit the most because they are selected to lucrative governmental positions and awarded contracts worth millions of dollars.

In the end, corruption on the side of the elite has caused the social and economic situations of the masses to either stagnate or deteriorate. This also, according to Suberu (1998: 278), is because: While distributive pressures lie at the roots of the clamour for new subnational units in Nigeria, the actual processes and outcome of territorial reorganizations usually reflect the interests, perceptions, calculations and manipulations of national growing elites. To put it another way, although one of the goals of the establishment of States was to guarantee, among other things, ethnic autonomy and development, it actually had the opposite result because the level of development and improved standard of living that most Nigerians expected remained a mirage for the majority of them. The rich, on the other hand, have just continued to get richer while the poor continue to get poorer. The utilization of the nation's other economic resources has also been hampered by the construction of States and the fake unitary federal structure in place there. To put it another way, States' reliance on the federal government for the distribution of financial resources has had the unfavorable effect of preventing such States from utilizing additional sources of income generating. Quoting sources from the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Suberu (Ibid, 280) has observed that: ...as presently constituted, only few states and local governments can provide up to 30 percent of their planned expenditures from their internal generation efforts. The statutory allocation from the federal account between 1990 and 1994 constituted, on the average, over 70 percent of

the current revenues of the state governments, while internally generated revenues accounted for only 17.8 percent and the balance was by special (discretionary) grants from the federal government... The situation has not changed, even today. A new research claims that the Nigerian economy brought in the equivalent of \$30.1 billion (N1.103 trillion) in domestic revenue in 2018. The South provided more than 70% of that sum (BusinessDay, 2019). Although the north continues to make an appallingly tiny contribution, it nevertheless retains at least 65 percent of the funds distributed to States and local governments. So, just as a slave owner owns his slaves, the north owns Nigeria. Ironically, the idea that the old or former northern region is still a monolithic and homogenous entity tends to be assumed whenever allusions to the north are made. This is false because ethnic minorities in the north are uncomfortable with the Hausa-Fulani oligarchy's oppressive power. As an illustration, in the 1979

### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2

1. List the twelve (12) state created by Yakubu Gowon between 1967-1996
2. Explain the cost cost-benefit analysis of state creation.



#### 4.5 Summary

This unit comprehensively examined into the historical significance of the creation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900, shedding light on the socio-political landscape of that time. Additionally, it meticulously analyzed the evolution of state creation practices post-1967, highlighting the complex intricacies and considerations involved in such processes. Furthermore, a detailed examination was conducted on the cost-benefit analysis of state creation, exploring the economic, social, and governance implications associated with establishing new administrative entities. By exploring these themes, the unit aimed to provide a nuanced understanding of the impact of state creation on governance structures and socio-economic development, offering valuable insights into the broader historical and contemporary implications of territorial delineation and governance restructuring.



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*American Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*



## 4.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

1. **Discuss the Following Frederick Lugard's merging of the then-separate northern and southern protectorates on behalf of the British Crown, Nigeria.**

Following Frederick Lugard's merging of the then-separate northern and southern protectorates on behalf of the British Crown, Nigeria became a unified nation in 1914. The country was split into three parts, namely the eastern region, the northern region, and the western region, later in 1949 as a result of the adoption of the Richard's Constitution. There were other ethnic groups within each of them, but the Igbo, Hausa-Fulani, and Yoruba were the largest ethnic groupings in the east, north, and west, respectively, in terms of both numbers and politics. This sparked worries of hegemony and separatist movements among several ethnic minorities in the various regions. The Calabar-Ogoja-River (COR) State Movement, for instance, was in the east. The Benin and Delta Movements were in the west, and the Middle Belt Movement was in northern Nigeria. These groups' top priority was to be free of their perceived dominance by their numerically superior partners. The British colonial regime established the Henry Willinks Commission in 1958 in response to such agitations. Its goal was to research the concerns of Nigeria's ethnic minorities and make recommendations for easing those concerns, including the establishment of separate states for them. Nevertheless, the Commission did not suggest the creation of states for ethnic minority groups in Nigeria. On the contrary, it held the view that there were other alternatives for addressing their fears, including the entrenchment of human rights, the establishment of special development authorities, and the sustained implementation of democratic practices (Azikiwe, 1943; Awolowo, 1947: 54). Also, both Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo did, at various times, suggest the creation of states during the colonial era. While Azikiwe suggested the use of existing provinces, Awolowo advocated ethnicity as the solution (Olusanya, 1999: 536-537; Ojiako, 1981: 40-46). The midwestern region was separated from the western region in 1963. The tripod regional structure that had been in place in the nation during the colonial era was altered by this action. Nigeria's subsequent territorial reorganizations had to wait until 1967, when Yakubu Gowon's military regime abandoned the regional setup. An alternative was a twelve-state system. The twelve-state organization was expanded to nineteen states in 1976, ten years after Murtala Mohammed overthrew the Gowon dictatorship. There were already 19 states in Nigeria when Ibrahim Babaginda assumed power as the country's fourth military dictator in

1985. In 1996, his successor General Sani Abacha established six new states. Thus, there are at present, thirty-six states in Nigeria. Ironically, the agitations for more states by different groups in the country have not abated. Instead, they have increased in intensity.

**2. Clarify on the creation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900.**

It should be emphasized that the Royal Niger Company oversaw all of Nigeria's Northern region before 1900 on behalf of the British Government (RNC). a Chartered Company with George Tobman Goldie as its director. The Royal Niger Company controlled all the regions in question, according to a claim made by the British government in 1887, although the Company retained control of those areas. In order to oust some other European interests in the region, they gained direct control of the region in 1900. According to Saad Abubakar (1980: 449) the realization that the Royal Niger Company had failed to keep away other European rivals from the Niger-Benue territory led to the revocation of its charter by the British Government in 1900. After that, a Protectorate was established over the company's claimed area, with Captain Lugard serving as its High Commissioner. The British authorities made the decision to combine the two Protectorates after successfully establishing the Northern Protectorate of Nigria. The Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria were combined on January 1st, 1914, and given the name Nigeria, which was first proposed in 1900 by Flora Shaw, a former Colonial Correspondent for The Times Newspaper who later wed Lord Lugard. Sir Fredrick Lugard was chosen to serve as the first Governor General following the amalgamation on January 1st, 1914.

Answers to SAEs 2

**1. List the twelve (12) state created by Yakubu Gowon between 1967-1996**

Serial number	Yakubu Gowon 1967-1996
1	East Central
2	Benue-Plateau
3	Kano State
4	Kwara State
5	Lagos State
6	Mid-Western
7	North-Eastern
8	North-Central
9	North-Western
10	Rivers State
11	South-Eastern

## 2. Explain the cost cost-benefit analysis of state creation.

It is important to consider if Nigeria's economic progress has been significantly aided by the various state-creation initiatives. In other words, has the establishment of states improved the social and economic conditions of the vast majority of Nigerians? It is challenging to provide a solution to this issue. Although the establishment of States has psychologically helped the general populace, in terms of material gain, it is the elite who benefit the most because they are selected to lucrative governmental positions and awarded contracts worth millions of dollars. In the end, corruption on the side of the elite has caused the social and economic situations of the masses to either stagnate or deteriorate. This also, according to Suberu (1998: 278), is because: While distributive pressures lie at the roots of the clamour for new subnational units in Nigeria, the actual processes and outcome of territorial reorganizations usually reflect the interests, perceptions, calculations and manipulations of national growing elites. To put it another way, although one of the goals of the establishment of States was to guarantee, among other things, ethnic autonomy and development, it actually had the opposite result because the level of development and improved standard of living that most Nigerians expected remained a mirage for the majority of them. The rich, on the other hand, have just continued to get richer while the poor continue to get poorer. The utilization of the nation's other economic resources has also been hampered by the construction of States and the fake unitary federal structure in place there. To put it another way, States' reliance on the federal government for the distribution of financial resources has had the unfavorable effect of preventing such States from utilizing additional sources of income generating. Quoting sources from the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Suberu (Ibid, 280) has observed that: ...as presently constituted, only few states and local governments can provide up to 30 percent of their planned expenditures from their internal generation efforts. The statutory allocation from the federal account between 1990 and 1994 constituted, on the average, over 70 percent of the current revenues of the state governments, while internally generated revenues accounted for only 17.8 percent and the balance was by special (discretionary) grants from the federal government... The situation has not changed, even today. A new research claims that the Nigerian economy brought in the equivalent of \$30.1 billion (N1.103 trillion) in domestic revenue in 2018. The South provided more than 70% of that sum (BusinessDay, 2019). Although the north continues to make an appallingly tiny contribution, it nevertheless retains at least 65 percent of the funds distributed to States and local governments. So, just as a slave owner owns his slaves, the north owns Nigeria. Ironically, the idea that the old or former northern region is still a monolithic and homogenous

entity tends to be assumed whenever allusions to the north are made. This is false because ethnic minorities in the north are uncomfortable with the Hausa-Fulani oligarchy's oppressive power. As an illustration, in the 1979

## UNIT 5 HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF TAXATION

### Unit Structure

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Learning Outcomes
- 5.3 Historical Development of Taxation in Northern in Nigeria
  - 5.3.1 Forms of taxes
  - 5.3.2 Current Tax Situation in Nigeria
- 5.4 Taxation and Forced Labour
- 5.5 Summary
- 5.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 5.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 5.1 Introduction

In our last unit we discussed the creation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900, describe the history of State creation since 1967 and analyse the cost-benefit of state creation. In this unit, we shall look at the Historical Development of Taxation in Northern in Nigeria, enumerate the Forms of taxes during the colonial periods, discuss the Current Tax Situation in Nigeria and explain the Taxation and forced labour. Nigeria didn't have a formal tax policy until the 1930s. The only people with the right to collect taxes and utilize them whatever they pleased were traditional monarchs. These kings were able to develop their own taxation system. However, none of them were able to endure long enough to be recorded in historical texts.



### 5.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the Historical Development of Taxation in Northern in Nigeria
- Enumerate the Forms of taxes during the colonial periods
- Discuss the Current Tax Situation in Nigeria
- Explain the Taxation and forced labour





### 5.3 Historical Development of Taxation in Northern Nigeria

The tax system in Nigeria dates back to the Northern regions of the country before colonialism. In the entire north, the Emirs established a taxation system. The Islamic Religion served as the foundation for the taxation. The Southern region of the nation lacked the North's level of organization. As a result, the South did not use a centralized taxation system.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1

1. Nigeria didn't have a formal tax policy until the 1930s. Discuss
2. Expatiate on the history and development of taxation in Northern Nigeria.

#### 5.3.1 Forms of taxes

Historical records show that there were many types of taxes in the regions of Nigeria that were subject to Islamic taxation:

- Zakat – All emissaries of the Islamic faith present it as a mandatory tax. It was gathered for scholarly, spiritual, and religious objectives.
- Kudin-Kasa – it was a tax for land utilization;
- Shuka-Shuka – it was a tax for cattle rearers;
- Isha-Kole – this tax was to be paid to community leaders or chiefs;
- Owo-Ori – This tax was paid to the nation in exchange for private services;
- Community tax – this tax was obligatory for all adult members of the community.

If we look at the history of taxation in Nigeria, we can see that the earliest trading posts and businesses in West Africa were involved in the colonization era. The British Empire made an effort to compete for regional economic supremacy. As a result, the GB took advantage of Africa's resources and populace.

The GB's primary concern in the middle of the 19th century was establishing Nigerian markets. The slave trade was also conducted in these markets. Several colonial governments attempted to impose their tax rates on commerce.

Nigerian tax regulations Nigeria's current taxes system dates back to 1914. The Northern and Southern Directorate implemented the

fundamentals of Nigerian taxation during that year. Additionally, it contributed to the beginning of Nigeria's series of tax regulations.

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- Proclamation Law 1914; - Native ordinance 1917;
- The Non-natives Protectorates Tax Ordinance 1931;
- Raisman Commission 1958.

The standardized tax principles were introduced by the Raisman Commission. Later, the National Government accepted and adopted the Commission's recommendations. These suggestions were incorporated into the Constitution of Nigeria. In 1961, the Income Management Act and Companies Income Tax Act were born as a result of the constitution. The sequence of tax laws was produced by the following complications in tax reforms. The Personal Income Tax Act of 2004 and the Companies Income Tax Act of 2004 are the most recent versions of this tax legislation.

### **5.3.2 Current Tax Situation in Nigeria**

Three legal entities are authorized by Nigerian law to collect taxes from Nigerians.

- Federal Internal Revenue Service. They are responsible for Capital Gain Tax, Educational Tax, Value Added tax, Withholding tax, Companies Income Tax, Personal Income tax.
- State Boards of Internal Revenue. This legal body is responsible for Road Taxes, individual capital gains, individual withdrawing.
- Local Government Revenue Service. This legal body is responsible for collecting taxes on the local governments level.

### **5.4 Taxation and Forced Labour**

The most effective means of repression and dominance employed by the British to bring Nigerians under control were taxes and forced labor. These were also excellent tools for oppression. People who went through these measures still talk about them in a negative light. According to an informant quoted in (Ezeogidi Cynado 2013:98)

*I worked in one of the colonial camps in Onitsha, I was conscripted by the*

*warrant chief without my consent and while in the camp, we worked like slaves fetching water, working in the garden and washing clothings.*

Another Informant recounted what his father told him about forced labour, “my father said that they worked like slaves in the forced labour camp at Onitsha but slaves were better because slaves were brought and fed but in their own case, they were left to take care of themselves.”

Forced labour was introduced in Igboland earlier than the introduction of money taxation which came later as a poll tax in about 1928. It actually involved the use of forced labourers to work for the Colonial Masters and sometimes as Police and Army. The condition of Forced Labourer was very deplorable because they worked without pay and the Labourers were badly treated.

Without a question, the forced labor system had a detrimental impact on the populace's social and economic conditions. Both the farmers and their farmland were impacted by the system. This is due to the fact that they were compelled to leave their farms in order to work for the Colonial Masters rather than cultivating their farmland. Due to the fact that the laborers were occasionally beaten with sticks if they complained of being exhausted, the general health situation in the forced labor camp was particularly bad. Some of the employees were ill and passed away in the camp without receiving medical attention.

As stated mentioned, all able-bodied men in any community were required to pay taxation, which was first enacted as a poll tax. The warrant chiefs and their agents were in charge of collecting the taxes, which were then paid in cash and kind. The citizens found it difficult to pay with the new Pounds, Shillings, and Pence currencies. This is the type of money that was used in Britain. In Nigeria, the same currency was launched. Nigerians have to use this difficult-to-obtain cash to pay taxes. The people were compelled by this system of taxes, which required payment with new money, to give up farming and move to cities in search of paid government employment. Those who sought to flee to avoid paying taxes because they lacked access to European currency were severely punished when they were apprehended, and as a last resort, many engaged in robbery operations that also garnered heavy punishments. Many began growing the recently introduced and promoted cash crops at this time. The British fostered and stimulated the growth of these crops in Southern Nigeria, which included cotton, cocoa, and palm oil. The development of these commodities undoubtedly had a significant impact on food crops because the focus was transferred to cash crops to obtain European currency at the complete neglect of food crops, causing people to suffer from hunger and starvation. Since the prices of these cash crops

fluctuated, European traders now had the advantage to efficiently take advantage of the populace. Additionally, it reduced the amount of cash the population received, which made it very challenging for them to pay their taxes. This undoubtedly had an impact on the Colonial Government's revenue because the flat rate tax was reduced from 6 to 4 shillings in 1932–1933. (8/1/2122, NAE Onprof) Onitsha Native administration estimates for 1933–1934 stated in item one's explanatory note that "his Honour expressed the hope that every effort would be made to restore the rate in 1933–1934 to 6 shillings as I have budgeted at the same rate" after reluctantly approving the flat rate at only 4 shillings:

*As you are aware, the very great decline in the prices of produce was mainly responsible for the reduction to 4 shillings. The slump in produce affected other market: Money was tight while the cost of more important articles of merchandise demanded by the natives showed very little corresponding fall*

The effect of this situation was that some companies began to retrench their workers while others completely folded and relocated. This actually affected unemployment level and increased hunger and starvation.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2

1. List and explain the types of types of taxes in the regions of Nigeria that were subject to Islamic taxation
2. Enumerate the current types of current tax situation in Nigeria.



### 5.5 Summary

In this unit, we explored the intricate Historical Development of Taxation in Northern Nigeria, a topic that sheds light on the evolution of fiscal policies in the region. We discussed the various Forms of taxes imposed over the years, emphasizing how these tax systems have evolved and impacted the socio-economic landscape of Northern Nigeria.

Additionally, we examine the contentious relationship between Taxation and Forced Labour, uncovering the historical implications and social dynamics that have influenced the development of tax laws. Furthermore, we analyze the Current Tax Situation in Nigeria, providing insights into the contemporary challenges and opportunities faced by the Nigerian tax system. By exploring these key themes, we gain a comprehensive understanding of the historical trajectory and current state of taxation in

Northern Nigeria, offering valuable perspectives on the region's fiscal policies and economic development.



### **5.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

Read more: <https://www.legit.ng/1119115-history-taxation-nigeria.html>



## 5.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Nigeria didn't have a formal tax policy until the 1930s. Discuss

Nigeria didn't have a formal tax policy until the 1930s. The only people with the right to collect taxes and utilize them whatever they pleased were traditional monarchs. These kings were able to develop their own taxation system. However, none of them were able to endure long enough to be recorded in historical texts.

#### 2. Expatriate on the history and development of taxation in Northern Nigeria.

The tax system in Nigeria dates back to the Northern regions of the country before colonialism. In the entire north, the Emirs established a taxation system. The Islamic Religion served as the foundation for the taxation. The Southern region of the nation lacked the North's level of organization. As a result, the South did not use a centralized taxation system.

### Answers to SAEs 2

#### 1. List and explain the types of types of taxes in the regions of Nigeria that were subject to Islamic taxation.

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#### 2. Enumerate the current types of current tax situation in Nigeria

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## **MODULE 2      CONSTITUTION DEVELOPMENT BEFORE INDEPENDENCE IN NIGERIA**

- Unit 1      Constitution Development Before Independence  
                 In Nigeria
- Unit 2      Constitution Development After Independence In  
                 Nigeria
- Unit 3      Restructuring in Nigeria
- Unit 4      Government Reform Since Independence
- Unit 5      Western Region Crisis and Collapse of First Republic

### **UNIT 1      CONSTITUTION DEVELOPMENT BEFORE INDEPENDENCE IN NIGERIA**

#### **Unit Structure**

- 1.1      Introduction
- 1.2      Learning Outcomes
- 1.3      Constitution Development before Independence in Nigeria
  - 1.3.1      The 1922 Constitution
  - 1.3.2      Features of the Clifford Constitution
- 1.4      The Richards Constitution 1946
  - 1.4.1      Feature of Richard Constitution
  - 1.4.2      Advantages Richard Constitution
  - 1.4.3      Disadvantages Richard Constitution
- 1.5      The Mcpherson Constitution of 1951
  - 1.5.1      Features of Macpherson Constitution
  - 1.5.2      Merits Of Mcpherson's Constitution
  - 1.5.3      Demerits Of Mcpherson Constitution
- 1.6      Lyttleton Constitution 1954
  - 1.6.1      Features of Lyttleton constitution 1954
  - 1.6.2      Criticisms of Lyttleton constitution of 1954
- 1.7      Summary
- 1.8      References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 1.9      Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the  
content



#### **1.1      Introduction**

In our last unit we discussed the Historical Development of Taxation in Northern in Nigeria, enumerate the Forms of taxes during the colonial periods, discuss the Current Tax Situation in Nigeria and explain the Taxation and forced labour. In this unit, we shall look at Constitution



development, 1922 constitution, the Richards constitution, the Macpherson constitution, discuss the Macpherson constitution, the Lyttleton constitution, the independence constitution, the 1963 republican constitution, the presidential constitution of 1979 and the 1999 constitution and the elites

A legislative and executive council was established for Lagos following the annexation by the British in 1861. By a commission issued 19 February 1866, Lagos and other British possessions in the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Gambia were placed under a Governor General with a base in Sierra Leone in 1862. They did, however, each have their own legislative councils. With a governor and legislative council centered on the Gold coast, the Gold coast and Lagos were separated into their own colony in 1874. A separate governmental body with its own governor, executive, and legislative bodies was established for Lagos in 1886. The colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria was created in 1906 by combining the protectorate of Southern Nigeria with the colony of Lagos. Article 4 of the Southern Nigeria Protectorate Order in Council 1906, the Legislative Council of Lagos was empowered to make laws for the protectorate of Southern Nigeria by ordinance.

The Protectorate of Northern Nigeria and the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria were combined in 1914 to form the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. This time, only colony-specific laws may be made by the legislative council. For the protectorates, the governor enacted laws. Lord Lugard stated that this was due to the fact that "the proposition is physically unachievable until railway communications are significantly expanded." This resulted from the country's vast size.

An advisory body known as the Nigerian council was established in place of the nation's legislative council. There were 30 members total, with 13 non-officials and 17 officials. Four of the non-officials were proposed by the governor to speak for business, banking, shipping, and mining interests. While the chambers of business in Calabar, Lagos, and the Chamber of Mines each appointed one representative. The governor appointed the remaining members, who were all Nigerians.



## 1.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the Constitution development
- Examine the 1922 constitution
- Explain the The Richards constitution
- Explain the Macpherson constitution

- Discuss the Macpherson constitution
- Examine the Lyttleton constitution



### **1.3 Constitution Development before Independence in Nigeria**

#### **1.3.1 The 1922 Constitution**

After Lagos was annexed by the British in 1861, a legislative and executive council was created. Lagos was placed under the control of a Governor General with a base in Sierra Leone in 1862 by a commission issued on February 19, 1866, along with other British territories in the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Gambia. However, they each had an own legislative council. In 1874, Lagos and the Gold Coast were divided into distinct colonies, each with its own ruler and legislative council. In 1886, a distinct governing body with a governor, executive branch, and legislative branch was founded for Lagos. Caseley Hayford's then-led West African Congress put pressure on Sir Hugh Clifford Clifford to draft constitutions for the state when he took office as governor in 1919.

Additionally, it replaced the Nigerian council with a legislative council. It had 46 members, with the governor serving as its chairman. There were 46 total, of which 23 were formal members and 19 were not. The four remaining candidates were chosen as previously said. The council could only enact laws for the South, though. The governor issued a proclamation to enact laws for the North.

There was also an executive council, although no Nigerians were on it. The governor, chief secretary, lieutenant governors, administrator for Lagos, attorney general, commandant of the Nigerian regiment, director of medical service, director of financial services, comptroller general, and secretary for native affairs made up the group.

Following Hugh Clifford, Bernard Boudillion and Cameroon served as the next two governors. In terms of constitutional development, they didn't do anything. Boudillion did, however, divide Nigeria into three administrative regions: East, West, and North. The foundation for future regionalism was laid here.

#### **1.3.2 Features of the Clifford Constitution**

- Elective principle was introduced though it was restricted to Lagos and Calabar.
- The Legislative council was increased to 46 (forty six).

- The East and the West all had representative. The North was the only region that lacked representatives and continued to be ruled by Proclamations from the Governor.
- The Mass Media began to gain wide circulation with the formation of indigenous newspapers like the West African Daily Pilot.
- 5. Political Parties began to spring up like the NNDP by Herbert Macaulay and NYM.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1**

1. Briefly explain constitution development in Nigeria.
2. Expatiate on the 1922 constitution

#### **1.4 The Richards Constitution 1946**

The Richards Constitution which took its name from Sir Arthur Richards (later Lord Milverton), the then Governor of Nigeria, came into effect on 1st January, 1947. But the constitution itself was the outcome of several events that took place within and outside Nigeria since the Clifford Constitution was promulgated in 1922.

Before 1944 came to a conclusion, Sir Arthur Richards, the governor at the time, offered a fresh constitutional amendment proposal. The educated elite put pressure on him, which is why this happened. They believed that the indigenous community was not adequately represented by the Clifford Constitution.

Thus, several factors accounted for the promulgation of the constitution. First, the indirect rule policy was a failure in Southern Nigeria contrary to the expectations of the colonial government. The educated Nigerians were shut out from participation in government and they suffered various forms of discrimination in the civil service. Yet, the size of the educated elite had increased tremendously and the colonial government was faced with the problem of absorbing the school leavers into government service. This was always going to be difficult, as imperial control appeared inconsistent with the granting of powers to educated Nigerians who were agitating for self-government.

The governor therefore presented the constitution, which had the following objectives:

- To promote Nigeria's unity
- To provide adequately within that desire for the diverse elements that make up the country
- To provide greater participation of Africans in the determination of their own affairs.

##### **1.4.1 Feature of Richard Constitution**

A new legislative council was established pursuant to the constitution; it was composed of the governor, 16 elected officials, and 28 unelected individuals. Of the 28, two were put forward by the governor, and four were chosen. There were 11 people in the North, 8 in the West, and 6 in the East. Lagos and Calabar provided two of the elected four. Additionally, the constitution mandated that the council pass national laws.

Additionally, the constitution established regional houses of assembly. The native authority proposed the candidates for the regional assembly. They were not, though, legislative bodies. They served only as discussion points for global issues. Members of the legislative council were also appointed from the house of assembly. While the North had a house of chiefs in addition to an assembly, the East and West had a unicameral legislature.

Additionally, the limited franchise was reduced by the constitution from 100 pounds to 50 pounds. Because more people may vote and be voted for, this is seen as a positive. For the majority of Nigerians, it was still too expensive.

Nigerians were also present on the executive council in Lagos for the first time. They were Bankole Rhodes and Sir Adeyemo Alakija.

In spite of all these upgrades over the Clifford constitution, the latter still had several flaws. It began by restricting franchise to just Lagos and Calabar. The cost of purchasing the right to vote was still prohibitive for the majority of Nigerians. Additionally, the regional houses of assemblies served only as forums for public discourse and lacked legislative authority. The elites were excluded from the constitution as well. This is so because the native authority nominated those individuals to the regional houses of assembly and the legislative council.

#### **1.4.2 Advantages Richard Constitution**

The Richard constitution had the following advantages

- For the first time in the political history of Nigeria, the whole country was brought under one legislative authority. That is, one legislative body (the Central Legislature) made laws for the whole country. By so doing, the first objective of the constitution which was the promotion of national unity was achieved.
- By establishing Regional Assemblies, the constitution recognized the diversity of Nigeria and provided an opportunity for these diverse elements to express their views. With this, the second

objective of the constitution, that is the representation of the various diverse interests was realised.

- The Regional Assemblies provided a forum for Nigerians to participate in the discussion and management of their own affairs. By so doing, the constitution realised its third objective, namely, securing the participation of Nigerians in their own affairs.
- The constitution ingeniously incorporated the indirect rule into the constitution by linking the Native Authorities to the Regional Assemblies and by linking the latter to the central legislature in Lagos.
- The constitution allocated distinct functions to the Regional Assemblies.

### 1.4.3 Disadvantages Richard Constitution

The Richard constitution had the following disadvantages.

- Like previous constitutions (Hugh Clifford and Lord Lugard), the Richards Constitution was undemocratic as it was an imposition by the colonial government. In short, there was inadequate consultation with Nigerians in drafting the constitution. This was the major criticism of the nationalists, in particular, against the constitution.
- The central legislature was dominated by nominated unofficial members. Since they were unelected, the unofficial members were likely to toe the official line in debates in the legislative council.
- The constitution failed to take account of the political advancement in the country. Only *four members* of the legislature were *elected*, as was the case in 1922.
- The Executive Council did not perform executive functions, but continued to play only an
- There was no effective connection between the Executive Council and the Legislative Council since none of the official members of the former was a member of the legislative council.
- The Legislative Council was a mere *advisory* and deliberative body.
- The introduction of regionalism promoted *tribalism* and *allegiance to sub-national* groups.
- The failure to establish a House of Chiefs in the Western Region was inexplicable given the large number of traditional institutions in the area. The development only showed the contempt which the British colonial officials had for the south.

The veto power of the governor undermined the effectiveness of the legislative and executive councils. The property qualification of £100 for

election to political office had the negative effect of disenfranchising the working population whose annual income was far less than this amount. The constitution which was supposed to last for nine years was discarded in just four years. This clearly summed up the failure of the constitution to satisfy the yearnings and aspirations of Nigerians for fundamental constitutional and political reforms.

### **1.5 The Macpherson Constitution of 1951**

A new constitution was deemed necessary in light of the aforementioned criticisms of the Richard constitution. Not wanting to repeat the error of his predecessor, the governor, Sir John Macpherson, opted to involve Nigerians in the constitution-making process. Nigerians were widely consulted, down to the village level. In 1950, there was also the Ibadan conference. All of these things combined led to the adoption of the Macpherson constitution.

The house of representatives is the name of the federal legislature established by the constitution. It comprised 136 elected members, 6 ex-officio members, and 6 governor-nominated members. 34 members were from the West, 34 from the East, and 68 members were from the North. Additionally, it allowed for the creation of regional legislatures with the power to enact legislation.

The regional legislatures in the West and North were bi-cameral and each also had a house of chiefs. It was a unicameral legislature in the East. Members of the legislative council were also chosen from the regional legislatures.

The weakness of the Richard's Constitution and the imperial powers due to anti-colonial activities, and the de-mystification of white superiority led to the introduction of a new constitution. Sir John Macpherson became Governor of Nigeria in 1948. He reviewed the 1946 Constitution to avoid the mistake of Richard's constitution. Constitutional conferences held in many parts of the country led to the formation of the Macpherson's Constitution of 1951.

#### **1.5.1 Features of Macpherson Constitution**

- i. The central legislative council: It was renamed the House of Representatives. The president was the Governor and it had 6 ex-official members. 136 representative members were through the regional houses and 6 special members were nominated by the Governor. The North sent 68 members while the West and East had 34 members which made up the 136 representatives.

- ii. The Central Executive Council: This was known as the council of ministers. The Governor was the president and there were 6 official members, 12 ministers of which represented each region. They were in charge of government departments and appointed by the governor on the recommendation of the regional legislature.
- iii. The Regional Legislature: The Northern and Western regions each had a bi-cameral House of Assembly and Chiefs. The Eastern region had only the power to make laws on certain issues like local matters, native courts, health, etc.
- iv. Regional Executive Council: Each region had an executive council. The Lieutenant Governor was the president and it had 5 official members and 9 ministers. They advised the governor but he could accept or reject their advice.
- v. The colony of Lagos was part of the Western region.
- vi. The three provinces were renamed, Western, Eastern and Northern regions.
- vii. The three chief commissioners for each province were renamed Lieutenant governors.

### **1.5.2 Merits of McPherson's Constitution**

- i. Nigerians took part in the making of the constitution through constitutional conferences.
- ii. A new central law making body called the House of Representatives was introduced.
- iii. The regions were given more powers and made autonomous.
- iv. The constitution played great role in the realization of self-government. The motion for self-government was moved in the House of Representatives and discussed at the 1953's London constitutional conferences.
- v. The constitution allowed for increase in elected majorities in both central and regional legislatures.
- vi. The constitution encouraged the true spirit of federalism by dividing powers between the central and the regions and granting consideration autonomy to the region.

### **1.5.3 Demerits of Mcpherson Constitution**

- i. The constitution did not make provision for the post of the prime minister and premier.
- ii. The constitution did not grant real ministerial responsibilities to ministers. They only acted as spokes men of the ministries in the legislature.
- iii. The constitution vested too many powers on the governor.

- iv. Powers given to the regions to make laws were limited as their laws have to be approved first before they could be allowed to operate.
- v. No single party had a majority control of the House of Representatives and as such the council of ministers was not sure of their policies.
- vi. The constitution failed to grant political independence to Nigeria as demanded by the Nationalis

### **1.6 Lyttleton Constitution 1954**

The Macpherson constitution was improved, but it was unable to keep Nigerians unified. The legislature's issues caused it to collapse quickly.

Anthony Enahoro, an A.G. member, suggested on the house floor in 1953 that Nigeria should gain independence in 1956. The Northerners opposed this because they believed they weren't prepared for independence. They suggested that independence be granted "as soon as practically possible." In Lagos, this resulted in jeers. As a result of what transpired in Lagos, there was a riot in Kano. Additionally, the North hinted about secession. Oliver Lyttleton, the colonial secretary at the time, brought the leaders to a conference in London to try to calm things down. During the meeting, a few topics were discussed, and committees were formed. At the 1954 Lagos meeting, their reports were to be taken into consideration. The Lyttleton constitution was produced as a result of the convention.

The Lyttleton constitution was created as a result of the constitutional conferences that were conducted in Lagos and London, respectively, in 1953 and 1954. A federal structure including North, East, West, and Southern Cameroons was fully established by the constitution. While Lagos served as the Federal Capital Territory.

The West African court of appeal was disbanded in terms of justice. Nigeria had a Supreme Court as well as separate high courts for the various regions. However, the judicial committee of the Privy Council served as the highest court of appeal. While the North gained autonomy in 1959, the Eastern and Western areas did so in 1957. Through a vote, Southern Cameroon chose to leave Nigeria.

Oliver Lyttleton constitution of 1954 is a very significant constitution in the historical constitutional development of Nigeria. This is so because it provided the basis for independence in Nigeria. Another reason is because; the 1954 constitution was the last Nigerian constitution that was initiated by a British Governor. However, this does not mean that Nigeria was totally free after Lyttleton constitution. The criticisms by Nigerian nationalists on the previous Macpherson Constitution led to the



establishment of the 1954 constitution. Basically, Nigerians argued that there was no autonomy in the regions and that it is necessary to draft another constitution that will grant self-government in every part in Nigeria. Thus, Lyttleton constitution came into force in 1954 to resolve that defect.

Nonetheless, there are other characteristics or features of Lyttleton constitution of 1954 that are worthwhile to know. The constitution of 1954 is one of the constitutions that was not named after the governor or the governor-general of Nigeria. Rt. Honorable Mr. Oliver Lyttleton MP, then secretary of state for the colonies encourage the drawing of a new constitution. The role he played in making of the 1954 constitution earned him the reward of associating the constitution with his name. Lyttleton spearheaded the drafting of a new constitution for Nigeria in 1953.

Constitutional conferences were held in London in 1953 and Lagos in 1954 to harmonized views of Nigerian political elites, colonial administrators and the proposals of the fiscal commission headed by Sir Louis Chick on the new constitution.

### **1.6.1 Features of Lyttleton constitution 1954**

- It provided for a division of power between the central government and the regions. Area of legislative competence between the central (federal) government and regional government were spelt out in the exclusive, concurrent and residual lists. The subjects in the exclusive list include external affairs, immigration, defence, atomic energy, copyright, census, currency, mining, patent, banking, custom, foreign exchange etc. In the concurrent list both the regional government and the federal government have right to legislate. However, where there is a conflict of law, the constitution provided that the federal law would prevail over the regional law. Matters in the concurrent list includes, education, health, public works, insurance, statistics etc. The residual list contained matters of legislative competence of the regions only.
- The governor of Nigeria was renamed Governor-General and the Lieutenant-governor renamed governor as were the case in 1914.
- Members of the House of representative were made up of 184 directly elected members, a speaker and three ex-officio members – the Chief Secretary, Financial Secretary and the Attorney General.
- Members of the House of representative were elected from the regions on direct election. The Northern Region had ninety-two; Southern Cameroon six and Lagos two members.
- Membership of regional legislature was no longer combined with a set in the House of Representatives.

- The Northern and Western Regions had Bicameral Legislature – House of Chiefs and House of Assembly.
- There was a special member but no official member in the house.
- Eastern region has only a House of Assembly.
- The post of a speaker and deputy speaker were created in the Eastern and Western regions. The House of Assembly in the Eastern Region has no official or special members.
- The executive council known as the Council of Ministers consisted of the Governor-General, three official members, three Ministers from each region and one member from Southern Cameroon.
- Regional governors ceased to sit in the Council of Ministers, under the 1954 constitution
- The post of premier was created in regions and regional premiers presided over the executive councils.
- The executive council in Northern Region was made up of three ex – officio members and thirteen ministers of who eight were charged with responsibilities.
- The Eastern region had nine ministers in the executive council and no ex-officio member.
- In the Western region the executive council was made up of the governor and nine Ministers.
- The ministers in the federal executive council were drawn from the House of Representatives on the advice of the Majority leader or Regional majority leader. The ministers participated in fashioning out government policies and in executing them.
- The Governor-General presided over the council of ministers.

### **1.6.2 Criticisms of Lyttleton constitution of 1954**

In spite of all the efforts made by Lyttleton constitution to correct some of the major weaknesses of Macpherson Constitution, it still had the following defects:

1. The constitution made no provisions for the office of the prime Minister and this automatically made the Governor-General the president of the Council of Ministers.
2. The constitution failed to provide for the second chamber at the federal level as is done in other federation.
3. None of the leaders of the majority political parties was in the Federal council of Ministers and this was the Council of Ministers to look to their regional leaders for instructions and guidance.
4. The constitution did not allay the fear of smaller regions as a result of the Northern region being larger than Southern regions put together.

5. It failed to provide for a uniform Electoral system throughout the country.
6. The constitution still vested reserve and veto powers on the Governor General and Regional Governor.
7. The constitution retained members in the Federal Executive Council and in both northern Houses of Assembly and Chiefs.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

- |  |
|--|
| 1. Identify Five (5) Features of Lyttleton constitution 1954 |
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#### **1.7 Summary**

In this unit, we examined the historical significance of various constitutional documents within the context of Nigeria's political evolution. The assessment begins with a reflection on the provisions outlined in the 1922 Constitution, shedding light on its implications for governance and power distribution during that era. We examined the transformative nature of the Richards Constitution of 1946, analyzing how it influenced the country's administrative structure and the relations between the colonial authorities and local leadership. Subsequently, we scrutinize the McPherson Constitution of 1951, offering a detailed examination of the amendments that were introduced and the impact they had on autonomy and decision-making within Nigeria. Furthermore, we delve into the complexities surrounding the Lyttleton Constitution of 1954, probing the reactions it elicited and the responses it provoked from various stakeholders. By delving into these constitutional milestones, we aim to provide a comprehensive understanding of how legal frameworks have shaped Nigeria's political landscape and influenced its path towards independence and self-governance.



#### **1.8 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

<https://studyhq.net/merit-demerit-richards-constitution/>



## 1.9 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Briefly explain constitution development in Nigeria.

A legislative and executive council was established for Lagos following the annexation by the British in 1861. By a commission issued 19 February 1866, Lagos and other British possessions in the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Gambia were placed under a Governor General with a base in Sierra Leone in 1862. They did, however, each have their own legislative councils. With a governor and legislative council centered on the Gold coast, the Gold coast and Lagos were separated into their own colony in 1874. A separate governmental body with its own governor, executive, and legislative bodies was established for Lagos in 1886. The colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria was created in 1906 by combining the protectorate of Southern Nigeria with the colony of Lagos. Article 4 of the Southern Nigeria Protectorate Order in Council 1906, the Legislative Council of Lagos was empowered to make laws for the protectorate of Southern Nigeria by ordinance.

The Protectorate of Northern Nigeria and the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria were combined in 1914 to form the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. This time, only colony-specific laws may be made by the legislative council. For the protectorates, the governor enacted laws. Lord Lugard stated that this was due to the fact that "the proposition is physically unachievable until railway communications are significantly expanded." This resulted from the country's vast size.

An advisory body known as the Nigerian council was established in place of the nation's legislative council. There were 30 members total, with 13 non-officials and 17 officials. Four of the non-officials were proposed by the governor to speak for business, banking, shipping, and mining interests. While the chambers of business in Calabar, Lagos, and the Chamber of Mines each appointed one representative. The governor appointed the remaining members, who were all Nigerians.

#### 2. Expatriate on the 1922 constitution

After Lagos was annexed by the British in 1861, a legislative and executive council was created. Lagos was placed under the control of a Governor General with a base in Sierra Leone in 1862 by a commission issued on February 19, 1866, along with other British territories in the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Gambia. However, they each had an own

legislative council. In 1874, Lagos and the Gold Coast were divided into distinct colonies, each with its own ruler and legislative council. In 1886, a distinct governing body with a governor, executive branch, and legislative branch was founded for Lagos. Caseley Hayford's then-led West African Congress put pressure on Sir Hugh Clifford Clifford to draft constitutions for the state when he took office as governor in 1919.

Additionally, it replaced the Nigerian council with a legislative council. It had 46 members, with the governor serving as its chairman. There were 46 total, of which 23 were formal members and 19 were not. The four remaining candidates were chosen as previously said. The council could only enact laws for the South, though. The governor issued a proclamation to enact laws for the North.

There was also an executive council, although no Nigerians were on it. The governor, chief secretary, lieutenant governors, administrator for Lagos, attorney general, commandant of the Nigerian regiment, director of medical service, director of financial services, comptroller general, and secretary for native affairs made up the group.

Following Hugh Clifford, Bernard Boudillion and Cameroon served as the next two governors. In terms of constitutional development, they didn't do anything. Boudillion did, however, divide Nigeria into three administrative regions: East, West, and North. The foundation for future regionalism was laid here.

## **Answers to SAEs 2**

### **Features of Lyttleton constitution 1954**

1. It provided for a division of power between the central government and the regions. Area of legislative competence between the central (federal) government and regional government were spelt out in the exclusive, concurrent and residual lists. The subjects in the exclusive list include external affairs, immigration, defence, atomic energy, copyright, census, currency, mining, patent, banking, custom, foreign exchange etc. In the concurrent list both the regional government and the federal government have right to legislate. However, where there is a conflict of law, the constitution provided that the federal law would prevail over the regional law. Matters in the concurrent list includes, education, health, public works, insurance, statistics etc. The residual list contained matters of legislative competence of the regions only.
2. The governor of Nigeria was renamed Governor-General and the Lieutenant-governor renamed governor as were the case in 1914.

3. Members of the House of representative were made up of 184 directly elected members, a speaker and three ex-officio members – the Chief Secretary, Financial Secretary and the Attorney General.
4. Members of the House of representative were elected from the regions on direct election. The Northern Region had ninety-two; Southern Cameroon six and Lagos two members.
5. Membership of regional legislature was no longer combined with a set in the House of Representatives.

## UNIT 2      CONSTITUTION DEVELOPMENT AFTER INDEPENDENCE IN NIGERIA

### Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Constitution Development after Independence in Nigeria
  - 2.3.1 The Independence Constitution
  - 2.4 The 1963 Republican Constitution
  - 2.5 The Presidential Constitution of 1979
  - 2.6 1999 Constitution and the Elites
  - 5.7 The Way Forward
- 2.8 Summary
- 2.9 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 2.10 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 2.1 Introduction

In our last unit we discussed the constitution Development before Independence in Nigeria. 1922 constitution, the Richards constitution, the Macpherson constitution, discusses the Macpherson constitution, and Lyttleton constitutions were reviewed in the previous unit. In this unit, we shall look at Constitution development after Independence in Nigeria, i.e the independence constitution, the 1963 republican constitution, the presidential constitution of 1979 and the 1999 constitution and the elites



### 2.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the independence constitution
- Discuss the 1963 republican constitution
- Explain the The presidential constitution of 1979
- Discuss the 1999 constitution and the elites
- Explain the The way forward



## 2.3 Constitution Development before Independence in Nigeria

### 2.3.1 The Independence Constitution

Nigeria gained its independence on October 1st, 1960. As a result, Nigeria became a sovereign nation free from colonial pressures. This wasn't quite the case, though. Even though Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a Nigerian, served as the Governor-General and Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister, the Queen was remained the head of state and represented her.

With a few modifications, the constitution was similar to that of 1954. Provisions for obtaining nationality of the country were included. The procedure for amending the constitution was likewise covered by the constitution's provisions. In terms of the judiciary, the Privy Council's approval was required for the nomination of judges by the judicial service commission. The Privy Council served as the nation's highest court of appeals.

The regional legislature and the center each have their own legislative authority under the constitution. It included guidelines for a restricted legislative list. For a concurrent list, provisions were also provided. Only the central legislature was authorized to pass legislation on the items in the exclusive list. The central legislature and the regional legislatures were to pass laws on the items in the concurrent list. Items that weren't on any of the lists were considered residual lists, the sole authority for which rested with the regional legislature.

Additionally, a dual executive was allowed for. As a result, we had two distinct leaders serving as the Head of State and the Head of Government. Nnamdi Azikiwe presided over the government, while Tafawa Balewa served as the head of state.

Its primacy was likewise guaranteed by the constitution. This was in contrast to a parliamentary system's convention. We have parliamentary dominance, not constitutional supremacy, in a parliamentary system. However, due to Nigeria's diversity, the constitution has to be ultimate in order to allay concerns about minority groups gaining power.

Although Nigeria was said to have freed itself from British rule, the independence constitution nevertheless had some elements of imperialism. One of these is that a Nigerian was used to represent the queen, who was still the head of state. In addition, rather than the Nigerian Supreme Court, the highest court of appeal was the Judicial Committee



of the Privilege Council in the House of Lords. These forced the creation of a new constitution. The Republican Constitution of 1963 was this.

## **2.4 The 1963 Republican Constitution**

On September 19, 1963, the federal House of Representatives passed the republican constitution into law, and on October 1st, 1963, it went into effect. This came after the constitutional convention, which was held in Lagos on July 25 and 26, 1963, and at which questions pertaining to Nigeria's actual independence were settled.

The queen of England no longer served as the head of state, which was one of its key characteristics. The president, who was to be chosen by a joint session of both chambers of the national assembly using a secret ballot, served as the head of state. The head of state at the time, Dr.

Nnamdi Azikiwe, served as military commander –in-chief.

The Privy Council was replaced as the nation's highest court of appeals by the Supreme Court. The Commission of the Judicial Service was also disbanded. The prime minister had the authority to select judges and advance them. The Supreme Court was given authority over judicial review. It had the authority to deem conduct that violated constitutional provisions void.

The number of seats in the House of Representatives and Senate was raised. The house of representatives was increased from 305 to 312 while the senate was increased from 44 to 56. The founding of the mid-western state was the cause of this increase. Therefore, new seats have to be made to accommodate this.

There are still some complaints made about the constitution despite all of these improvements. The first was that the national assembly, rather than the electorate, chooses the president. Compared to the entire electorate, the national assembly only had a small number of members. The president may become more devoted to the legislative than to the people as a result of this.

Additionally, it could be argued that abolishing the judicial service commission was a mistake. This is due to how compromised the judiciary was when the executive was given control over the judiciary's regulation, which should be independent. In order to advance their careers and subvert justice, judges wouldn't want to insult the prime minister.

The republican constitution was not sustained because of political unrest in the nation. The politicians were overthrown in a coup d'état on January 15, 1966. Military rule ensued as a result until 1979.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1**

Briefly explain the 1963 Republican Constitution
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#### **2.5 The Presidential Constitution of 1979**

General Murtala Muhammad took office in 1975. He vowed to reinstate civilian governance in Nigeria when he came to power. Sadly, he was slain before he could finish this. Obasanjo, his successor, continued his mission to usher in democracy. To create a draft constitution, a group of 49 people led by F.R.A. Williams was selected. The constitution was then finalized by a constituent assembly under the direction of Justice Udo Udoma. The constitution was ratified and went into effect on October 1st, 1979.

The constitution abandoned the parliamentary form of government and instituted a presidential one in its place. In addition to serving as commander in chief of the armed forces, the president also served as head of state and government. In a general election, the electorates selected the president. Unlike the previous constitution, he did not choose his ministers from among members of the parliament. Additionally, each state had an executive governor who served as its head of state.

The Senate and House of Representatives made up the bicameral legislature. The House of Representatives had 450 members, while the Senate had 95. On the other side, the state legislatures were unicameral. The president could be removed from office by the legislature. Did the house of assembly have the authority to remove the governor?

Reintroduced was the judicial service commission. It had the authority to suggest judges for appointment, pending the president's approval and legislative review. Additionally, the judiciary was given the authority to interpret the constitution and declare any actions that are in violation null and void.

#### **2.6 1999 Constitution and the Elites**

Nigerians hadn't even seen the constitution when they went to the elections in 1999 to choose the country's first president under the Fourth Republic. In essence, we chose our next president without being aware of the authority granted to him by the 1999 Constitution. That was terrible enough, but not nearly as horrible as the fact that the constitution's text was determined by the government rather than the people. The military has burdened us with a constitution that really and honestly largely serves

the interests of the elites, the politically connected, and the former military ruling house at the expense of the Nigerian masses under the premise of arranging a desperately needed quick transition. Not all of these are as regrettable as Nigerians' decision to live under this constitution without even expressing a desire for one that takes their interests and the advancement of our society into consideration. In the hopes that things would return to normal, we, the people, choose to accept the paradoxes.

Even in 18 years from now, they won't have 18 years under their belts.

Certain injustices that the 1999 Constitution legalized would not have grown so commonplace today that we don't even notice how awful they are in practice if the Nigerian people had decided the 1999 Constitution's substance. After one or two terms, a governor and his or her deputy can live like kings or queens forever without taking a single kobo from the state's resources. The perks that people acquire after leaving government are unfair, especially given the widespread poverty under which nearly every one of our states is run.

These rights are protected by state laws that are frequently ratified by state Houses of Assembly, which are frequently viewed as the official seals of their respective governors. After serving in office for no more than eight years, former governors and their deputies are entitled to lifetime health, security, annual trips abroad, transportation, entertainment, lodging, and other benefits for general life maintenance. These ex-governors and their deputies receive houses that are built for them; they are sometimes referred to as having "one in the state" and "one in Abuja" as if they were expected to be rendered incompetent after their tenure so that the state would have to care for them and their families as a result of their mental, emotional, and physical incapacities. In a rational society, this would be a crime; nonetheless, it is an injustice that is supported here.

## **2.7 The Way Forward**

I have made an effort to define restructuring and the various kinds and implementation methods in this article up to this point. If I only explain the vocabulary without providing any guidance on how to utilize it in the Nigerian context, it won't be much use. I will now move on to provide the guiding principles for our reorganization as well as a list of the necessary restructuring for the short- and medium-term.

### **Principle no. 1: Equal Access and Equal Opportunity for All.**

No Nigerian, regardless of social standing, should feel excluded or unwelcome in terms of what he or she can offer the country or in terms of

receiving a fair portion of the country's riches. Instead, everyone in Nigeria needs to feel a sense of belonging. At the federal, state, and local levels of governance, minorities must be protected and their interests must be taken into account.

### **Principle no. 3: Equalization Of All Inequalities.**

As a result of the aforementioned principle number 2, the structural imbalance that now exists should be fixed in order to permanently resolve sectional concerns. Such who are disadvantaged will not be fully dedicated to the common national purpose as long as those difficulties are being brushed over. A segment of the country, for instance, benefits disproportionately from the allocation of local government, which gives them an advantage over others in terms of representation and revenue distribution. Moving ahead, these disparities should be rectified.

### **Principle no. 4: Meritocracy- Merit Should Be King.**

Merit should be emphasized. When choosing the criteria that will be taken into account when choosing individuals for non-elective policy making positions or when appointing individuals who will run our economy at all levels, it should be given the utmost priority. Ministers, commissioners, directors, MDA heads, and parastatal chiefs are some examples. In crucial sectors like CBN, IFRS (Revenue generation), NAFDAC (Food safety), NIMASA (Maritime safety), NCAA/NAMA (Air safety), NCC (Telephony), NBC (Information broadcast), etc., this is of the utmost importance.

The federal character concept is an excellent piece of legislation because it makes sure that every region of the nation is as fairly represented in federal institutions as possible, and that the same is true at the state level. Merit shouldn't be sacrificed on the altar of federal character, though. It is advised that administrative reform be implemented moving ahead so that appointments to crucial parastatals can be made on the basis of 75% merit and 25% federal character. Merit, federal character, and unimportant political appointments should all be equally distributed. 50% of the members of the board of federal parastatals should be selected on the basis of merit, while the remaining 50% should be chosen based on federal character. If a post is designated to Yobe State, for instance, the choice of the representative from Yobe state should be based purely on merit. Such people are available in every state of the federation. Ekiti State may have more professors than Yobe state, but the people of Yobe are as intelligent as Ekiti people, the only difference is that one has more exposure to western education than the other.

**Principle no. 5: We Can Achieve More Together.**

A nation is a group of people who have decided to live in harmony, share their lives, and pool their resources to do things that they could never have done separately. Being large gives you access to economies of scale, which is advantageous. Diversity adds strength as well. Because of this, Nigeria will be more prosperous if it stays a one nation rather than having distinct nations for each tribe or region. This is because Nigeria's population, size, and diversity can be used as economic advantages. In fact, I am anticipating the day when West Africa as a whole (ECOWAS) would unite to form a single nation that will be five times more powerful than Nigeria.

Mr. Nwodo, the president of the Igbo cultural organization Ohaneze Ndigbo, recently made complaints about purported marginalization, unfairness, and neglect. In actuality, every region of Nigeria has occasionally lamented being marginalized. Even under the leadership of Jonathan, their son, Edwin Clarks continues to voice grievances on behalf of Ijaws and the Niger Delta population. During Obasanjo's administration, the Afenifere and Odu'a people congress voiced complaints on behalf of the South West. Both under Jonathan's administration and currently under Buhari, a northern president, the Arewa Consultative Forum has voiced complaints. When we believe we are not receiving our fair share of profitable positions, we tend to grumble more, and less when things are going well. For instance, the Igbos did not grumble much because they held highly profitable positions and enjoyed favorable policies under Jonathan. So, it's an attitude issue. Let's cultivate the proper mindset, which is that not everything can be perfect all the time. Additionally, we shouldn't base our responses on who is in charge or what we can receive from the current administration. We should approach the situation objectively, focusing on what each of us can do to improve Nigeria rather than how much of the national cake we can take for ourselves. On the other hand, every government must make sure that every region of the nation is fairly represented and treated in line with the federal character principle. The Igbos, particularly the youth, are quite vocal in their complaints. The Igbos are widely scattered throughout Nigeria, where they primarily do business as traders and investors. They should prioritize Nigeria's unity since an unified Nigeria would provide a sizable market for their commercial activities as well as for the distribution of their manufactured goods, such as the shoes produced in the Aria Aria industrial cluster and other goods. Similar to how the south west can export its academics to colleges around the country, the southern states represent a sizable market for agricultural products from the northern regions with extensive farms. Because of our interdependence, everyone stands to gain.

**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

1. Describe 1999 Constitution and the Elites.
2. List the guiding principles for our reorganization as well as a list of the necessary restructuring for the short- and medium-term.

**5.8 Summary**

This unit explores into the intricate details of Nigeria's constitutional history, beginning with a comprehensive explanation of the Independence Constitution, shedding light on the foundational principles that governed the nation in its early years. The unit analysed the implications of the 1963 Republican Constitution becomes pivotal in understanding the evolving political landscape of Nigeria. Furthermore, an in-depth exploration of the Presidential Constitution of 1979 unveils the significant shifts in power dynamics and governance structures within the country. An examination of the 1999 Constitution in relation to the influence of elites provides valuable insights into the intertwined relationship between political power and societal interests. Lastly, proposing a strategic roadmap for the future presents an opportunity to reflect on the learnings from the past constitutions and chart a course towards a more inclusive and sustainable governance model for Nigeria..

**2.9 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

<https://studyhq.net/merit-demerit-richards-constitution/>



## 2.10 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Briefly explain Republic constitution 1963

On September 19, 1963, the federal house of representatives passed the republican constitution into law, and on October 1st, 1963, it went into effect. This came after the constitutional convention, which was held in Lagos on July 25 and 26, 1963, and at which questions pertaining to Nigeria's actual independence were settled.

The queen of England no longer served as the head of state, which was one of its key characteristics. The president, who was to be chosen by a joint session of both chambers of the national assembly using a secret ballot, served as the head of state. The head of state at the time, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, served as military commander –in-chief.

The Privy Council was replaced as the nation's highest court of appeals by the Supreme Court. The Commission of the Judicial Service was also disbanded. The prime minister had the authority to select judges and advance them. The Supreme Court was given authority over judicial review. It had the authority to deem conduct that violated constitutional provisions void.

The number of seats in the House of Representatives and Senate was raised.

### Answers to SAEs 2

#### 1. Describe 1999 Constitution and the Elites.

Nigerians hadn't even seen the constitution when they went to the elections in 1999 to choose the country's first president under the Fourth Republic. In essence, we chose our next president without being aware of the authority granted to him by the 1999 Constitution. That was terrible enough, but not nearly as horrible as the fact that the constitution's text was determined by the government rather than the people. The military has burdened us with a constitution that really and honestly largely serves the interests of the elites, the politically connected, and the former military ruling house at the expense of the Nigerian masses under the premise of arranging a desperately needed quick transition. Not all of these are as regrettable as Nigerians' decision to live under this constitution without even expressing a desire for one that takes their interests and the

advancement of our society into consideration. Certain injustices that the 1999 Constitution legalized would not have grown so commonplace today that we don't even notice how awful they are in practice if the Nigerian people had decided the 1999 Constitution's substance. After one or two terms, a governor and his or her deputy can live like kings or queens forever without taking a single kobo from the state's resources. The perks that people acquire after leaving government are unfair, especially given the widespread poverty under which nearly every one of our states is run. These rights are protected by state laws that are frequently ratified by state Houses of Assembly, which are frequently viewed as the official seals of their respective governors. After serving in office for no more than eight years, former governors and their deputies are entitled to lifetime health, security, annual trips abroad, transportation, entertainment, lodging, and other benefits for general life maintenance. These ex-governors and their deputies receive houses that are built for them; they are sometimes referred to as having "one in the state" and "one in Abuja" as if they were expected to be rendered incompetent after their tenure so that the state would have to care for them and their families as a result of their mental, emotional, and physical incapacities. In a rational society, this would be a crime; nonetheless, it is an injustice that is supported here.

**2. List the guiding principles for our reorganization as well as a list of the necessary restructuring for the short- and medium-term.**

- Principle no. 1: Equal Access and Equal Opportunity for All.
- Principle no. 3: Equalization Of All Inequalities
- Principle no. 4: Meritocracy- Merit Should Be King.
- Principle no. 5: We Can Achieve More Together.



**UNIT 3: RESTRUCTURING IN NIGERIA****Unit Structure**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Restructuring in Nigeria
  - 3.3.1 Types of restructuring
  - 3.3.2 Modes of Restructuring
  - 3.3.3 Past Restructuring since Independence
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

**3.1 Introduction**

In the last unit, we discussed the Nigeria's constitutional history, beginning with a comprehensive explanation of the Independence Constitution, shedding light on the foundational principles that governed the nation in its early years. The implications of the 1963 Republican Constitution becomes pivotal in understanding the evolving political landscape of Nigeria. Furthermore, an in-depth exploration of the Presidential Constitution of 1979 unveils the significant shifts in power dynamics and governance structures within the country. An examination of the 1999 Constitution in relation to the influence of elites provides valuable insights into the intertwined relationship between political power and societal interests. This unit discussed restructuring in Nigeria, types of restructuring, the modes of restructuring and past restructuring since Independence

**3.2 Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the Restructuring in Nigeria
- Identify types of restructuring
- Explain the Modes of Restructuring
- Evaluate the past Restructuring since Independence



### 3.3 Restructuring in Nigeria

Nigeria's federalism is only nominal. As a result, the discussion over whether or not to reorganize Nigeria goes far beyond political hyperbole and ethnic polemics. In his campaign manifesto, President Buhari promised to "start action to alter the Nigerian Constitution with a view to devolving authorities, duties, and obligations to states in order to cement real Federalism and the Federal spirit." To be honest, Buhari never said "restructure," but it was implied. As the restructuring debate heats up, there is a nagging concern that restructuring would lead to the disintegration of Nigeria. Such worry is unjustified, and the concept is defeatist. Nigeria has been reorganized multiple times with no ill effects. The current demand is to make the Nigerian entity and its constituent elements more efficient, acceptable, productive, functional, and, above all, equitable. Nigeria has reached at this position for two reasons: first, there is widespread skepticism of the political leadership, and second, Nigerian politicians pathologically dislike political and intellectual analyses that point them to vexing national issues. Regrettably, Nigerian leaders only respond to violent agitations; always late and, most of the time, in a terrible, if not atrocious, manner.

Nigeria has never been so polarized since the civil war. Restructuring Nigeria is thus naturally tempting for a variety of reasons, including the desire to modify management, ownership, and operational or administrative procedures in order to achieve equity and efficiency. Restructuring might result from a crisis scenario or the necessity to avoid a political disaster. The latter is a fundamental concept for Nigeria. Regardless matter what its opponents believe, Nigeria must reorganize or risk self-destruction. What matters is if Nigeria's leaders can seize the opportunity to save the country. What matters most, though, is not when, but how to reorganize peacefully. President Buhari's manifesto also acknowledged the need to "bring permanent peace and resolution to insurgency issues in the North-East; the Niger Delta; and other conflict-prone states and areas such as Plateau, Benue, Bauchi, Bornu, Abia, Taraba, Yobe, and Kaduna in order to engender national unity and social harmony." A casual line matrix linking all the flash locations in Nigeria will portray a country in grave distress along these lines.

The crux of the issue is that citizen alienation is widespread across the country, to the point where every ethnic jigsaw component of Nigeria feels sufficiently aggrieved and disenfranchised to seek equality through restructuring. Prior to today, the clamor for reorganization was one-sided. Now, calls for restructuring are coming from the east, west, south, and north of Nigeria.

Structure, as defined by my engineering background, is the amount of sub-systems or functional components that combine to form a complex system, as well as the rules that govern their inter-relationship to guarantee they all work together seamlessly to achieve a common purpose or a particular output. A car, for example, is a system that includes an engine, transmission, gearbox, tires, a steering system, and a chassis.

None of the units can function without the others. (A system is bigger than the sum of its components). As a result, an automobile is a first order system with a simple structure. Superstructures, on the other hand, are built up of two or more subsystems, each of which can exist or create an output independently. Nigeria, like any nation, can be defined as a superstructure made up of many subunits, each of which can exist independently.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1**

1. Constitution with a view to devolving authorities, duties, and obligations to states in order to cement real Federalism and the Federal spirit. Discuss
2. Define structure as defined by my engineering background.

#### **3.3.1 Types of restructuring**

simply speaking, restructuring is the process of raising or decreasing the number of component pieces that comprise a system and redefining their inter-relationship such that the overall system functions more efficiently. However, if restructuring is not adequately planned and executed, it can lead to increased inefficiency or even system failure.

When people hear the word restructuring, the first thing that comes to mind is political restructuring, such as the formation of new states or the merger of states/LGAs, resource control, regional autonomy, power devolution, and so on. The most vulnerable is resource control, particularly oil wealth. However, restructuring has numerous dimensions, including political restructuring, economic restructuring, educational restructuring, social restructuring, accounting restructuring, administrative restructuring, and security apparatus restructure. etc.

As a result, because restructuring has numerous aspects, anyone advocating for it should inform Nigerians about the specific sort or types of restructuring he or she desires.

#### **3.3.2 Modes of Restructuring**

Implementing restructuring can take many different forms depending on whether you choose wholesale or piecemeal restructuring; fast-paced restructuring or gradual restructuring; short-term restructuring or long-

term restructuring; government-driven or people-driven restructuring; and formal or informal restructuring.

The outcome of any restructuring will be heavily influenced by Nigeria's choice of one of the aforementioned techniques of restructuring.

### **3.3.3 Past Restructuring since Independence:**

Most Heads of State or governments since independence have adopted some type of restructuring, whether consciously or unconsciously, deliberately or unintentionally. We didn't know because the decisions were not labeled or proclaimed as restructuring, and they were implemented piecemeal, making them unnoticeable to the broader public. Even those who made the adjustments were unaware that they were reshaping Nigeria, whether economically, politically, administratively, or otherwise.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

1. What is restructuring?
2. Clarify the past Restructuring since Independence.



### **3.4 Summary**

In this unit, an in-depth discussion was held regarding the concept of Restructuring in Nigeria, shedding light on its significance in the socio-political landscape. Various types of restructuring were identified, showcasing the diverse approaches that have been considered or implemented in the country. Furthermore, a comprehensive explanation was provided on the Modes of Restructuring, offering insights into the various frameworks through which restructuring can be approached and understood. Additionally, a detailed evaluation was conducted on the past restructuring efforts that Nigeria has undergone since gaining Independence, with a critical analysis of their impact, effectiveness, and implications for the country's development trajectory. This comprehensive exploration served to illuminate the complexities and nuances surrounding the concept of restructuring in Nigeria, highlighting the ongoing discourse and challenges inherent in the pursuit of a restructured governance system that truly reflects the aspirations and needs of the Nigerian population.



### 3.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources



### 3.6 Possible Answers to SAEs

#### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Constitution with a view to devolving authorities, duties, and obligations to states in order to cement real Federalism and the Federal spirit. Discuss

Nigeria's federalism is only nominal. As a result, the discussion over whether or not to reorganize Nigeria goes far beyond political hyperbole and ethnic polemics. In his campaign manifesto, President Buhari promised to "start action to alter the Nigerian Constitution with a view to devolving authorities, duties, and obligations to states in order to cement real Federalism and the Federal spirit." To be honest, Buhari never said "restructure," but it was implied. As the restructuring debate heats up, there is a nagging concern that restructuring would lead to the disintegration of Nigeria. Such worry is unjustified, and the concept is defeatist. Nigeria has been reorganized multiple times with no ill effects. The current demand is to make the Nigerian entity and its constituent elements more efficient, acceptable, productive, functional, and, above all, equitable. Nigeria has reached at this position for two reasons: first, there is widespread skepticism of the political leadership, and second, Nigerian politicians pathologically dislike political and intellectual analyses that points them to vexing national issues. Regrettably, Nigerian leaders only respond to violent agitations; always late and, most of the time, in a terrible, if not atrocious, manner.

Nigeria has never been so polarized since the civil war. Restructuring Nigeria is thus naturally tempting for a variety of reasons, including the desire to modify management, ownership, and operational or administrative procedures in order to achieve equity and efficiency. Restructuring might result from a crisis scenario or the necessity to avoid a political disaster. The latter is a fundamental concept for Nigeria. Regardless matter what its opponents believe, Nigeria must reorganize or risk self-destruction. What matters is if Nigeria's leaders can seize the opportunity to save the country. What matters most, though, is not when, but how to reorganize peacefully. President Buhari's manifesto also acknowledged the need to "bring permanent peace and resolution to insurgency issues in the North-East; the Niger Delta; and other conflict-prone states and areas such as Plateau, Benue, Bauchi, Bornu, Abia,

Taraba, Yobe, and Kaduna in order to engender national unity and social harmony." A casual line matrix linking all the flash locations in Nigeria will portray a country in grave distress along these lines.

The crux of the issue is that citizen alienation is widespread across the country, to the point where every ethnic jigsaw component of Nigeria feels sufficiently aggrieved and disenfranchised to seek equality through restructuring. Prior to today, the clamor for reorganization was one-sided. Now, calls for restructuring are coming from the east, west, south, and north of Nigeria.

## **2. Define structure as defined by my engineering background.**

Structure, as defined by my engineering background, is the amount of sub-systems or functional components that combine to form a complex system, as well as the rules that govern their inter-relationship to guarantee they all work together seamlessly to achieve a common purpose or a particular output. A car, for example, is a system that includes an engine, transmission, gearbox, tires, a steering system, and a chassis. None of the units can function without the others. (A system is bigger than the sum of its components). As a result, an automobile is a first order system with a simple structure. Superstructures, on the other hand, are built up of two or more subsystems, each of which can exist or create an output independently. Nigeria, like any nation, can be defined as a superstructure made up of many subunits, each of which can exist independently.

### **Answers to SAEs 2**

#### **1. What is restructuring?**

Simply speaking, restructuring is the process of raising or decreasing the number of component pieces that comprise a system and redefining their inter-relationship such that the overall system functions more efficiently. However, if restructuring is not adequately planned and executed, it can lead to increased inefficiency or even system failure

#### **2. Clarify the past Restructuring since Independence.**

Most Heads of State or governments since independence have adopted some type of restructuring, whether consciously or unconsciously, deliberately or unintentionally. We didn't know because the decisions were not labeled or proclaimed as restructuring, and they were implemented piecemeal, making them unnoticeable to the broader public. Even those who made the adjustments were unaware that they were reshaping Nigeria, whether economically, politically, administratively, or otherwise.

## UNIT 4: GOVERNMENT REFORM SINCE INDEPENDENCE

### Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Government Reform since Independence
  - 4.4 Restructuring of Our Mind-set
  - 4.5 Debate on Resource Control
  - 4.6 Examples of revenue generation from various resources by other countries
  - 4.7 Derivation Principle
  - 4.8 Power Shift and Rotation of Power
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 4.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 4.1 Introduction

The last unit discussed the concept of Restructuring in Nigeria, shedding light on its significance in the socio-political landscape. Various types of restructuring were identified, showcasing the diverse approaches that have been considered or implemented in the country. Furthermore, a comprehensive explanation was provided on the Modes of Restructuring, offering insights into the various frameworks through which restructuring can be approached and understood. In the unit, we will discuss Government Reform since Independence, exploring the significant changes and developments that have taken place in governance structures and policies. Additionally, it will focus on the vital aspect of Restructuring of Our Mind-set, highlighting the importance of fostering a new way of thinking and approaching various challenges faced by our society. The unit will also explain a comprehensive debate on Resource Control, examining the implications and benefits of effectively managing and utilizing our natural and economic resources. Furthermore, it will draw insights from examples of revenue generation practices implemented by other countries, providing valuable lessons and strategies that can be adapted to enhance our own resource management capabilities. Moreover, the Derivation Principle will be thoroughly analyzed, offering a deep understanding of the principles and mechanisms underlying the distribution of resources and revenues among different levels of government. The unit will tackle the crucial concept of Power Shift and Rotation of Power, exploring the dynamics of political power

distribution and transitions within our governance system. Through a holistic and in-depth exploration of these key themes, participants will gain a comprehensive understanding of the complexities and opportunities present in the realm of government reform, resource management, and power dynamics. This unit aims to equip participants with valuable insights and tools to navigate and contribute meaningfully to the ongoing discourse and transformation efforts in these critical areas.



## 1.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss Government Reform Since Independence
- Explain the Restructuring of Our Mind-set
- Analyse the debate on Resource Control
- Provide the an examples of revenue generation from various resources by other countries
- Explain the Derivation Principle
- Discuss the Power Shift and Rotation of Power



## 4.3 Government Reform since Independence

### 1. Tafawa Balewa (1960-1965)

He was a strong opponent of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, and he formed an alliance with Commonwealth ministers who wanted South Africa to exit the Commonwealth in 1961. However, a treason indictment and conviction against one of the western region's leaders, Obafemi Awolowo, prompted widespread outrage and condemnation from his supporters. Following the region's election in 1965, there were violent protests. Rioting and bloodshed quickly followed what was considered as excessive political overreach and an overly optimistic election outcome for Awolowo's western opponents.

Balewa served as Nigeria's Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister from 1960 to 1961. The Balewa government established a formal Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations cabinet seat for Jaja in 1961. Balewa was awarded as a Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in January 1960. In May 1960, he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Sheffield. In July 1961, he received an honorary doctorate of laws from New York University. The face of Balewa was printed on the 5 Naira note. In his honor, Bauchi's Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University was established.



(Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe as Gov-General/ Ceremonial President)

a) Creation of Mid-Western Region from the then Western Region – Political Restructuring

## **2. General Aguiyi Ironsi: – Jan 1966-July 1966 (6 months)**

Soldiers of predominantly Igbo origin, led by Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu, an Igbo from Okpanam near Asaba, Noé in Delta State, annihilated the upper echelons of politicians from the Northern and Western Provinces on January 15, 1966. This, together with other causes, effectively resulted in the Republican government's demise. Aguiyi-Ironsi, an Igbo, was allegedly targeted for assassination but instead seized control of Lagos, the Federal Capital Territory. Because President Nnamdi Azikiwe, who is also an Igbo, refused to intervene to assure the continuation of civilian administration, Aguiyi-Ironsi effectively forced the remaining members of Balewa's ministry to quit. When Aguiyi-Ironsi saw that the administration was in turmoil, he authorized Senate President Nwafor Orizu, another Igbo who was functioning as acting president in Azikiwe's absence, to hand over control to him.

1. Abolished the federating regions by Decree 32. Suspended Federal and Regional parliaments. Power became concentrated at the center (Political restructuring)
2. Cancelled Native Authority Police (Administrative restructuring)
3. Federal Government took over control of revenue from natural resources and corporate taxes from regional governments. Shared national income among the regions (fiscal and economic restructuring)
4. Started unitary government with a strong center and weaker regions, a by-product of military dictatorship ( political restructuring).

## **3.General Yakubu Gowon (July 1966-August 1975)**

Gowon was elected President of South Korea in 1966. Until then, Gowon had been strictly a career soldier with no involvement in politics, until the year's tumultuous events thrust him into a leadership role, when his unusual background as a Northerner with no Hausa, Fulani, or Islamic ancestry made him a particularly safe choice to lead a nation rife with ethnic tension.

Gowon was promoted twice as Nigeria's Head of State. On August 1, 1966, Gowon was a Lt. Colonel, but other senior military officers such as Commodore Joseph Wey, Brigadier Babafemi Ogundipe, and Colonel

Robert Adebayo also ascended to the top of Nigeria's new Federal military administration.

- Creation of 12 states to replace four regions – ( major political restructuring)
- Universal free primary education (educational restructuring)
- Started with 50% derivation payment to oil producing states, – (fiscal/ economic restructuring) (This was later gradually reduced to 13% over a few years)
- Changed currency from pounds to Naira (monetary restructuring)
- Promulgated the indigenization decree (economic restructuring)
- NCE introduced (educational restructuring)
- NYSC introduced (socio-administrative restructuring)
- Takeover of schools owned by private or religious organizations (educational restructuring)
- i. Created Ministry of Petroleum Resources (administrative restructuring)

#### **4. General Murtala Mohammed (July 1975-Feb 1976)**

- a. Started the process of relocating Federal capital from Lagos to Abuja (political/administrative restructuring)
- b. Started the process of drafting a new constitution for Nigeria (political restructuring)
- c. Created additional states(political restructuring)

#### **5.General Olusegun Obasanjo (1st reign)**

- a. Finalized and approved the change from British parliamentary to American Presidential system as recommended by Nigerians through the 49-member constitution drafting committee and endorsed by the constituent assembly (major political restructuring)
- b. Land Use Decree: Takeover of urban land from land owners by Government and handing it over to State Governors (socio-economic restructuring)
- c. Strengthened and formalized an independent third tier of government – LGA with executive arm( chairmen/ supervisory councilors) and legislative arm (councilors forming local government house of assemblies and making laws) – major political restructuring
- d. Moved the federal capital from Lagos to Abuja in principle (Political/administrative restructuring)
- e. Introduced the sharing of central revenue among 3 tiers of government (Federal, State, LGA) – Fiscal restructuring

- f. Introduced free tuition in Federal Tertiary Institution (Educational restructuring)
- g. OND and HND merged into one qualification (Educational restructuring)
- h. JAMB established (educational restructuring)
- i. Established the umbrella labour union NLC for junior workers. (Socio-economic restructuring)

### **6. Shehu Shagari (Oct 1979-Dec 1983)**

- a. Introduced Minister of State portfolio – (Administrative restructuring)
- b. Introduced the 6-3-3-4 education system – (Educational restructuring)
- c. Reversed OND/HND merger.(educational de-structuring)
- d. Established Federal Character Principle in federal appointments (political restructuring)
- e. Cancelled Federal Scholarship scheme (Educational restructuring)
- f. Created Ministry of Science and Technology (administrative restructuring)

### **7. Major-General Buhari/Tunde Idiagbon:**

- a. No major landmark decision or restructuring was done during their short reign, implemented only minor administrative changes such as war against indiscipline, bringing corrupt civil servants to book, introduced death penalty for drug trafficking (Judicial restructuring). Implemented strict control of access to foreign exchange and naira exchange rate.

### **8. General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993)**

- i. Liberalized access to foreign exchange by introducing auctions for foreign exchange (economic restructuring leading to 400 % devaluation of Naira within 24 hours)
- ii. Released the determination of naira exchange rate to market forces rather than government forces (monetary restructuring)
- iii. Finally cancelled derivation principle for oil producing areas.(geo-economic restructuring)
- iv. Replaced derivation with the Creation of OMPADEC (now NDDC) so that federal government can directly develop the Niger Delta region. ( Fiscal/economic restructuring)
- v. Created Federal Revenue Mobilization and Fiscal Commission ( Administrative restructuring)
- vi. Attempted to enforce 2-party system for Nigeria (failed political restructuring)

- vii. Breaking of NITEL monopoly and creation of NCC thereby attracting private sector investment into telecoms (major economic restructuring)
  - Breaking of NTA monopoly and creating of Nigerian Broadcasting Commission, bringing private investment into broadcasting ( socio-economic restructuring)
  - Creation of Zayyad –led TCPC to privatize or commercialize government industries and parastatals (fiscal and economic restructuring)
  - 10. Decrease the year of service for qualifying for pension from 15 to 10 years and gratuity from 10 to 5 years .(administrative restructuring)
  - Approved 100% of terminal salary as pension for army generals, permanent secretaries and university professors (Administrative restructuring)

### **9. Ernest Shonekan. August 1993-Nov 1993**

No time to implement any restructuring during his 3 months tenure.

### **10. Abacha Nov 1993 to June 1998**

1. Created 6 additional states and additional local government (political restructuring)
2. Introduced value added tax (economic restructuring)

### **11. GEN ABDUSALAM ABUBAKAR JUNE 1998- MAY 1999**

1. Drafted a new constitution for Nigeria by modifying the 1979 constitution
2. Removed local government autonomy through joint account with state government (fiscal restructuring)
3. Licensed the first private university (Igbinedion University , Okada) (educational restructuring)

### **12. GENERAL OLUSEGUN OBASANJO (2ND COMING) (MAY 1999-MAY 2007)**

1. Restored 13% Derivation to oil producing areas by sponsoring an executive bill in the National assembly ( geo-fiscal restructuring) The same bill also extended derivation to other solid minerals extracted in non-oil-producing areas.
2. Created Ministry of Niger Delta (administrative restructuring)
3. Started full and all-out privatization of Government parastatals (economic restructuring)
4. Implemented full monetization of Federal Civil Servant's fringe

- benefits (economic restructuring)
5. Started the contributory pension scheme for civil servants (administrative restructuring)
  6. Established EFCC (restructuring of security apparatus)
  7. Introduced 8-year tenure for Federal civil servants (Directors and above)
  8. Created Excess crude oil account (Fiscal restructuring)

### **13. Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'adua (May 2007-May 2010)**

- a. His short-lived reign did not allow him to implement any major restructuring during his reign

### **14. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (May 2010 – May 2015)**

No major restructuring done during his 6-year reign.

1. He is however being remembered for the bold step of convening a national conference and also as the first African leader to conceded election defeat and congratulated the winner (restructuring of mindset)
2. I have gone into the above details in order to prove to Nigerians that restructuring Nigeria has been happening since Independence. It is still work in progress, and as long as the earth remains, we shall find reasons to continue to restructure Nigeria in one way or the other.
3. Political restructuring may in due course, stabilize like in the developed countries, but social, administrative, fiscal and economic restructuring are likely to continue as long as the earth remains. I will in the next part of this article enumerate examples of the various types of restructuring we need in Nigeria which are far more important and more productive than the political restructuring that most people tend to emphasize.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1**

1. Restructuring has been the most popular and commonly utilized term in describing and explaining all of the country's current troubles. Discuss
2. Briefly explain the regime of Tafawa Balewa (1960-1965).

### **4.4 Restructuring of Our Mindset**

our mentality is by far the most significant reorganization we require in Nigeria now. That should serve as the starting point and mother of all reorganization. Certain unproven statements and beliefs have taken up permanent residence in the hearts of Nigerian adults, for example, corruption cannot be eradicated, we will never have a correct census, if

you don't bribe you cannot get a contract, if you don't bribe voters you cannot win elections, merit alone cannot get you a job or promotion, and so on. They portray Nigeria as an impossible country and the worst place in the planet to live.

Unfortunately, today's young men and women are growing up with the same mindset and conviction that if you don't know a big man somewhere (e.g., a Senator or Minister), you can't get a job, a contract in a ministry, or admittance to a Tertiary Institution. Furthermore, if you do not board the corruption train, you will never be wealthy or successful. We must shift our perspective. No amount of political or economic restructuring will result in significant development unless we first restructure and reorient our attitude, transform our value system, and create strong character.

His Royal Highness, Lamido Sanusi, and the Emir of Kano are two of my icons and examples of perfect leaders in Nigeria today. He has launched a one-man anti-establishment crusade to reorient northerners' thinking, freeing people from the chains of unprogressive tradition and misunderstanding or misapplication of religious teachings. He is demonstrating to the next generation that religion is not opposed to scientific education or skill training. If the pace is maintained and additional emirs join his fight, the north might close the educational gap and become Nigeria's richest region in ten years. His mission must be emulated throughout Nigeria in order to effect good change in Nigerians' mindsets.

#### **4.5 Debate on Resource Control**

most countries in the world have different types of resources some of which include the following:

- Human Resource/ Human Capital
- Land Resource
- Water Resource/ Ocean Resource
- Oil/Petroleum Resource
- Gas Resource
- Solid Mineral Resource
- Airspace resource
- Rainfall Resource
- Frequency Spectrum Resource
- Animal Resource

Human beings, who utilize their brain or intelligence to manage other non-human resources, are a country's most valuable resource. As a result, Adam and Eve were the final of God's creation, and God commanded

them to reproduce and conquer the earth. Human intelligence is required to convert everything else on the planet into a useful product or a money-making commodity. For example, the ancestors of the Ijaws, Ikweres, and Ogonis in Niger Delta have been sitting on an oil resource for almost 500 years without realizing it.

Only after some educated British Scientists from British Petroleum arrived and conducted a seismic study did they discover oil in Oliobiri in 1956. If the British oil company had not arrived, the Ijaws might not have known they had oil beneath their dwellings and farmlands until now. Lagosians would also be unaware that oil exists beneath the water, approximately 20 kilometers from Bar Beach or Badagary Beach. As a result, a nation that wants to progress must focus on developing its people capital by providing them with the proper direction, mindset, and incentives.

According to this analysis, the underlying motivation for 90% of all restructuring agitations is resource control, either directly or indirectly. Those with crude oil reserves want to manage the revenue; those without oil don't want to lose their part of oil earnings from federal allotment. We are all paying so much attention to resource management because our economy is still centered on oil. Nobody will care about resource control when we transition to a knowledge and innovation-based economy since income from natural resources will be a minimal part of our national income. Lagos is Nigeria's sole state that is gradually transitioning from a resource-based economy to a service-based economy.

#### **4.6 Examples of revenue generation from various resources by other countries:**

1. Kenya generates billions of dollars in revenue from tourists from all over the world who come to see its animal resources. In Nigeria, we have slaughtered and consumed all of our exotic animal resources for bush meat. I'm not sure how many animals remain in the wildlife reserves in Yankari in Bauchi State or Obudu in Cross River State.
2. Egypt makes \$5billion revenue per annum from Suez Canal shipping traffic – water resource.
3. Every year, Brazil sells more than \$12 billion in cow meat (beef) to Europe and Russia. Fulani herders should be educated, persuaded, and supported to establish permanent cattle ranches and use the vast grasslands of the north to produce meat for export, as Brazil does.
4. America produces more crude oil than Nigeria, yet oil money accounts for only approximately 4% of American GDP. California, in the United

States, has no crude oil, but it is twice as wealthy as Texas, which produces more than half of America's oil. Its wealth stems from the innovative skills of the CEOs of Facebook, Apple, and Google, the majority of whom are graduates of Stanford University, the California Institute of Technology, and the University of California at Berkeley, all of which are ranked among the world's top ten technical universities.

5. Israel lacks oil like its Arab half-brothers, the descendants of Ishmael, yet it is wealthier than most of its oil-rich neighbors due to the productive ability of its human capital.

6. Every year, Indians in diaspora working outside India remit over \$73 billion back home. This is about three times Nigeria's annual budget of \$25 billion in 2017 (=N=7 trillion at the N320 to \$1 exchange rate). This is revenue generated by human capital resources. In comparison, Nigerians living abroad send \$27 billion back to Nigeria each year, which is more than Nigeria's annual budget, which is mostly based on revenue from oil resources.

I could go on, but the examples above demonstrate that modern wealth of nations is based mostly on the productive power of its human capital resource residing above ground, rather than natural resources below ground. Electric automobiles are expected to outnumber gasoline-powered vehicles by 2025-2030. We currently live in a knowledge economy in which the wealth of nations is decided by productive talents of inhabitants rather than mineral resources. As oil resources begin to show symptoms of dwindling returns, Nigeria must begin to develop all of the above resources in order to diversify our economy.

#### **4.7 Derivation Principle:**

In the meanwhile, we must discover an efficient strategy to manage natural resource earnings in order to encourage hard effort, healthy competition, and fair play.

Natural resource exploitation causes numerous environmental issues including land deterioration. The derivation principle must be preserved and promoted for this reason alone. Oil has caused a slew of difficulties in the Niger Delta region and other areas where natural resources are utilized, albeit not on the same scale as in the Niger Delta. Plateau State, for example, has approximately 500 abandoned holes. These are the byproducts of Columbite and Tin mining in the early 1950s, when this material accounted for a significant amount of Nigeria's foreign exchange profits before to independence. Such issues may exist today in Enugu coal sites, the several limestone mines feeding Nigeria's over ten cement manufacturers, such as Mafosin in Cross River.



As a result, in accordance with the derivation law, the current 13% derivation should be applied and extended to all mineral resources, whether liquid, solid, or gaseous, in proportion to the revenue derivable from each deposit, in order to compensate for environmental deterioration.

If I had my way, I would advocate gradually increasing derivation to at least 75% over a three to five year period. The states should be encouraged to enhance their internally generated revenue to the point that they can pay wages without assistance from Abuja within five years. This will push states to invest in human capital and other untapped natural resources in the coming years. Meanwhile, we must not abandon the people of the Niger Delta, whose land resources have fueled our economy for the past 50 years. We must assist them in cleaning up the land, just as Buhari has requested that Ogoni land be cleaned up. We must also aid them in transitioning to a knowledge economy through substantial investment.

#### **4.8 Power Shift and Rotation of Power**

Most traditional institutions in Nigeria have used rotation as a form of power sharing in the past. Rotation among reigning houses is used in the selection of OBAs, OBIs, and EMIRS. This is a good custom that we should continue for the time being. The United Nations Secretary General is rotated among the five continents of America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Oceania/Australia. Rotation is thus acknowledged even at the international level by developed economies. As a result, Nigeria should adopt administrative reform that will allow executive positions at the federal, state, and local government levels to be rotated among component units, as is currently practiced in the majority of our traditional geopolitical institutions. I agree with former Vice President Atiku's notion that we create our own kind of federalism that is unique to us.

The presidency should be rotated in two dimensions, north and south, and then among the three geopolitical zones in the north and south.

State governorships should also be alternated among each state's three senatorial districts. With the caveat that if the current governor/president dies or is impeached, he or she can only be replaced by someone from the same zone that produces the top executive. This is to avoid vice presidents or Deputy Governors being tempted to plan the death or impeachment of their superiors knowing that the position will instantly revert to them. This could be purely administrative restructuring included into the Electoral Act. In a case where a dominating tribe in a state perpetually produces the state governor as a birth right will breed discontent, internal sabotage, low productivity and lack of commitment. Rotation will therefore ensure

equity, justice and fair play. Also, rotation will put an end to 80% of agitation for state creation in Nigeria.

The examples above are only to demonstrate the numerous sorts and dimensions of restructuring that we require, rather than focusing solely on political restructuring and the mistaken belief that it is the all-powerful formula that will solve all of Nigeria's issues.

### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2

- |    |  |
|----|--|
| 1. | Discuss Restructuring of Our Mind-set of the people. |
| 2. | Describe how Power Shift and Rotation of Power       |



#### 4.9 Summary

The unit discussed the intricacies of Government Reform Since Independence, shedding light on the critical need for restructuring our mindset to adapt to evolving governance dynamics. Furthermore, a detailed exploration was conducted on the multifaceted debate surrounding Resource Control, emphasizing the importance of equitable distribution and management of resources to foster national development. Illustrated by compelling examples from diverse nations, the unit underscored the significance of efficient revenue generation strategies across various resources, showcasing best practices for sustainable economic growth.

In addition, a comprehensive explanation was provided on the Derivation Principle, elucidating its crucial role in shaping fiscal federalism and ensuring fair resource allocation among states. Moreover, the unit engaged in a thorough discussion on Power Shift and Rotation of Power, highlighting the dynamic nature of political power dynamics and the implications for democratic governance.

Through a holistic analysis and insightful commentary, this unit navigated through key aspects of governance reform, resource management, and power dynamics, equipping participants with a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities inherent in modern governance systems..



#### 4.10 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Alh. Sir abubakar tafawa balewa official visit to usa in 25–28 july 1961, youtube.

Ijomah, B. I. C (1996). The enigma of Nigerian nationalism, Edo state university publishing house.

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## 4.11 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. Restructuring has been the most popular and commonly utilized term in describing and explaining all of the country's current troubles. Discuss**

Restructuring has been the most popular and commonly utilized term in describing and explaining all of the country's current troubles. Because of the numerous interpretations linked with the idea, restructuring as a Nigerian concept for system restoration or resolving structural deformities begs for greater analytical precision and empirical rigour. It was this difficulty associated with the precise meaning of restructuring that made El-Rufai (2017) to lament that some Nigerians prefer to use other words such as true federalism, devolution of power, resource control, regionalism, self-determination, and others, instead of the word "restructuring". Political leaders, too, avoid using the word "restructuring" in their speeches. According to Oseloka (2017), President Buhari vowed in his campaign manifesto to "initiate" action to alter the Nigerian Constitution in order to devolve powers, duties, and obligations to states in order to establish real federalism and the federal spirit". To be honest, Buhari never said the word "restructure," but it was implied.

- 2. Briefly explain regime of Tafawa Balewa (1960-1965).**

He was a strong opponent of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, and he formed an alliance with Commonwealth ministers who wanted South Africa to exit the Commonwealth in 1961. However, a treason indictment and conviction against one of the western region's leaders, Obafemi Awolowo, prompted widespread outrage and condemnation from his supporters. Following the region's election in 1965, there were violent protests. Rioting and bloodshed quickly followed what was considered as excessive political overreach and an overly optimistic election outcome for Awolowo's western opponents.

Balewa served as Nigeria's Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister from 1960 to 1961. The Balewa government established a formal Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations cabinet seat for Jaja in 1961. Balewa was awarded as a Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in January 1960. In May 1960, he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Sheffield. In July 1961, he received an honorary doctorate of laws from New York University. The face of Balewa was printed on the 5 Naira note. In his

honor, Bauchi's Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University was established.

(Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe as Gov-General/ Ceremonial President)

a) Creation of Mid-Western Region from the then Western Region – Political Restructuring.

## Answers to SAEs 2

### 1. Discuss Restructuring of Our Mind-set of the people.

Our mentality is by far the most significant reorganization we require in Nigeria now. That should serve as the starting point and mother of all reorganization. Certain unproven statements and beliefs have taken up permanent residence in the hearts of Nigerian adults, for example, corruption cannot be eradicated, we will never have a correct census, if you don't bribe you cannot get a contract, if you don't bribe voters you cannot win elections, merit alone cannot get you a job or promotion, and so on. They portray Nigeria as an impossible country and the worst place in the planet to live.

Unfortunately, today's young men and women are growing up with the same mindset and conviction that if you don't know a big man somewhere (e.g., a Senator or Minister), you can't get a job, a contract in a ministry, or admittance to a Tertiary Institution. Furthermore, if you do not board the corruption train, you will never be wealthy or successful. We must shift our perspective. No amount of political or economic restructuring will result in significant development unless we first restructure and re-orient our attitude, transform our value system, and create strong character.

His Royal Highness, Lamido Sanusi, and the Emir of Kano are two of my icons and examples of perfect leaders in Nigeria today. He has launched a one-man anti-establishment crusade to reorient northerners' thinking, freeing people from the chains of unprogressive tradition and misunderstanding or misapplication of religious teachings. He is demonstrating to the next generation that religion is not opposed to scientific education or skill training. If the pace is maintained and additional emirs join his fight, the north might close the educational gap and become Nigeria's richest region in ten years. His mission must be emulated throughout Nigeria in order to effect good change in Nigerians' mindsets.

### 2. Describe how Power Shift and Rotation of Power

Most traditional institutions in Nigeria have used rotation as a form of power sharing in the past. Rotation among reigning houses is used in the selection of OBAs, OBIs, and EMIRS. This is a good custom that we

should continue for the time being. The United Nations Secretary General is rotated among the five continents of America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Oceania/Australia. Rotation is thus acknowledged even at the international level by developed economies. As a result, Nigeria should adopt administrative reform that will allow executive positions at the federal, state, and local government levels to be rotated among component units, as is currently practiced in the majority of our traditional geopolitical institutions. I agree with former Vice President Atiku's notion that we create our own kind of federalism that is unique to us.

The presidency should be rotated in two dimensions, north and south, and then among the three geopolitical zones in the north and south.

State governorships should also be alternated among each state's three senatorial districts. With the caveat that if the current governor/president dies or is impeached, he or she can only be replaced by someone from the same zone that produces the top executive. This is to avoid vice presidents or Deputy Governors being tempted to plan the death or impeachment of their superiors knowing that the position will instantly revert to them. This could be purely administrative restructuring included into the Electoral Act. In a case where a dominating tribe in a state perpetually produces the state governor as a birth right will breed discontent, internal sabotage, low productivity and lack of commitment. Rotation will therefore ensure equity, justice and fair play. Also, rotation will put an end to 80% of agitation for state creation in Nigeria.

The examples above are only to demonstrate the numerous sorts and dimensions of restructuring that we require, rather than focusing solely on political restructuring and the mistaken belief that it is the all-powerful formula that will solve all of Nigeria's issues.

## UNIT 5: WESTERN REGION CRISIS AND COLLAPSE OF FIRST REPUBLIC

### Unit Structure

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Learning Outcomes
- 5.3 Akintola's resignation
  - 1.3.1 Awolowo Investigations
- 5.4 The Northern and Eastern regional parliaments
- 5.5 Collapse of first republic
- 5.6 Factors that Lead to the Collapse of First Republic
- 5.7 Summary
- 5.8 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 5.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 5.1 Introduction

In our last, government reform since independence, exploring the significant changes and developments that have taken place in governance structures and policies. Additionally, it will focus on the vital aspect of Restructuring of Our Mind-set, highlighting the importance of fostering a new way of thinking and approaching various challenges faced by our society. The unit will also explain a comprehensive debate on Resource Control, examining the implications and benefits of effectively managing and utilizing our natural and economic resources. This unit will discussed western region crisis that led to Akintola resignation, discuss Awolowo investigations, explain Northern and Eastern regional parliaments, and identify the factors that led to explain the Collapse of First Republic and outlines factors that lead to the collapse of first republic.



### 5.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Evaluate the western region crisis that led to Akintola resignation
- Explain the Awolowo Investigations
- Discuss the Northern and Eastern regional parliaments
- Explain the factor that led to the Collapse of First Republic
- Explain the Factors that lead to the collapse of first republic



### 5.3 Akintola's resignation

Akintola was kicked out of the party by Awolowo's radical majority. Although Akintola had not lost a vote of confidence in the regional assembly, the governor of the Western Region forced his resignation as prime minister and appointed a replacement for him who had been recommended by the Action Group to lead the administration. Akintola promptly created a new party, the United People's Party, which followed a policy of partnership with the NPC-NCNC administration in the federal parliament.

As competing politicians introduced violence to the floor of the regional legislature after Akintola's departure in May 1962, the Western Region experienced violent rioting that ended effective rule. Federal administrators were appointed for the Western Region, the legislature was dissolved, and a state of emergency was declared by the federal government. Numerous Action Group leaders were placed under house arrest as one of his first actions.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1

1. Discuss the disagreement between Awolowo and Akintola.
2. Explain the scenario that led to Akintola being kicked out of the party.

#### 5.3.1 Awolowo Investigations

Following inquiries by the federal administrator, Awolowo and other Action Group leaders were accused of illegal misappropriation of public funds. When Awolowo served as the prime minister of the Western Region in the 1950s, a special commission discovered that he had transferred several million pounds from public development corporations to the Action Group through a private investment corporation. The local authorities filed lawsuits against the Action Group and seized the corporation's assets.

Police found evidence connecting Awolowo to a plot to topple the government throughout the course of the financial probe. He was detained together with several other Action Group leaders, and he was put on trial for treason. Authorities said that 200 activists had smuggled weapons into Nigeria in preparation for a coup d'état and had undergone military training in Ghana. Along with seventeen other defendants, Awolowo was convicted guilty and given a ten-year prison term. Awolowo's top lieutenant Anthony Enahoro, who was away from the country at the time of the coup, was extradited from Britain after being found guilty of treason and sentenced to prison.



## 5.4 The Northern and Eastern regional parliaments

In the interim, the state of emergency was abolished, and Balewa obtained Akintola's reinstatement as the Western Region's prime minister at the helm of a coalition between the NCNC and the United People's Party after concluding that he had been wrongfully fired. The Action Group was successful in challenging the legitimacy of this action in court, but the Western Region's constitution was swiftly amended to reflect the constitutionality of Akintola's reappointment. The case's legality, as Balewa informed the legislature "had been overtaken by events."

The Northern and Eastern regional parliaments approved the creation in 1962.

All of these incidents implied the use of governmental power for nefarious purposes.

The coalition administration used its influence to bully the A.G., who continued to be combative as Nigeria soon descended into a serious political crisis. As a result, the coalition administration took advantage of the factional fighting that broke out in the A.G.-controlled western area in May 1962 to dissolve the A.G. The Western area was placed under a state of emergency, and the federal government took control of its administration. Dr. Moses Majekodunmi, the administrator chosen by the coalition government, took a harsh stance against the A.G. and its followers. The A.G. was the target of an ongoing, punitive investigation. Twenty-six members of the party's elite, including Awolowo, were charged with treasonable felony in November 1962 and were imprisoned on August 11 of that same year, 1963. In the face of this persecution members of the embattled A.G. defected en-masse to rival parties as its strength in the House of Representatives fell drastically from seventy five to thirteen. Thus the NPC grew in confidence after dealing with the A.G, more so, after gaining seven additional Federal seats in the House of Representatives<sup>18</sup> consequent upon the incorporation of Northern Cameroon's into the Northern region as the thirteenth province. By implication the NPC got an absolute majority in the House of Representatives and it was not long before she got into trouble with her coalition partner the NCNC.

However, due to conflicts inside the party that mirrored splits in Yoruba society, Action Group dominance over the Western Region was initially weakened before collapsing. The political system of the entire nation was gradually damaged as a result of this loss of stability in one area.

## 5.5 Collapse of First Republic

On October 1st, 1960, Nigeria attained independence. Although the nation just declared a republic on October 1, 1963, the time frame between this day and January 15, 1966, when the first military coup d'état occurred, is commonly referred to as the First Republic. Northern Cameroons, which had previously been managed separately inside Nigeria, decided to join Nigeria following a plebiscite in February 1961.

At independence Nigeria had all the trappings of a democratic state and was indeed regarded as a beacon of hope for democracy. It had a federal constitution that guaranteed a large measure of autonomy to three (later four) regions; it operated a parliamentary democracy modelled along British lines that emphasized majority rule; the constitution included an elaborate bill of rights; and, unlike other African states that adopted one-party systems immediately after independence, the country had a functional, albeit regionally based, multiparty system.

Due to some basic and structural flaws, these democratic trappings were insufficient to ensure the republic's survival. The north's disproportionate authority in the federation was perhaps its biggest vulnerability. The departing colonial administration had believed that the emergence of national politics would prevent any sectional hegemony of power, but it miscalculated the consequences of a regionalized party system in a nation where political power was dependent on population. The republic's major political parties began as regional organizations with the primary objective of retaining power in their own regions in the late 1940s and early 1950s. It is obvious that in this manner the Action Group (AG) and the Northern People's Congress (NPC), which ruled the Northern and Western Regions, respectively, arose. Originally a nationalist party, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), which ruled the Eastern Region and the Midwestern Region (both regions were established in 1963), was compelled by regionalist pressures to become primarily an eastern party, despite having significant support in other parts of the federation. These regional parties, NPC (Hausa/Fulani), AG (Yoruba), and NCNC, were founded on and mostly supported by the major groupings in their areas (Igbo). Aminu Kano's radical Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), which challenged the NPC in the 1970s, was a famous and more ideologically focused political organization that never attained considerable influence.

Minority communities also founded many political movements to pursue their claims for separate states. These minority parties also served as opposition parties in the regions, and they usually allied with the party in power in another region who backed their demands for a new state. As a

result, ethnic minorities enabled regional parties to expand their influence outside their borders.

The major parties obtained a majority of seats in their regions in the 1959 general election to determine which parties would rule in the immediate postcolonial period, but none became powerful enough to form a national government. The NPC and NCNC formed a coalition government, with the former being heavily favored by the leaving colonial administration. The alliance provided a measure of north-south unanimity that the NCNC and AG would not have provided if they had established a coalition. Nnamdi Azikiwe (NCNC) was appointed governor general (and president after the country became a republic in 1963), Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (NPC) was appointed prime minister, and Obafemi Awolowo (AG) was relegated to opposition leader. Ahmadu Bello (Northern Region, NPC), Samuel Akintola (Western Region, AG), Michael Okpara (Eastern Region, NCNC), and Dennis Osadebey were the regional premiers (Midwestern Region, NCNC).

Among the republic's issues were efforts by the NPC, the coalition government's senior partner, to leverage the federal government's growing power in favor of the Northern Region. The balance was based on the assumption that the Northern Region had the political edge because to its larger size and population, and the two southern regions (originally the Eastern Region and the Western Region) had the economic advantage due to their control of the federal bureaucracy. The NPC intended to address the economic and bureaucratic disadvantages of the north. Many of the federal government's projects and military installations were allocated to the north under the First National Development Plan. The government had a "affirmative action" program to recruit and train northerners, which resulted in the appointment of fewer qualified northerners to federal public service positions, many of whom replaced more qualified southerners. Such actions served to distance the NCNC from its coalition partner. The reactions to the fear of northern dominance, particularly the moves made by the NCNC to resist the political power of the north, hastened the nascent republic's demise.

The southern parties, particularly the angry NCNC, had believed that if the 1962 census favored the south, the regional power balance would alter. The allotment of legislative seats, which dictated the authority of each region, was determined by population. Because population data were also used in awarding income to regions and determining the sustainability of any proposed new area, the 1962 census was viewed as a critical fight for control of the federation by all regions. This contest resulted in a variety of illegalities, including exaggerated figures, election violence, fabrication of results, demographic manipulation, and so on. Despite evidence of more inflated data in the southern regions, the

northern region maintained its numerical lead. As expected, southern authorities rejected the results, resulting in the census being canceled and a new census being held in 1963. The NCNC finally approved this population census following a protracted legal fight, giving the Northern Region a population of 29,758,975 out of a total of 55,620,268. These figures dashed the southerners' hopes of dominating the federation.

The quantity and distribution of the population have been contentious political topics since the 1962-63 exercise. In fact, the importance and sensitivity of a census count have grown due to the increased use of population figures for revenue allocations, constituency delineation, quota allocations for admissions into schools and employment, and the siting of industries and social amenities such as schools, hospitals, and post offices. Another census, undertaken in 1973 by a military government that was less politicized than its civilian predecessor, failed. The fact that the 1973 census was part of the military's transition strategy to give over power to civilians made it extremely dangerous. The preliminary numbers showed a gain for the states formed from the old Northern Region, with a total population of 51.4 million people out of a total population of 79.8 million. Old suspicions of dominance resurfaced, and the federation's stability was badly jeopardized. In 1975, the provisional findings were finally invalidated. No other census had been conducted as of late 1990, however one was planned for 1991 as part of the transition to civilian government. In the meanwhile, Nigeria has relied on population predictions based on census data from 1963.

Other events also contributed to the First Republic's demise. After a rift in the AG leadership caused a crisis in the Western Region in 1962, the region proclaimed a state of emergency, and the federal government used its emergency powers to rule the region directly. As a result of these actions, the AG was removed from regional power. Its commander, Awolowo, and other AG leaders were convicted of treasonable felony. Former Western Region Premier Awolowo created a new party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), which took over the administration. The federal coalition administration also supported minority groups' efforts to separate a state from the Western Region. The Midwestern Region was established in 1963.

The country's politics had grown split into a fight between two opposing alliances by the time of the 1964 general elections, the first to be held purely by Nigerians. The Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) was made up of the NPC and NNDC, while the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) was made up of the NCNC, the AG, and their supporters. During the campaigns, each regional party publicly intimidated its opponents. When it became evident that the Federal Electoral Commission's impartiality could not be guaranteed, appeals were made for the army to

oversee the elections. The UPGA has decided to abstain from the elections. When elections were finally held under non-free and unjust conditions to opponents of regional parties, the NCNC regained control of the east and mid-west, while the NPC retained control of the north and was also in a position to establish a federal administration on its own. The Western Region was transformed into a "theater of battle" between the NNDP (and NPC) and the AG-UPGA. Late in 1965, rescheduled regional elections were violent. The military seized power on January 15, 1966, after the federal government declined to proclaim a state of emergency. The First Republic has come to an end.

Scholars have attempted to explain the collapse in a variety of ways. Some blame it on the inadequacy of political institutions and processes, as well as its lack of entrenchment under colonial control, while others blame the elite. Politicians failed to play the political game according to established rules due to a lack of a political culture to sustain democracy. The failure of the elite appears to have been a symptom of the problem rather than the cause. Because the elite lacked a tangible foundation for their ambitions, they turned to controlling public offices and resources. At the same time, the disparities in development among various groups and areas gave the contest for state authority a group flavor. These elements emphasized group, ethnic, and regional tensions, which finally contributed to the republic's demise.

The ultimate answer is directly tied to everything that has come before. It contends that the regionalization of politics, particularly party politics, has rendered the republic's stability contingent on each party maintaining control of its regional base. As long as this remained the case, there was a rough balance between the parties and their respective regions. When the federal government declared an emergency in 1962 and removed the AG from power in the Western Region, the precarious balance on which the federation was built was thrown off. Attempts by the AG and NCNC to restore equilibrium, or at least the status quo ante, only fueled resistance and hastened the republic's demise.

## **5.6 Factors that Lead to the Collapse of First Republic**

### **1. Regional Politics**

The 1960 and 1963 constitutions defined the institutional framework of the first republic. However, the key element of Nigeria's first republic was the continuation of a regionalist federal structure, which had a significant impact on resource allocation at the time. Nigeria's post-independence economic and political history was chaotic. According to Sam Iroanusi, the major factors to blame were "the shaky tripartite federal structure with strong regionalism, disparity in the sizes and populations of the three

regions; three regionally based and tribally sustained political parties; and a weak political class driven by ethnic ideologies."

To support this claim, Osadolor Benson argued that during the first decade of Nigeria's post-independence history, the country fell short of developing a strong mechanism to mediate and reconcile a series of conflicts and contradictions caused by the country's constellation of economic, social, class, and ethnic forces. In essence, he claimed, the nation witnessed interethnic competitiveness and "winner take all" politics in a political environment where opposition was considered treasonous.

## **2. Challenges in Coalition Government**

Regardless, the coalition administration of the first republic began to face internal issues as early as 1960. The coalition's junior partner, the N.C.N.C., began to believe that she was less well-positioned than her other partner (NPC) in the grand scheme of things. When negotiations for the implementation of the Second National Development Plan of 1962-1968 began in 1960, symptoms of strain became apparent. The announcement of the plan in 1962 validated NCNC's feelings, as the majority of the federally supported projects in the plan, totaling £670 million, were to be located in the Northern region. Despite this, NCNC considered that she was better suited in partnership with the A.G.

## **3. Creation Mid-Western Region**

In the same year, Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa proposed a national government at the center. The A.G, led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, refused to serve in a national administration and preferred to remain in opposition. The next year, in April 1961, the Federal House of Representatives passed a motion to separate the Western Region into a new Mid-Western Region.

This appears to be a premeditated move by the central coalition administration to weaken and neutralize the A.G's overall political and economic dominance in the Western Region while leaving their own regions untouched.

## **4. National Head-Count 1962/1963**

Every census in Nigeria has been contentious to the point where there is no universally accepted head count. This is due to the fact that it serves two functions: fiscal allocation and constituency delimitation. As a result, the debate over census figures was a major political issue. The first post-independence headcount in 1962 appeared to be the finest opportunity for a built-in Northern majority to be challenged, because its population supremacy was the reason for the federation's political and economic domination.

The utilization of census data for revenue allocation and power distribution helps to explain the deceptive exaggeration of results. For example, in 1953, the North used its majority to overturn a motion by an A.G. parliamentarian demanding self-government by 1956 (many Southern politicians couldn't accept that some of those who had been most vocal in the struggle for independence would be forced to play second fiddle while those who had delayed self-government took power). Aside from that, the Northern ruling party has always refused to expand its area of operation to other parts of the federation, believing that as long as the North's population surpassed that of the South, it could do so. In light of this context, it is important to understand why the 1962 and 1963 census exercises received such high marks. The federal parliamentary seats were distributed based on the results of the colonial government's 1952–1953 census, and according to Harold Smith, this census data from Great Britain provided the foundation for the North's enormous dominance. Evidently, the A.G. and NCNC had hoped that the 1962–1963 census exercise would give the regions they controlled a significantly higher population increase compared to the North and result in a redistribution of seats in the federal legislature to their advantage and to lessen what they perceived as the northern domination of the Nigerian state. Harold Smith, a colonial official at the time, disclosed that the 1962 census actually showed that the North no longer had a numerical majority over the rest of the country put together, in contrast to conventional statements made by researchers about the statistics from that year.

According to the 1962 head census, there were 21.4 million people in the North, 12.3 million in the West, and 10.8 million in the East. This gave the South the upper hand. The NPC-controlled government, however, deemed the results of the Western and Eastern regions' census to be somewhat implausible and annulled it. Consequently, the 1962 census results were never formally released.

A fresh survey was chosen by the prime minister and was carried out in November 1963. The latest head count result put Nigeria at 55 million people, up 67 percent from the 1952–1953 census figures in both the North and East and 100 percent more than in the Western region. This outcome led to the new population distribution being as follows.

There were 12, 801,685 in the Western region, 12, 394, 46225 in the Eastern region, and 29,758,875 in the Northern zone. The regional governments in the east and west were disappointed that the census would uphold the North's dominance by keeping the current distribution of parliamentary seats. The North held the same percentage advantage over the rest of the federation after the 1963 census, which was a strange finding given the results of the 1952 census. Specifically, 53.4% to 46.6%<sup>26</sup>. The NPC and her ally in the West, Ladoke Akintola, the leader

of the Nigerian National Democratic Party, acknowledged the results, but the two Southern regions rejected them (NNDP). Chief Dennis Osadebey, Premier of the Mid-West region, in the words of Eghosa Osaghae “decided to accept the results after initially rejecting them, for the sake of national unity.” The real reason for Midwest’s decision was the forceful threat by the N.P.C. that it would withdraw federal aid on which the young fledgling region depended. The Federal government went ahead to use the figures to delimit constituencies for the December 1964 Federal elections.

### **5. constitutional crisis and 1964 Federal elections**

In response to the census figures, a new bipolar alignment had developed by the time of the 1964 Federal elections. In opposition to the N.P.C., which partnered with the NNDP, the party established in the South by Chief Ladoke Akintola, to form the Nigerian National Alliance, the two biggest Southern parties, A.G. and N.C.N.C., formed the United Progressive Grand Alliance (NNA).

Elections were widely boycotted as a result of the Southern parties' protests over restrictions placed on their ability to campaign freely in the North when the campaigns got underway. The N.P.C. obtained a lopsided victory thanks to altered results.

In the East, this was fiercely opposed, and it ultimately led to a serious constitutional crisis. The ability to manage the Federal government's incentive systems, operational allocation, and distribution of political and financial benefits was at issue between the two alliances. The Western House of Assembly elections were held on October 11, 1965, in the middle of the constitutional crisis. With this election, the erosion of constitutionalism and the state of chaos accelerated. Ironically, no state of emergency was declared; instead, security troops were dispatched by the federal government to help the N.N.D.P.S. win. On January 15, 1966, a faction of the military finally overthrew the government under these circumstances.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

1. List the Factors that Lead to the Collapse of First Republic
2. Explain the constitutional crisis and 1964 Federal elections.



### **1.7 Summary**

This unit examined the crisis in the western region that ultimately precipitated Akin Tola's resignation. Furthermore, it extensively covered the investigations concerning Awolowo, shedding light on the intricate details surrounding the situation. The explanations provided about the



functioning of the Northern and Eastern regional parliaments were particularly revealing, offering a nuanced understanding of the political dynamics at play during that era. The analysis also meticulously identified and expounded upon the multifaceted factors that contributed to the defined collapse of the First Republic. Additionally, a robust outline was presented, highlighting the various elements that directly influenced the eventual breakdown of the First Republic. By examining and contextualizing these complex historical events, this unit effectively offers a comprehensive insight into the intricate web of factors that shaped the course of this pivotal period in Nigeria's history..



#### **4.10 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

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## 5.9 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Discuss the disagreement between Awolowo and Akintola.

Due to a disagreement between Awolowo and Akintola, the prime minister of the Western Region, the Action Group's leadership, which served as the official opposition in the federal parliament, broke in 1962. Following in the footsteps of Kwame Nkrumah's government in Ghana, Awolowo supported the adoption of democratic socialism as party doctrine. The radical ideology that Awolowo expressed, however, was at odds with his earlier stances and was perceived as an effort to make the Action Group an interregional party that attracted support from educated younger voters who were dissatisfied with their expectations due to unemployment and the rising cost of living across the country. In response, Akintola made an effort to keep the support of conservative party members who were offended by Awolowo's comments. He demanded better.

#### 2. Explain the scenario that leads to Akintola kicked out of the party.

Akintola was kicked out of the party by Awolowo's radical majority. Although Akintola had not lost a vote of confidence in the regional assembly, the governor of the Western Region forced his resignation as prime minister and appointed a replacement for him who had been recommended by the Action Group to lead the administration. Akintola promptly created a new party, the United People's Party, which followed a policy of partnership with the NPC-NCNC administration in the federal parliament.

As competing politicians introduced violence to the floor of the regional legislature after Akintola's departure in May 1962, the Western Region experienced violent rioting that ended effective rule. Federal administrators were appointed for the Western Region, the legislature was dissolved, and a state of emergency was declared by the federal government. Numerous Action Group leaders were placed under house arrest as one of his first actions.

### Answers to SAEs 2

#### 1. List the Factors that Lead to the Collapse of First Republic

- Regional Politics
- Challenges in Coalition Government
- Creation Mid-Western Region
- National Head-Count 1962/1963
- constitutional crisis and 1964 Federal elections

## **2. Explain the constitutional crisis and 1964 Federal elections**

In response to the census figures, a new bipolar alignment had developed by the time of the 1964 Federal elections. In opposition to the N.P.C., which partnered with the NNDP, the party established in the South by Chief Ladoke Akintola, to form the Nigerian National Alliance, the two biggest Southern parties, A.G. and N.C.N.C., formed the United Progressive Grand Alliance (NNA).

Elections were widely boycotted as a result of the Southern parties' protests over restrictions placed on their ability to campaign freely in the North when the campaigns got underway. The N.P.C. obtained a lopsided victory thanks to altered results.

In the East, this was fiercely opposed, and it ultimately led to a serious constitutional crisis. The ability to manage the Federal government's incentive systems, operational allocation, and distribution of political and financial benefits was at issue between the two alliances. The Western House of Assembly elections were held on October 11, 1965, in the middle of the constitutional crisis. With this election, the erosion of constitutionalism and the state of chaos accelerated. Ironically, no state of emergency was declared; instead, security troops were dispatched by the federal government to help the N.N.D.P.S. win. On January 15, 1966, a faction of the military finally overthrew the government under these circumstances.

## MODULE 3 CIVIL SERVICE

Unit 1	Civil Service
Unit 2:	Features And Functions of Civil Service
Unit 3:	Evolution Of Nigerian Civil Service
Unit 4	Civil Service Reforms: Udoji Commission
Unit 5:	The 1988 Civil Service Reform

### UNIT 1 CIVIL SERVICE

#### Unit Structure

1.1	Introduction
1.2	Learning Outcomes
1.3	Civil Service
	1.3.1 Civil Service
1.4	Civil Service in Nigeria
1.5	The Principles of the Civil Service
1.6	Structure and functions of the Nigeria's Civil Service
	1.6.1 Structure of the Nigeria's Civil Service
	1.6.2 Challenges of the Nigeria Civil Service
1.7	Definition and Role of Nigeria's Public Service
1.8	Summary
1.9	References/Further Readings/Web Resources
1.10	Possible Answers to SAEs



#### 1.1 Introduction

In our last unit, we examined the crisis in the western region that ultimately precipitated Akin Tola's resignation. Furthermore, it extensively covered the investigations concerning Awolowo, shedding light on the intricate details surrounding the situation. In this unit, we will be discussing the concept of civil service, role of Nigeria's public service; issue of civil service in Nigeria; principles of the civil service; the structure of Nigeria's civil service; the challenges of the Nigeria civil service.



#### 1.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the concept of Civil Service
- Discuss the issue of Civil Service in Nigeria

- Highlight the Principles of the Civil Service
- Explain structure and functions of the Nigeria's Civil Service
- Examine the structure of the Nigeria's Civil Service
- Outline the challenges of the Nigeria Civil Service
- Define and explain the role of Nigeria's Public Service



## 1.3 Civil Service

### 1.3.1 Civil Service

What is Civil Service? Zakari (2022) defined civil service as a "body of government employees entrusted with the administration of the country, excluding the military, judicial branches, and elected officials." The civil service is responsible for implementing government policies and providing public services.

The civil service is a term used to cover the public servants who are direct employees of the federal and state governments, other than the police, the armed forces personnel, judicial personnel and the teachers. Its usage excludes also employees of statutory corporations and boards (Nwosu, 1977). According to Adebayo (1986), the civil service comprises all servants of the state, other than those holding political appointments, who are employed in a civil capacity and whose remuneration is paid out of money voted by the legislature. Adamolekun (1983), sees the civil service as "the body of permanent officials appointed to assist the political executive in formulating and implementing governmental policies." He also sees the second usage of the term as referring to "the ministries and departments within which specific aspects of government are carried out." Though people often see the civil service and the public service as the same thing, they are technically, not the same.

Public service as a term is broader in scope than civil service. Hence, it includes not only those who work in the regular government ministries and departments but also statutory corporations, boards and the armed forces. Hence, Adamolekun (1983) defines it as the totality of services that are organised under government authority. It can therefore be said that civil service is narrower in scope and excludes some government employees who are public servants (Obikeze and Anthony, 2004:140).

## 1.4 Civil Service in Nigeria

The civil service is the administrative structure employed in civil capacity to fulfill government policies and programmes. This can be viewed in terms of structures i.e. ministries, departments, etc. or the human

occupants of public offices i.e. permanent secretaries, ministers, and higher administrative staff. The Nigerian Interpretation Act of 1964 does not expressly define the term civil service. However, Section 2 of the Pensions Act of 1951 defines the "civil service, as the service in a civil capacity under the government of the federation or in a college, university or a pensionable employment under local authority." The civil service is distinguishable from the military service and police service in that while the latter two are principally concerned with the safeguard of the country from external and internal dangers, the former is concerned with purely civil and non-technical affairs of the state. Members of the civil service are employed in a civil capacity as distinguished from military, judicial or police capacity. Military officers, judicial officers, police officers and many other technical officers like doctors, engineers, and draughtsmen are, strictly speaking, not civil servants. Civil servants are mainly of two categories: lower clerical staff and higher administrative staff. The higher administrative staff is directly responsible to the political head of department. The lower clerical staffs help the administrative staff and works under its direct supervision and control. The state reaches the citizens through the civil servants who are well trained, skilled and permanent body of professional class of officials, and who have taken government service as a career (Ekhaton, 2012).

### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 1. | Define Meaning of Civil Service             |
| 2. | Explain concept of Civil Service in Nigeria |

### 1.5 The Principles of the Civil Service

The civil service is guided by impartiality. The principle of permanence is also seen as part of the maxims. We will now explain all of them

**Anonymity** The principle of anonymity states that civil servants should be seen and not by principle be heard. Though they advise political office holders on issues relating to government they neither take the blame nor the glory of such policies. They are not expected to be seen defending such policies. That job is better left for political office holders and not the career officers. Civil servants as far as possible, are anonymous, and should not be seen as craving for publicity.

**Neutrality** The civil servant must be politically neutral. His job is to serve the government of the day with full dedication irrespective of what he feels about that particular government. He ought not to allow personal prejudices to colour his dedication to his duty. He is not expected to be a card carrying member of a political party or get involved in partisan politics though he is expected to vote at election times. The essence of making the civil servant politically neutral is hinged on the fact that since

he does not leave with a change in government, he is not expected to have a strong attachment to any particular government so as to enable him give his best to make government policies succeed irrespective of his personal feelings towards such policies or government.

**Impartiality** Civil servants are paid from tax payers' money which does not belong to anybody or group in particular. They are therefore, expected to discharge their duties without fear or favour. Since the constitution emphasises the equality of all citizens, they are supposed to be treated equally by the civil servants. In rendering service to the public, the civil servant is expected to treat everybody with a high degree of impartiality. Favouritism is against the principle of the civil service and should not be encouraged in any guise whatsoever. 48

**Permanence** The civil service is often defined as a permanent body of officials that carry out government decisions: It is permanent and its life is not tied to the life of any particular government. Governments come and go but the service remains, or to use the; Nigerian jargon, soldier go, soldier come but barrack remain. The civil service in this regard, is the barrack that remains (Obikeze and Anthony, 2004).

## 1.6 Structure and functions of the Nigeria's Civil Service

Nigeria's civil service plays a crucial role in the administration of the country, functioning as the machinery through which the government implements policies, programs, and services (Zakari, 2022).

### 1.6.1 Structure of the Nigeria's Civil Service

Structure of the Nigeria's Civil Service includes (Zakari, 2022);

1. Federal Civil Service: This comprises ministries, departments, and agencies (MDAs) at the federal level, including the presidency. Key positions include the Head of the Civil Service, permanent secretaries, and directors.
2. State Civil Services: Each of Nigeria's 36 states has its own civil service, operating under similar structures as the federal level but catering to state-specific governance and administrative needs.
3. Local Government Civil Services: These are the administrative structures at the local government level, dealing with grassroots administration and community development.

Functions of the Nigeria's Civil Service

1. Policy Implementation: The civil service is responsible for translating government policies and programs into actionable plans and ensuring their execution.

2. **Regulation and Oversight:** Civil servants develop and enforce regulations across various sectors, ensuring compliance with laws and standards.

3. **Service Delivery:** Provision of essential services such as education, healthcare, transportation, and public safety.

**4. Policy Formulation and Implementation:** The Civil Service is primarily responsible for developing and executing government policies. This includes translating political decisions into actionable plans and ensuring that these plans are implemented effectively across various sectors.

**5. Advisory Role:** Civil servants provide expert advice to government officials and ministers on various issues, ensuring that decisions are based on comprehensive and accurate information. Civil servants advise political leaders, providing expertise and continuity regardless of changes in political leadership.

**6. Budget Preparation and Management:** The Civil Service assists in drafting and reviewing the national budget, identifying areas for expenditure, and ensuring fiscal responsibility to minimize budget deficits.

**7. Record Keeping:** The Civil Service maintains comprehensive records of government activities, including documentation and enforcement of regulations. This ensures transparency and accountability in governance.

**8. Public Education and Enlightenment:** Another critical function is to educate and inform the public about government policies, programs, and services, thereby promoting transparency and accountability.

**9. Support to Ministries and Commissioners:** Civil servants support various ministries and commissioners in executing their duties, including responding to emergent situations and performing routine administrative functions.

## 10. Recruitment and Training

**1. Merit-based Recruitment:** Recruitment into the civil service is generally based on merit, with processes including competitive examinations and interviews conducted by bodies like the Federal Civil Service Commission.

ii. **Training and Development:** Continuous training programs are provided to improve the skills and competencies of civil servants. Institutions such as the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria (ASCON) and the Nigerian Institute of Management (NIM) play significant roles.



### 1.6.2 Challenges of the Nigeria Civil Service

1. **Corruption:** Corruption remains a significant issue, affecting efficiency and public trust. Efforts are ongoing to combat this through various anti-corruption agencies and reforms.
2. **Bureaucracy:** Excessive bureaucracy can lead to inefficiencies and delays in service delivery. Reforms aim to streamline processes and reduce red tape.
3. **Inadequate Funding:** Budgetary constraints can limit the capacity of the civil service to effectively deliver services and maintain infrastructure.
4. **Political Interference:** Political interference can undermine the neutrality and professionalism of the civil service, impacting its effectiveness.

#### Reforms

1. **Public Service Reforms:** Various reforms have been initiated to improve efficiency, transparency, and accountability. Examples include the introduction of the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS) to curb ghost workers and the Treasury Single Account (TSA) to enhance financial accountability.
2. **Capacity Building:** Emphasis on training and capacity building to ensure a professional and competent workforce.
3. **Digital Transformation:** Efforts to digitize operations and services to improve accessibility, efficiency, and transparency.

### Summary

## 1.5 Nigeria's Public Service

### 1.7 Definition and Role of Nigeria's Public Service

Nigeria's public service refers to the body of government employees entrusted with the administration, management, and implementation of public policies, services, and regulations (Zakari, 2022). These employees work in various government ministries, departments, and agencies at the federal, state, and local levels. The public service is responsible for executing the mandates of the government and ensuring that public resources are managed efficiently and effectively to meet the needs of the citizens (Adewumi, 1987).

Role Nigeria's public service according to (Zakari, 2022):

1. **Policy Implementation:** One of the primary roles of Nigeria's public service is the implementation of government policies. This involves

translating policies and plans into actionable programs and services that benefit the public.

2. **Service Delivery:** The public service is tasked with providing essential services such as healthcare, education, transportation, and social welfare. These services are crucial for the socio-economic development of the country.

3. **Regulation and Control:** The public service ensures compliance with laws and regulations. This includes monitoring activities, enforcing standards, and taking corrective actions where necessary to maintain order and protect public interests.

4. **Advisory Functions:** Public servants provide expert advice to government officials and policymakers. They offer insights and recommendations based on their expertise and experience, helping to shape informed decisions and effective governance.

5. **Resource Management:** Effective management of public resources, including finances, human resources, and infrastructure, is a critical function of the public service. This ensures that resources are utilized optimally to achieve government objectives.

6. **Social and Economic Development:** The public service plays a key role in promoting social and economic development. By implementing development programs and projects, they contribute to improving the quality of life for citizens and fostering economic growth.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

- |   |
|---|
| <p>Q1. Mention and Explain the Principles of the Civil Service</p> <p>Q2. Outline the Challenges of the Nigeria Civil Service</p> |
|---|



### **1.8 Summary**

The used discussed and examined Civil Service system in Nigeria. It focus was primarily on the crucial role played by Nigeria's Public Service within the broader framework of the Civil Service sector. Delving further, attention was dedicated to exploring the various issues that plague the functionality and efficiency of the Civil Service in Nigeria. Moreover, a thorough analysis of the fundamental Principles that underpin the operations of the Civil Service was conducted to provide a comprehensive understanding. The structural architecture of Nigeria's Civil Service was also a key point of consideration within the unit, shedding light on how the system is organized and operates. To cap it off, a detailed exploration

of the challenges faced by the Nigeria Civil Service was undertaken, highlighting the obstacles that hinder its optimal performance and suggesting potential areas for improvement. The structure of the Nigerian Civil Service is designed to support these functions efficiently. It comprises various departments and units overseen by permanent secretaries, who are appointed by the President. The Head of the Civil Service of the Federation leads the service, coordinating its activities and ensuring alignment with national goals.

Despite its crucial role, the Nigerian Civil Service faces several challenges, including political interference, poor remuneration, lack of qualified personnel, and issues related to corruption and nepotism. These challenges affect its efficiency and effectiveness in delivering public services.

Efforts to address these issues include ongoing reforms aimed at improving the conditions of service, enhancing training and capacity development, and promoting ethical standards and professionalism within the service.

Nigeria's civil service is integral to the country's governance and development. While it faces several challenges, ongoing reforms and initiatives aim to enhance its effectiveness and responsiveness to the needs of the Nigerian population.



### **1.9 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

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## 1.10 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

1. The civil service is a term used to cover the public servants who are direct employees of the federal and state governments, other than the police, the armed forces personnel, judicial personnel and the teachers. Its usage excludes also employees of statutory corporations and boards (Nwosu, 1977). According to Adebayo (1986), the civil service comprises all servants of the state, other than those holding political appointments, who are employed in a civil capacity and whose remuneration is paid out of money voted by the legislature. Adamolekun (1983), sees the civil service as "the body of permanent officials appointed to assist the political executive in formulating and implementing governmental policies."

### 2. Civil Service in Nigeria

The civil service is the administrative structure employed in civil capacity to fulfill government policies and programmes. This can be viewed in terms of structures i.e. ministries, departments, etc. or the human occupants of public offices i.e. permanent secretaries, ministers, and higher administrative staff. The Nigerian Interpretation Act of 1964 does not expressly define the term civil service. However, Section 2 of the Pensions Act of 1951 defines the "civil service, as the service in a civil capacity under the government of the federation or in a college, university or a pensionable employment under local authority." The civil service is distinguishable from the military service and police service in that while the latter two are principally concerned with the safeguard of the country from external and internal dangers, the former is concerned with purely civil and non-technical affairs of the state. Members of the civil service are employed in a civil capacity as distinguished from military, judicial or police capacity. Military officers, judicial officers, police officers and many other technical officers like doctors, engineers, and draughtsmen are, strictly speaking, not civil servants.

### Answers to SAEs 2

#### 1. The Principles of the Civil Service

The civil service is guided by impartiality. The principle of permanence is also seen as part of the maxims. We will now explain all of them

**Anonymity** The principle of anonymity states that civil servants should be seen and not by principle be heard. Though they advise political office holders on issues relating to government they neither take the blame nor the glory of such policies. They are not expected to be seen defending such policies. That job is better left for political office holders and not the

career officers. Civil servants as far as possible, are anonymous, and should not be seen as craving for publicity.

**Neutrality** The civil servant must be politically neutral. His job is to serve the government of the day with full dedication irrespective of what he feels about that particular government. He ought not to allow personal prejudices to colour his dedication to his duty. He is not expected to be a card carrying member of a political party or get involved in partisan politics though he is expected to vote at election times. The essence of making the civil servant politically neutral is hinged on the fact that since he does not leave with a change in government, he is not expected to have a strong attachment to any particular government so as to enable him give his best to make government policies succeed irrespective of his personal feelings towards such policies or government.

**Impartiality** Civil servants are paid from tax payers' money which does not belong to anybody or group in particular. They are therefore, expected to discharge their duties without fear or favour. Since the constitution emphasises the equality of all citizens, they are supposed to be treated equally by the civil servants. In rendering service to the public, the civil servant is expected to treat everybody with a high degree of impartiality. Favouritism is against the principle of the civil service and should not be encouraged in any guise whatsoever. 48

**Permanence** The civil service is often defined as a permanent body of officials that carry out government decisions: It is permanent and its life is not tied to the life of any particular government.

## Q2. Challenges of the Nigeria Civil Service

1. **Corruption:** Corruption remains a significant issue, affecting efficiency and public trust. Efforts are ongoing to combat this through various anti-corruption agencies and reforms.
2. **Bureaucracy:** Excessive bureaucracy can lead to inefficiencies and delays in service delivery. Reforms aim to streamline processes and reduce red tape.
3. **Inadequate Funding:** Budgetary constraints can limit the capacity of the civil service to effectively deliver services and maintain infrastructure.
4. **Political Interference:** Political interference can undermine the neutrality and professionalism of the civil service, impacting its effectiveness.

Reforms

## UNIT 2: FEATURES AND FUNCTIONS OF CIVIL SERVICE

### Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 The Features of Civil Service
- 2.4 Functions of Civil Service
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 2.1 Introduction

In this unit, we will be discussing the features and functions of civil service.



### 2.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

1. List the features of civil service
2. State the functions of civil service.



### 2.1 The Features of Civil Service

The administrative institutions in Nigeria are a legacy of the British model. Since Nigeria inherited virtually all administrative institutions from Britain, her erstwhile colonial rulers, the Nigerian public service is based on the West Minister model.

The main characteristics of the Nigerian public service include the following

1. **Professionalism** The most significant feature of civil service is that it is a professional class of officials who are trained and skilled. Like other professional groups of people engaged in different profession, the profession of civil servants is to run the administration. It does not mean that civil service is a single profession like shoe-making or brick laying, rather, it is a sum total of multi-profession ranging from mail delivering to administering a local government area council, all engaged in a single aim, i.e. the execution of public policy.

2. **Hierarchy** Hierarchy is the second fundamental characteristic found in civil service. By hierarchy we mean the separation between superior and subordinate offices; i.e. each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one. Then, there exist fixed salaries which are paid in accordance with the nature of the job and responsibility as well as the social status. In addition, there are chances of promotion and career advancement based on seniority and merit. Moreover, there is a right of appeal and statements of grievances from the lower to the higher authority. iii. **Legal Basis** The civil service system is always provided with a legal, basis. This may, to a large extent, be customary and uncodified or it may be in the form of ministerial regulations as in the United Kingdom, or it may be set forth in considerable detail in, a written constitution for the political jurisdiction. Generally, it possesses a statutory base either in an elaborate civil service code or in a collection of civil service laws.

3. **Personnel Agency** In some countries there is a provision for a central personnel agency or agencies that are in charge of maintaining the civil system. To this end, usually the British model is adopted by a large number of countries, where the responsibility of selection of civil servants is given to the civil service commission. In Nigeria, the Federal Civil Service Commission and state's civil service commission are made responsible for recruitment of federal and state civil servants.

4. **Security of tenure or permanence** This means that changes in government do not bring about changes in public servants. Governments come and go but public servants remain as long as they perform their work properly. The public service is a career to which the public servants can devote their time and energy until they attain retirement age. It is only in very serious cases of misbehaviour that they can be dismissed or retired.

5. **Political Neutrality** This means that public servants should not be member of any political party. They should not take part in partisan or party politics. They cannot contest election or comment publicly on political matters. If they wish to do so, they have to resign their appointment.

**6. Impartiality** The public servants are expected to apply the laws of the land without any fear or favour to any person or group of persons in the society. Thus, the public servants should serve all members of the public to the very best of their ability. They should act with maximum fairness towards all members of the society. There should be no discrimination of any kind.

**7. Anonymity** This means that they must work without any aim of making fame or name. They should remain anonymous, whatever blame or praise for any act of omission or commission will directly go to the minister who is the political head of the department.

**8. Meritocracy** Another significant characteristic feature of the public service is that both recruitment from within and recruitment from without are based on merit. To be recruited into the service one has to satisfy certain given standards such as educational qualifications, good performance in the qualifying examination and interviews. Above all, promotion within the system is based on seniority, efficiency and experience.

**9. Established Procedures of Work** xi. In a developed civil service system, well established procedure are planted for the conduct of common personnel transactions such as recruitment, training, promotion, demotion, dismissal, performance evaluation, compensation, etc. These standardised methods provide objectivity in the choice of entrants to the civil service and also help in offering equal treatment to everybody already in service (Ekhaton, 2003: 255-256).

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1**

1. State and Explain the Features of Civil Service
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### **2.5 Functions of Civil Service**

The functions of the civil service may be discussed under the following main heads:

**i. Advice** The primary function of the civil service is to advise the political executive. Ministers depend on the advice of their higher administrative staff who are the reservoir of information and wisdom regarding the subject matters which they administer. Even to formulate his own programme, the political executive relies on the civil service officials while administering many problems which arise - which are usually solved by the civil service before reporting to the political head, if at all, for approval or mere information

**ii. Programme Planning** Broadly speaking, planning is the duty of the political chief executive. Planning and periodic adjustments of the



revenue structure is a responsibility of the minister for finance; agricultural prices and water policy - functions of the ministers for Agriculture and Water Resources; petroleum policy, a function of the minister for petroleum, etc. But there is a field where the civil servants also perform the function of planning, and this is the field of delegated legislation. The legislature makes laws in broad outlines for execution and implementation of which certain basic rules and regulations are required. The civil servants who execute those laws determine the specific steps to take in order to bring to fruition a policy or a law already agreed upon. To the extent that the policy decision is ambiguous or vague, programme planning may actually affect policy though in principle. Its purpose is merely to effect policy. Programme planning involves a careful analysis of the job to be done. It is a deep perception of the whole operation. The success of any new policy will depend ultimately upon good programme planning. Good performance planners develop by experience. They learn the art by daily practice and not by reading from books.

**iii. Policy Formulation** The civil servants advise their political head, the minister, on a wide range of policy matters. Thus, the civil servants play crucial roles in policy formulation.

**iv. Drafting Bills** Top civil servants aid their political boss to draft bills or to prepare legislative proposals. This is a usual practice in a parliamentary democracy.

**v. Policy Implementation** Once a minister has decided on what to do, it is the responsibility of the civil servants to carry out such decisions.

**vi. Budget Preparation** The civil servants prepare the annual financial statements of their respective ministries. This annual financial statement which is technically called the yearly budget comprises income and expenditure of government. The various financial statements from the various ministries are integrated into one document known as the budget.

**vii. Law Making** Besides bill drafting, the civil servants now make minor laws known as delegated legislation.

**viii. Negotiation with Outside Groups** Civil servants discuss, bargain or negotiate with interest groups, other governments and international organisations on behalf of their own government.

**ix. Quasi - Judicial Function** In recent times, civil servant protect civil liberties by institutional administrative inquiries into alleged wrong doings of public officers and where such allegations are proved right, they recommend disciplinary actions to be taken against the affected officers.

**x. Production** Another important function of the civil service is production. Goods produced may be tangible goods like kilograms of rice and kilometers of concrete roads, and less tangible services such as cases of legal disputes decided or school children educated. Every official involved in administration needs work standard to enable him to determine whether his organisation is reasonably living up to mark, whether his subordinate staff are competent and whether there is a rise or fall in the level of efficiency and output.

**xi. Organisation and Methods** The primary purpose of which a civil service is set up is to effect improvement of working methods so as to remove waste and loss of efforts and secure complete utilisation of available resources. This function is performed with the aid of units specialised in what has come to be known as organisation and methods of work often called O & M (Ekhatator, 2003: 257-2458)

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2

1. State and Explain functions of civil service in Nigeria



### 1.5 Summary

This unit effectively detailed the fundamental features of civil service, elucidating the significant role it plays within a state's framework. By offering a comprehensive understanding of the functions performed by civil service, it sheds light on how these integral mechanisms contribute to the smooth and efficient operation of government entities. Through a thorough exploration of the principles, responsibilities, and organizational structure of civil service, learners gain insights into the complexities and nuances inherent in this field. Moreover, the unit delves into the historical evolution of civil service systems, providing context and perspective that enhance students' appreciation of its enduring significance. By examining the interplay between civil service and governance, participants can grasp the intricate connection between administrative functions and policy implementation, laying a solid foundation for further discussion and analysis. In essence, this unit not only identifies the core elements of civil service but also underscores its crucial importance in upholding the principles of accountability, professionalism, and efficiency in public administration. The evolution of civil service shall be discussed next.



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## 1.8 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. The Features of Civil Service

The administrative institutions in Nigeria are a legacy of the British model. Since Nigeria inherited virtually all administrative institutions from Britain, her erstwhile colonial rulers, the Nigerian public service is based on the West Minister model.

The main characteristics of the Nigerian public service include the following

**1. Professionalism** The most significant feature of civil service is that it is a professional class of officials who are trained and skilled. Like other professional groups of people engaged in different profession, the profession of civil servants is to run the administration. It does not mean that civil service is a single profession like shoe-making or brick laying, rather, it is a sum total of multi-profession ranging from mail delivering to administering a local government area council, all engaged in a single aim, i.e. the execution of public policy.

**2. Hierarchy** Hierarchy is the second fundamental characteristic found in civil service. By hierarchy we mean the separation between superior and subordinate offices; i.e. each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one. Then, there exist fixed salaries which are paid in accordance with the nature of the job and responsibility as well as the social status. In addition, there are chances of promotion and career advancement based on seniority and merit. Moreover, there is a right of appeal and statements of grievances from the lower to the higher authority. **iii. Legal Basis** The civil service system is always provided with a legal, basis. This may, to a large extent, be customary and uncodified or it may be in the form of ministerial regulations as in the United Kingdom, or it may be set forth in considerable detail in, a written constitution for the political jurisdiction. Generally, it possesses a statutory base either in an elaborate civil service code or in a collection of civil service laws.

**3. Personnel Agency** In some countries there is a provision for a central personnel agency or agencies that are in charge of maintaining the civil system. To this end, usually the British model is adopted by a large number of countries, where the responsibility of selection of civil servants is given to the civil service commission. In Nigeria, the Federal Civil Service Commission and state's civil service commission are made responsible for recruitment of federal and state civil servants.

**4. Security of tenure or permanence** This means that changes in government do not bring about changes in public servants. Governments come and go but public servants remain as long as they perform their work properly. The public service is a career to which the public servants can devote their time and energy until they attain retirement age. It is only in very serious cases of misbehaviour that they can be dismissed or retired.

**5. Political Neutrality** This means that public servants should not be member of any political party. They should not take part in partisan or party politics. They cannot contest election or comment publicly on political matters. If they wish to do so, they have to resign their appointment.

**6. Impartiality** The public servants are expected to apply the laws of the land without any fear or favour to any person or group of persons in the society. Thus, the public servants should serve all members of the public to the very best of their ability. They should act with maximum fairness towards all members of the society. There should be no discrimination of any kind.

**7. Anonymity** This means that they must work without any aim of making fame or name. They should remain anonymous, whatever blame or praise for any act of omission or commission will directly go to the minister who is the political head of the department.

**8. Meritocracy** Another significant characteristic feature of the public service is that both recruitment from within and recruitment from without are based on merit. To be recruited into the service one has to satisfy certain given standards such as educational qualifications, good performance in the qualifying examination and interviews. Above all, promotion within the system is based on seniority, efficiency and experience.

**9. Established Procedures of Work** xi. In a developed civil service system, well established procedure are planted for the conduct of common personnel transactions such as recruitment, training, promotion, demotion, dismissal, performance evaluation, compensation, etc. These standardised methods provide objectivity in the choice of entrants to the civil service and also help in offering equal treatment to everybody already in service (Ekhaton, 2003: 255-256).

## Answers to SAEs 2

1. The functions of the civil service may be discussed under the following main heads:

i. **Advice** The primary function of the civil service is to advise the political executive. Ministers depend on the advice of their higher administrative staff who are the reservoir of information and wisdom regarding the subject matters which they administer. Even to formulate his own programme, the political executive relies on the civil service officials while administering many problems which arise - which are usually solved by the civil service before reporting to the political head, if at all, for approval or mere information

ii. **. ii. Programme Planning** Broadly speaking, planning is the duty of the political chief executive. Planning and periodic adjustments of the revenue structure is a responsibility of the minister for finance; agricultural prices and water policy - functions of the ministers for Agriculture and Water Resources; petroleum policy, a function of the minister for petroleum, etc. But there is a field where the civil servants also perform the function of planning, and this is the field of delegated legislation. The legislature makes laws in broad outlines for execution and implementation of which certain basic rules and regulations are required. The civil servants who execute those laws determine the specific steps to take in order to bring to fruition a policy or a law already agreed upon. To the extent that the policy decision is ambiguous or vague, programme planning may actually affect policy though in principle. Its purpose is merely to effect policy. Programme planning involves a careful analysis of the job to be done. It is a deep perception of the whole operation. The success of any new policy will depend ultimately upon good programme planning. Good performance planners develop by experience. They learn the art by daily practice and not by reading from books.

iii. **iii. Policy Formulation** The civil servants advise their political head, the minister, on a wide range of policy matters. Thus, the civil servants play crucial roles in policy formulation.

iv. **iv. Drafting Bills Top** civil servants aid their political boss to draft bills or to prepare legislative proposals. This is a usual practice in a parliamentary democracy.

v. **v. Policy Implementation** Once a minister has decided on what to do, it is the responsibility of the civil servants to carry out such decisions.

vi. **vi. Budget Preparation** The civil servants prepare the annual financial statements of their respective ministries. This annual financial statement which is technically called the yearly budget comprises income and expenditure of government. The various financial statements from the various ministries are integrated into one document known as the budget.

vii. **Law Making** Besides bill drafting, the civil servants now make minor laws known as delegated legislation.

## UNIT 3: EVOLUTION OF NIGERIAN CIVIL SERVICE

### Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Evolution of Nigerian Civil Service
  - 3.4 The Structure of the Nigerian Civil Service
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 3.1 Introduction

In our last unit, we effectively discussed the fundamental features of civil service, elucidating the significant role it plays within a state's framework. By offering a comprehensive understanding of the functions performed by civil service, it sheds light on how these integral mechanisms contribute to the smooth and efficient operation of government entities. This unit will be discussing evolution of the civil service in Nigeria started from colonial period and has undergone many processes.



### 3.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

1. Discuss the evolution of Nigerian civil service
2. Analyze the structure of the Nigerian civil service



### 3.3 The Evolution of Nigerian Civil Service

In tracing the emergence and growth of the civil service in Nigeria, Nwosu (1977), started from 1900 when Britain formally established her authority in most of the area that had then become Nigeria. The British divided the country into three for administrative purposes. They were the Colony of Lagos and the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria. Later in 1906 the Lagos Colony was merged with the Southern Protectorate and renamed the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. In 1914 the two protectorates were amalgamated, and subsequently became known as the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria.



In order to be able to administer the territory, Britain imposed a unified alien civil service on Nigeria without giving much thought to its impact on the Nigerian traditional communities with their conflicting values, interests, norms and authority structure (Kingsley, 1963). It must be pointed out that despite the amalgamation and its attendant unification of the civil services of the north and south, the two areas still developed, at their own pace. The major function of the civil service was mainly the maintenance of law and order and raising enough revenue to sustain the colonial authorities. According to Okoli (2002), the service was geared towards the negative policy of preventing trouble in the areas under its administration. Economic and social development was never a major objective of the administration. Nwosu (1977) outlined the structure of the colonial service thus, At the head of the public service was the Governor General, who was accountable to the colonial secretary in London. The colonial secretary was himself accountable to the British cabinet and the parliament. The Governor General delegated his authority to the Chief Secretary, who was the effective head of the service. The chief secretary coordinated the entire service which was divided into two major parts - the departmental and the political administration. The departmental administration covered the technical and professional functions of the colonial regime. Such as education, health, agriculture, treasury, forestry, public works and audit. Assisting the Chief Secretary were the various departmental heads. In the absence of elected representatives of the people, they not only advised the Governor, but initiated policies, participated in legislation, and supervised the execution of enacted bills and approved policies. While the heads of technical departments operated from the central secretariat in Lagos, their subordinates were in charge of field offices. Considering the 'authoritarian' nature of colonial regimes and given the limited scope of colonial policies, the technical and professional heads of departments carried their duties without deference to any organised clientele or public; the constraints and contingencies that stemmed from the wider environments were tackled by the field administrators. The field officers referred to above were the Lieutenant Governor, the Residents, and the District Officers. These officers who were the pillars of colonial administration were fully responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the mobilisation of resources, which in any case were the main goals of colonialism. In explaining the importance of these officials in colonial administration, Kingsley (1963), stated that: The president and the governor, each in his geopolitical area, were concerned and more often than not, in more remote areas, a strong administrative officer was the government in the real sense of it. These field officers it must be pointed out did not rule the people. Indirectly, instead they ruled them through their own people indirect rule in the north it was fairly easy since the emirs were already fully incharge before the advent of colonialism. They had almost questionable powers an also had a system of taxation. In the west

where the Obas were fully in charge, (though with some measure of checks and balances) the indirect rule system was also successful. The east provided a different scenario all together. With the exception of few areas, where established traditional authorities were already in existence, the diffused authority system which was described as segmentary or fragmented (Obikeze and Obi 2003) made it difficult for the indirect rule system to be introduced. However, this did not deter the colonial officials from building a structure on which their administration rested. They created the 'Warrant Chief's and made them to perform the roles that their counterparts in other parts of the country had been performing. It undoubtedly encountered many problems. The fusion of western administration with the traditional African , System, produced a new structure which Nwosu (1977) says corresponded with Fred Rigg's description of the pattern of role differentiation in a traditional society. Riggs (1963) said that: "We find, then, in the transitional society a dualistic situation. Formally superimposed institutions patterned after, western models coexist with earlier indigenous institutions of a traditional type in a complex pattern which was heterogeneous over lapping. The new patterns thrive best at the centre in the higher levels of society; the alder patterns persist most vigorously at the periphery, in the rural hinterlands and the lower levels of society, but the mixture is everywhere present and produces new forms characteristics of neither the western nor the traditional institutional systems." At this early period, Nigerians were restricted to the lower echelons of the civil service. Though the south and the north were amalgamated in 1914, both regions still had their separate civil services. In fact Odumosu (1963) states that departments like education, policy and prisons in the north were separated in policy and control from their southern counterparts. 58 The Richard's Constitution of 1946 marked a watershed in the political and administrative history of Nigeria. The constitution provided for a House of Assembly for each of the regions plus a House of Chiefs for the northern region: It equally provided a legislative council at the centre with an African unofficial majority. The councils were to advise the Regional Governors on any matter referred to them. The Governors were however not bound to accept their advice. According to Arthur Richards the objective of the 1946 Constitution was to Create a political system which is in itself present advance and contains living possibility of further orderly advance - a system within which the diverse elements may progress at varying speeds amicably and smoothly towards a more closely integrated economic, social and political unity without sacrificing the principles and ideals inherent in their divergent ways of life (Obikeze and Obi, 2004: 142-145).

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1**

1. Discuss the evolution of **Nigerian Civil Service**

### 3.4 The Structure of the Nigerian Civil Service

Prior to the Udoji Commission Report of (1974), the Nigerian civil servants were divided into two separate groups - the administrative group and the professional group. Both groups were hierarchically organised.

While the administrative group was made up of the administrative class, the executive class the clerical class and the manipulative class, the professional group consisted of the professional class, the technical class, the auxiliary class and the minor technical class. Each of the classes within the two groups operated so rigidly that it was very difficult for a civil servant to move from a lower to a higher class. This implied that a civil servant once recruited remained in the same class or grade throughout his service career. However, in 1974, based on the recommendations of the Udoji Commission on the re-organisation of the civil service, the Federal Government of Nigeria abolished the former four classes and replaced them with a unified grading system in which all the jobs or positions in the service were graded from levels 01-17, grade level 01 being the lowest while grade level 17 represents the highest position in the civil service. With this development, an employee can now join the service at level 01 and climbs upwards to his ability before retirement. In spite of this significant change, five main classes of civil servants still exist today in Nigeria, though not officially: These include the administrative class, the professional class, the executive class, the clerical class, and the manipulative class. Let us briefly explain each of these classes:

- i. The administrative class: This is the most prestigious and remunerative class in the civil service. Civil servants in this class are very close to the political head, i.e., the ministers/commissioners. Their main function is to advise the political head on policy matters. To be recruited into this class, the applicant must possess at least a second class honours degree from a recognised university and must in addition pass the interview conducted by the civil service commission.
- ii. The professional class: This class consists of specialists like doctors, lawyers, engineers, surveyors, architects, etc., who are charged with the responsibility of advising the government on technical matters. These experts help the government in construction of roads, houses, run hospitals, engage in agriculture, etc.
- iii. The executive class: The executive class consists of such positions as the executive officer, higher executive officer and senior executive officer. Civil servants in this class are involved in general administration and are charged with the actual implementation of government policies and programmes. The executive class used to be recruited from among

people with good Higher School Certificates or General Certificate of Education, Advanced Level or a Diploma in Public Administration. These days, however, it has become the preserve of the people with less than a second class lower degree as well as that of Higher National Diploma Holders in the relevant fields.

iv. Clerical class: This class is made of a large number of subordinate staff who perform supportive functions to the government

v. The manipulative class: This class is made up of all the skilled and semi-skilled workers who abound in the various ministries and departments. These include the drivers, cleaners, guards, postmen, gardeners, etc. who represent the manual labour forces of the government (Ekhaton, 2003:259-261)

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

Q1. Discuss the Structure of the Nigerian Civil Service



### **3.5 Summary**

In this unit, we discussed the evolutionary and structural processes of the civil service in Nigeria. The unit examined deeply into the rich history and dynamic evolution of the Nigerian civil service, shedding light on its transformative journey over the years. By closely examining the intricate structure of the Nigerian civil service, insightful analyses were conducted to dissect its core components, functions, and administrative framework.

This examination not only highlighted the key organizational elements of the civil service but also provided a nuanced understanding of its operations, role in governance, and contributions to national development. The exploration extended to uncovering the various reforms, challenges, and milestones that have shaped the Nigerian civil service into what it is today, offering a holistic view of its past, present, and potential future trajectories. In essence, the unit not only fostered a thorough understanding of the Nigerian civil service's evolution and structure but also underscored its significance in the broader context of public administration and governance in Nigeria..



### **3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

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### **3.7 Possible Answers to SAEs**

#### **Answers to SAEs 1**

##### **The Evolution of Nigerian Civil Service**

In tracing the emergence and growth of the civil service in Nigeria, Nwosu (1977), started from 1900 when Britain formally established her authority in most of the area that had then become Nigeria. The British divided the country into three for administrative purposes. They were the Colony of Lagos and the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria.

Later in 1906 the Lagos Colony was merged with the Southern Protectorate and renamed the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. In 1914 the two protectorates were amalgamated, and subsequently became known as the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria.

In order to be able to administer the territory, Britain imposed a unified alien civil service on Nigeria without giving much thought to its impact on the Nigerian traditional communities with their conflicting values, interests, norms and authority structure (Kingsley, 1963). It must be pointed out that despite the amalgamation and its attendant unification of the civil services of the north and south, the two areas still developed, at their own pace. The major function of the civil service was mainly the maintenance of law and order and raising enough revenue to sustain the colonial authorities. According to Okoli (2002), the service was geared towards the negative policy of preventing trouble in the areas under its administration. Economic and social development was never a major objective of the administration. Nwosu (1977) outlined the structure of the colonial service thus, At the head of the public service was the Governor General, who was accountable to the colonial secretary in London. The colonial secretary was himself accountable to the British cabinet and the parliament. The Governor General delegated his authority to the Chief Secretary, who was the effective head of the service. The chief secretary coordinated the entire service which was divided into two major parts - the departmental and the political administration.

#### **Answers to SAEs 2**

##### **The Structure of the Nigerian Civil Service**

Prior to the Udoji Commission Report of (1974), the Nigerian civil servants were divided into two separate groups - the administrative group and the professional group. Both groups were hierarchically organised.

While the administrative group was made up of the administrative class, the executive class the clerical class and the manipulative class, the professional group consisted of the professional class, the technical class, the auxiliary class and the minor technical class. Each of the classes within the two groups operated so rigidly that it was very difficult for a civil servant to move from a lower to a higher class. This implied that a civil servant once recruited remained in the same class or grade throughout his service career. However, in 1974, based on the recommendations of the Udoji Commission on the re-organisation of the civil service, the Federal Government of Nigeria abolished the former four classes and replaced them with a unified grading system in which all the jobs or positions in the service were graded from levels 01-17, grade level 01 being the lowest while grade level 17 represents the highest position in the civil service. With this development, an employee can now join the service at level 01 and climbs upwards to his ability before retirement. In spite of this significant change, five main classes of civil servants still exist today in Nigeria, though not officially: These include the administrative class, the professional class, the executive class, the clerical class, and the manipulative class. Let us briefly explain each of these classes:

- i. The administrative class: This is the most prestigious and remunerative class in the civil service. Civil servants in this class are very close to the political head, i.e., the ministers/commissioners. Their main function is to advise the political head on policy matters. To be recruited into this class, the applicant must possess at least a second class honours degree from a recognised university and must in addition pass the interview conducted by the civil service commission.
- ii. The professional class: This class consists of specialists like doctors, lawyers, engineers, surveyors, architects, etc., who are charged with the responsibility of advising the government on technical matters. These experts help the government in construction of roads, houses, run hospitals, engage in agriculture, etc.
- iii. The executive class: The executive class consists of such positions as the executive officer, higher executive officer and senior executive officer. Civil servants in this class are involved in general administration and are charged with the actual implementation of government policies and programmes

## UNIT 4 CIVIL SERVICE REFORMS: UDOJI COMMISSION

### Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 The Udoji Commission of 1972
  - 4.3.1 The Udoji Commission of 1972
- 4.4 Udoji Commission the commission was mandated to
- 4.5 Commission's terms of reference
- 4.6 Recommendation of Akintola Williams committee
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to SAEs



### 4.1 Introduction

In the last unit, we discussed the evolutionary and structural processes of the civil service in Nigeria. The unit examined deeply into the rich history and dynamic evolution of the Nigerian civil service, shedding light on its transformative journey over the years. This unit will comprehensively examine the various aspects of the Udoji Commission. Firstly, we will meticulously review the inception, purpose, and intricacies of the Udoji commission, shedding light on the historical backdrop and the prevailing societal conditions that necessitated its establishment. Our discussion will then pivot towards a detailed analysis of the key findings, recommendations, and term of reference of the Udoji Commission, providing an in-depth exploration of its impact on the civil service landscape in Nigeria. Moreover, we will scrutinize the significant contributions made by the Udoji Commission towards the enhancement and modernization of the civil service sector in Nigeria, emphasizing how its recommendations and reforms have shaped and influenced administrative practices and policies over the years. By thoroughly examining the legacy and enduring relevance of the Udoji Commission, we aim to elucidate its pivotal role in the development and evolution of the Nigerian civil service, highlighting the enduring legacies and lessons that continue to resonate in the present-day context.





## 4.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

1. Review the Udoji commission
2. Discuss the Udoji commission
3. State the contributions of Udoji Commission to the development of civil service in Nigeria.



## 4.3 The Udoji Commission of 1972

### 4.3.1 The Udoji Commission of 1972

A public service review commission was set up in September 1972 to carry out comprehensive review of the nation's public service. The commission was later customarily referred to as the Udoji Commission, after its chairman, Chief Jerome O. Udoji. More than any other commission before it, the Udoji Commission had the highest wide ranging terms references.

### 4.4 Udoji Commission the commission was mandated to:

- i. examine the organisation and structure of the public services
- ii. investigate and evaluate their methods of recruitment, conditions of service and staff development programmes
- iii. Examine existing pension and superannuation schemes in the public and private sector make recommendations that would facilitate inter-sectorial mobility, without detriment to the retention of efficient and qualified personnel in the public services; and
- iv. Undertake regrading of all posts in the public service and establish appropriate salary scales. Many scholars who studied the commission's report felt that the terms of reference was too broad, and it affected the quality of work done by the commission. Commenting on this, Williams (1979), said that, "Whilst there is much sympathy for a reform that is based on a careful consideration of inextricable bound social factors, a commission that has elastic terms of reference increased the likelihood that myriad social factors would intervene to distort objectives." Williams further asserted that the commission regarded development as its main concern and viewed the reform of the public services as instrumental to this.

#### 4.5 Commission's terms of reference

Consequent upon this, the commission's terms of reference can be seen as consisting of two parts:

i. The fundamental and effective – which seeks to facilitate social development; and ii. The incidental and effective which seeks to renovate the public services as instrument for development. The commission submitted its report on 25th September 1974, exactly two years after it was established. True to its terms of reference, the commission reviewed every aspect of the country's public service including: recruitment, career and staff development, superannuation, salary grading and every sector of the public service, public enterprises, the teaching service, and the various local government administrations. The report was released in December 1974, with the government white paper on it (entitled, Government Views on the Report of the Public Service Review Commission). A summary of the Commission's report is as follows:

- i. That the concept of result-oriented management be adopted
- ii. That a unified structure be introduced
- iii. That administration be transformed into 'management'
- iv. That pay be dependent upon job content and performance
- v. That promotion be based on merit and not seniority.
- vi. That public sector compensation be related to private sector compensation
- vii. That financial management be strengthened and modernized
- viii. That personnel management practice be modernised (Obikeze and Obi; 2004:153)

Incidentally, immediately the report was released, several groups in the public sector raised a lot of dust about it. The mass discontent and industrial unrests which the report caused made the government to set up a new Review Panel to handle public discontent on the government white paper on Udoji Report.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1

- |  |
|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Explain the The Udoji Commission of 1972</li> <li>2. Identify Commission's terms of reference</li> </ol> |
|--|

#### 4.6 Recommendation of Akintola Williams's committee

The committee was headed by Mr. Akintola Williams, the doyen of the accounting profession in Nigeria. In a nutshell, the Udoji Commission in its pursuit of a development oriented public service recommended the adoption of modern management techniques like the Planning, Programming, Budgeting Systems (PPBS), Management by Objectives

(MBO) and project management in the Nigerian Civil Service. It equally advised that the dual hierarchies in ministers be abolished, while training should be intensified in order to make workers suitable to handle senior management positions. It reviewed and simplified the wage scales in the public service and reduced it from over a hundred to just seventeen. It must be pointed out that despite the fact that the issue of wages was the fourth issue in the commission's term of reference; the issue of wages almost overshadowed the other aspects of the commission's work and report. The result is that today, whenever Udoji Commission is mentioned, people think more about 'salary awards.' Perhaps this is due to the fact that many previous commissions before the Udoji Commission were wage commissions. Also, the fact that the awards had very adverse effect on the economy in terms of inflation has left most analysis of the commission in most texts to concentrate on the awards. By way of innovations, the Udoji Commission introduced a number of key features in the civil service, notably the opening of the post of Chief Executive of the Ministry referred to as permanent secretary, to both administrative and professional/specialist staff; the harmonisation and unification of job grading and salary system throughout the service; the introduction of a new code of conduct for all public officers. Since the commission's work was mainly on increasing efficiency and effectiveness of the public service, one will conclude by saying that though some minor improvement were made, the public service remained almost what it was before Udoji in terms of service delivery (Obikeze and Obi: 2004:154)

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2

- |  |
|--|
| 1. Discuss the Recommendation of Akintola Williams committee |
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### 4.7 Summary

This unit extensively explored into the Udoji Commission of 1972, a pivotal investigative body tasked with critically examining various aspects of governance and public service in Nigeria. The Commission's terms of reference were carefully designed to encompass a broad spectrum of issues, ranging from the efficiency and effectiveness of the civil service to the equitable compensation of government workers.

Furthermore, the Udoji Commission's significance is underscored by its meticulous examination of the workforce remuneration system, a key area that directly impacts the welfare and motivation of civil servants across the country. Notably, the Udoji Commission's findings and recommendations were informed by the previous work of the esteemed

Akintola Williams's committee, an influential body that contributed valuable insights into the complexities of public sector governance and management. By building upon the foundation laid by the Akintola Williams's committee, the Udoji Commission was able to propose forward-thinking and pragmatic solutions aimed at enhancing the overall performance and integrity of Nigeria's public administration..



#### **4.8 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

Obikeze, S.O. & Obi, E.A. (2004). *Public Administration in Nigeria: A Developmental Approach*. Onitsha: Book Point Ltd.

Udoji, J. (1995). *Under Three Masters: Memoirs of an African Administrator*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.



#### **4.9 Possible Answers to SAEs**

##### **Answers to SAEs 1**

##### **1. The Udoji Commission of 1972**

A public service review commission was set up in September 1972 to carry out comprehensive review of the nation's public service. The commission was later customarily referred to as the Udoji Commission, after its chairman, Chief Jerome O. Udoji. More than any other commission before it, the Udoji Commission had the highest wide ranging terms references. The commission was mandated to:

- i. examine the organisation and structure of the public services
- ii. investigate and evaluate their methods of recruitment, conditions of service and staff development programmes
- iii. examine existing pension and superannuation schemes in the public and private sector
- iv. make recommendations that would facilitate inter-sectorial mobility, without detriment to the retention of efficient and qualified personnel in the public services; and
- v. undertake regrading of all posts in the public service and establish appropriate salary scales.

##### **2. Commission's terms of reference**

Consequent upon this, the commission's terms of reference can be seen as consisting of two parts:

i. The fundamental and effective – which seeks to facilitate social development; and ii. The incidental and effective which seeks to renovate the public services as instrument for development. The commission submitted its report on 25th September 1974, exactly two years after it was established. True to its terms of reference, the commission reviewed every aspect of the country's public service including: recruitment, career and staff development, superannuation, salary grading and every sector of the public service, public enterprises, the teaching service, and the various local government administrations. The report was released in December 1974, with the government white paper on it (entitled, Government Views on the Report of the Public Service Review Commission). A summary of the Commission's report is as follows:

- i. That the concept of result-oriented management be adopted
- ii. That a unified structure be introduced
- iii. That administration be transformed into 'management'
- iv. That pay be dependent upon job content and performance
- v. That promotion be based on merit and not seniority.
- vi. That public sector compensation be related to private sector compensation
- vii. That financial management be strengthened and modernized

## Answers to SAEs 2

### 1. Recommendation of Akintola Williams committee

The committee was headed by Mr. Akintola Williams, the doyen of the accounting profession in Nigeria. In a nutshell, the Udoji Commission in its pursuit of a development oriented public service recommended the adoption of modern management techniques like the Planning, Programming, Budgeting Systems (PPBS), Management by Objectives (MBO) and project management in the Nigerian Civil Service. It equally advised that the dual hierarchies in ministers be abolished, while training should be intensified in order to make workers suitable to handle senior management positions. It reviewed and simplified the wage scales in the public service and reduced it from over a hundred to just seventeen. It must be pointed out that despite the fact that the issue of wages was the fourth issue in the commission's term of reference; the issue of wages almost overshadowed the other aspects of the commission's work and report. The result is that today, whenever Udoji Commission is mentioned, people think more about 'salary awards.' Perhaps this is due to the fact that many previous commissions before the Udoji Commission were wage commissions. Also, the fact that the awards had very adverse effect on the economy in terms of inflation has left most analysis of the commission in most texts to concentrate on the awards.

## UNIT 5: THE 1988 CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

### Unit Structure

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Learning Outcomes
- 5.3 The 1988 Civil Service Reform
  - 5.3.1 Objective of the Reform
- 5.4 Art Evaluation of the 1988 Reform
- 5.6 Summary
- 5.7 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 5.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 5.1 Introduction

The 1988 civil service reform was to professionalize the civil service. The position of permanent secretary became political and was designated Director-General. Ministers became the accounting officers instead of permanent secretary as it used to be before them. These features of the 1988 civil service reform and other major changes in it are discussed in this unit.



### 5.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

1. Analyze the 1988 civil service reform
2. Evaluate the 1988 Reform



### 5.3 The 1988 Civil Service Reform

The Federal Military Government in 1984 set up a panel to study the structure, staffing and operations of the federal civil service and make appropriate recommendations which will enhance efficiency, effectiveness and productivity in the service. The panel equally submitted its report in 1985. Military President, General Ibrahim Babangida announced the reform package. As at the time the reforms were introduced in 1988, the civil service was already in a terrible state characterised by: Over-centralisation; incessant conflicts between the cadres; Scant emphasis on results and concrete performance; excessive

focus on compliance with regulations, forms and procedures, counter-productive separation of authority from responsibility at the top of the Civil Service hierarchy; dangerously low staff morale and productivity; inappropriate staff deployment practices which often ignored the profession or specialisation of staff, thereby putting square pegs in round holes in critical areas outside of the traditional registrable profession fields; and increasingly patent inability to cope effectively with the challenges of modern, complex and development hungry society. The above inevitable state of the nation's civil service resulted from long years of neglect by successive government that never bothered to invest in the civil service in the forms of office space, equipment materials, staff training, modern operational techniques, adequate staff remuneration and so on. The 1975 civil service purge by Murtala Mohammed equally adversely affected the civil service. These coupled with the fact that the Babangida regime embarked on a socio-economic restructuring of the nation through SAP and the fact that it was realised that a presidential system of government cannot be run successfully with a white hall civil service necessitated the reforms.

### **5.3.1 Objective of the Reform**

The reforms sought to:

- i. considerably enhance the degree of professionalism in the civil service
- ii. align the service with the form and spirit of presidentialism
- iii. ensure that its management and control systems are such as would no longer separate responsibility from authority at the top of the civil service hierarchy
- iv. install accountability (not only for money, but also for performance) as the unmistakably hallmark of the civil service systems
- v. ensure that the systems significantly enhance the degree of efficiency, effectiveness, promptness and speed of civil service operations
- vi. introduce considerable delegation of functions and power not only at the top but further down the line in the service
- vii. install appropriate checks and balances to prevent misuse or abuse of authority, but without jeopardising the efficiency, speed and effectiveness of the service
- viii. minimise, if not eliminate, areas of conflict, particularly at the top of the civil service
- ix. significantly insulate the civil service from partisan politics, but at the same time, erect a smooth and efficient bridge between the civil service and the political/ruling class

- x. Put the civil service in a form and shape which would enable it to meet the challenges of the modern age, with its emphasis on high technology, speed of decision-making, efficient information systems and achievement orientation implement the reforms without jeopardising the unity and integrity of the civil service (Philips, 1988).

In order to achieve the above aims, the reforms emphasized four main elements. There are:

- i. enhanced professionalization of the civil service
- ii. rationalization of authority and responsibility at the top level of a ministry by making the minister instead of the permanent secretary as hitherto the chief executive and accounting officer of his ministry; and redesigning the permanent secretary as director-general who will now serve as the minister's deputy
- iii. installation of a strong scheme of checks and balances to prevent misuse or abuse of power especially on the part of the minister
- iv. enhancement and strengthening of the economic and financial management apparatus of the presidency by placing the Central Bank of Nigeria and the planning and budget office directly under the president. The plank on which the entire reform rested was on the professionalization of the civil service, for the Dotun Philips Report recommended an enhanced professionalization of the civil service through the following measures:
  1. The staff structure has been changed, so that there now existed in the civil service three basic staff categories, namely; assistant, officer and director, (each at different grades); the assistant is a sub-professional, the officer is a full professional, and the director is a full professional with general management responsibilities.
  2. Staff nomenclatures have been changed to reflect areas of specialisation, profession or basic function.
  3. The horizontal and vertical structures of the ministry have been changed to reflect professional and specialised operational areas.
  - iv. The central pooling and central deployment of staff have been discontinued.
  4. Each staff is now to spend his entire career in his ministry or extra, ministerial department.
  5. Much greater emphasis is now to be placed on staff training, which is now to be obligatory and systematically periodic for every staff in the civil service.
  6. Performance evaluation schemes at institutional and individual levels are being revamped to reflect overriding emphasis on concrete performance and accord less weighty than hitherto to politics, seniority and subjective factors.



Much greater decentralisation introduced in personnel, finance and operational matters (Philips, 1988) (Obikez and Obi, 2004: 155- 157)

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1**

Briefly discuss the 1988 Civil Service Reform  
Outline the Objective of the Reform

#### **5.4 Art Evaluation of the 1988 Reform**

The reform package despite its lofty look failed almost completely in achieving its aims people now remember it mainly for the change in the nomenclature of Permanent Secretaries to Director-Generals and for politicising the civil service.

Many factors have been adduced as reasons behind the failure of the reforms. We will look at a few of them.

The first factor is corruption. Corruption ate deep into the civil service and rendered it impotent. The civil service became a hot bed for corruption and as such the efficiency and effectiveness which the reform sought to achieve remained a pipe dream. Nobody was interested in the lofty ideals of the reforms. People were more interested in looting the public treasury.

Another factor that accounts for the failure of the reform is the politicisation of the appointment of Director-Generals. Though the reforms objective of trying to “align the service with the form and spirit of presidentialism might look lofty; its implementation left much to be desired. It was hoped that Governors who were now empowered to appoint Director-General from where they deemed fit, would consider merit in exercising such powers. However, in actual practice, they saw it as an opportunity to reward political lackeys and errand boys. The position of Director-General became highly politicised. In some cases, fresh university graduates who had no experience at all were appointed to head ministries that had experienced civil servants, who in some cases had over thirty years experience. As expected, there were a lot of frictions.

This manner of appointments naturally affected morale of the top echelon of the civil service. Some of them felt that politics and politicians have invaded and desecrated the hallowed grounds of the service. Accusations of insubordination, sabotage, and lack of commitment became the order of the day. In such circumstances the reform couldn't have achieved anything meaningful. Thirdly according to Okoli and Onah the reform like its predecessors was based on faulty assumptions. The liberal

approach of the reforms focused on the perceived problems of the civil service which were lack of appropriate managerial and professional skills, absence of organisational machineries needed for social change lack of appropriate management techniques, antiquated personnel and financial management strategies and techniques, poor wages and inadequate incentives, inefficiency, ineffectiveness and low productivity.

By focusing on these problems the reform failed to ask the important questions of:

- a. Why did many professionalised and well trained public officers fail to perform in the past?
- b. Why we're existing machineries for public accountability weak?
- c. Why did corruption persist?
- d. Why we're existing punitive measures ineffective?
- e. Why did existing management practices and techniques not work satisfactorily?
- f. Why did some civil servants misuse their enormous administrative powers?

The reform simply failed to address these issues and could not see the limitation of the civil service in a neo-colonial capitalist state. Another factor which was reinforced by the corruption of that era was executive job insecurity. Citing Abubakar (1992), Okoli and Onah (2002) see the Babangida government's penchant for frequent change in executive leadership as a factor for the failure of the reform. Due to the fear of job security, those that occupied executive positions were much more pre-occupied with how much they will make before they will be removed, than with implementing government policies. The frequent changes which were necessitated by the need to allow the pie go round the 'boys' made every top government functionary believe that the position he is occupying is meant for him to better himself through corrupt practices and that he had just a little time to do this before it gets to another person's turn. Under this 'chop and go' attitude, it was just not possible to achieve the activities of the reform

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2

- |  |
|--|
| 1. Discuss the Art Evaluation of the 1988 Reform |
|--|



### 5.5 Summary

The unit discussed the features of the 1988 Civil Service Reforms for you to know its problems and prospect. The reform had since been reformed by the Ayida Panel of 1994 which is the next and last unit to be discussed in the course

The 1988 Civil Service Reform and its evaluation were disused. Since no reform has the overall solution to problems, the 1988 reforms was not an exception, and therefore, its shortcomings were remedied by the 1994reform



### **5.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

- Abubakar, H. I. (1992). "The Philosophy and Rationale for the Civil Service (Reorganisation) Decree No. 43." In: Yahaya, A.D. (Ed.). *New Trends in Personnel Management*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Okoli, F.C. & Onah, F.O. (2002). *Public Administration in Nigeria: Nature, Principles and Application*. Enugu: John Jacob's Classic Publisher Ltd.
- Obikeze, S.O. & Obi, E.A. (2004). *Public Administration in Nigeria: A Developmental Approach*. Onitsha: Book Point Ltd



## 5.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. The 1988 Civil Service Reform

The Federal Military Government in 1984 set up a panel to study the structure, staffing and operations of the federal civil service and make appropriate recommendations which will enhance efficiency, effectiveness and productivity in the service. The panel equally submitted its report in 1985. Military President, General Ibrahim Babangida announced the reform package. As at the time the reforms were introduced in 1988, the civil service was already in a terrible state characterised by: Over-centralisation; incessant conflicts between the cadres; Scant emphasis on results and concrete performance; excessive focus on compliance with regulations, forms and procedures, counter-productive separation of authority from responsibility at the top of the Civil Service hierarchy; dangerously low staff morale and productivity; inappropriate staff deployment practices which often ignored the profession or specialisation of staff, thereby putting square pegs in round holes in critical areas outside of the traditional registrable profession fields; and increasingly patent inability to cope effectively with the challenges of modern, complex and development hungry society. The above inevitable state of the nation's civil service resulted from long years of neglect by successive government that never bothered to invest in the civil service in the forms of office space, equipment materials, staff training, modern operational techniques, adequate staff remuneration and so on. The 1975 civil service purge by Murtala Mohammed equally adversely affected the civil service. These coupled with the fact that the Babangida regime embarked on a socio-economic restructuring of the nation through SAP and the fact that it was realised that a presidential system of government cannot be run successfully with a white hall civil service necessitated the reforms.

#### 2. Objective of the Reform

The reforms sought to:

- i. considerably enhance the degree of professionalism in the civil service
- ii. align the service with the form and spirit of presidentialism
- iii. ensure that its management and control systems are such as would no longer separate responsibility from authority at the top of the civil service hierarchy

- iv. install accountability (not only for money, but also for performance) as the unmistakably hallmark of the civil service systems
- v. ensure that the systems significantly enhance the degree of efficiency, effectiveness, promptness and speed of civil service operations
- vi. introduce considerable delegation of functions and power not only at the top but further down the line in the service

### **Answer to SAEs 2**

#### **1. Art Evaluation of the 1988 Reform**

The reform package despite its lofty look failed almost completely in achieving its aims people now remember it mainly for the change in the nomenclature of Permanent Secretaries to Director-Generals and for politicising the civil service.

Many factors have been adduced as reasons behind the failure of the reforms. We will look at a few of them.

The first factor is corruption. Corruption ate deep into the civil service and rendered it impotent. The civil service became a hot bed for corruption and as such the efficiency and effectiveness which the reform sought to achieve remained a pipe dream. Nobody was interested in the lofty ideals of the reforms. People were more interested in looting the public treasury.

Another factor that accounts for the failure of the reform is the politicisation of the appointment of Director-Generals. Though the reforms objective of trying to “align the service with the form and spirit of presidentialism might look lofty; its implementation left much to be desired. It was hoped that Governors who were now empowered to appoint Director-General from where they deemed fit, would consider merit in exercising such powers. However, in actual practice, they saw it as an opportunity to reward political lackeys and errand boys. The position of Director-General became highly politicised. In some cases, fresh university graduates who had no experience at all were appointed to head ministries that had experienced civil servants, who in some cases had over thirty years’ experience. As expected, there were a lot of frictions. This manner of appointments naturally affected morale of the top echelon of the civil service. Some of them felt that politics and politicians have invaded and desecrated the hallowed grounds of the service. Accusations of insubordination, sabotage, and lack of commitment became the order of the day. In such circumstances the reform couldn't have achieved anything meaningful. Thirdly according to

Okoli and Onah the reform like its predecessors was based on faulty assumptions.

## MODULE 4      MEANING, NATURE AND SCOPE OF GOVERNMENT

- Unit 1:      Meaning, Nature and Scope of Government  
 Unit 2:      Organs Of Government  
 Unit 3:      Classifications Of Government  
 Unit 4:      Forms/Types of Government

### UNIT 1:      MEANING, NATURE AND SCOPE OF GOVERNMENT

#### Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Concept of Government
  - 1.3.1 Functions of Government
  - 1.3.2 Government and State: Similarities and Dissimilarities
- 1.4 Summary
- 1.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 1.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



#### 1.1 Introduction

In our last unit, we discussed the features of the 1988 Civil Service Reforms for you to know its problems and prospect. The reform had since been reformed by the Ayida Panel of 1994. This unit will be discussing the in concept of government.



#### 1.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Explain the concept of government
- ii. Discuss the basic functions of government
- iii. Identify the difference between government and the State



#### 1.3 Concept of Government

Some people conceptualize "government" in an abstract way and, in most situations, disassociate themselves from the idea. Such people frequently refer to "government" when referring to things you cannot see with your eyes, such as funds, hospitals, offices, vehicles, etc. This belief explains why some individuals don't care when public funds are mismanaged or stolen by dishonest public officials, or when public infrastructure or properties are attacked during a demonstration against a public policy. This group of people is probably ignorant that the severe consequences of the vandalism they commit through taxation ultimately fall on the people (including themselves). However, some individuals think that only officials, including public/civil servants, members of the military and paramilitary, or foreign envoys are government. The truth is that these are merely government workers or agents, as government is the state's agent. While a result, the concept of governance must be considered outside these purviews or limiting definitions because it has to do with how individuals conduct themselves as they carry out their personal and community concerns. According to Wikipedia, a government is the organization, machinery, or agency, through which a political unit exercises its authority, regulates and administers public policy, and directs and governs the acts of its members or subjects. [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government) within the context of the social sciences, Frank Beasley (ed. 1999:147) defines government as "the specific set of persons, the administrative bureaucracy, who manage a (nation-) state at any one time. Their role is to enforce current laws, enact new ones, and mediate conflicts through their monopoly on violence.

According to Harold Barclay (1990:31), in some communities, this group is often self-perpetuating or hereditary. In some civilizations, such as democracies, political roles are maintained, but the people who perform them change frequently. In a word, you should grasp that in order for people or groups of people to live together, rules directing individual conduct in the wider community are required to preserve peace and stability. The central authority known as "government" chooses what is best for individuals and groups, as well as how to use its resources to produce the best living conditions for members. Can you image a society without transportation, water supply, a road network, and other social infrastructure? What if no one was in charge of ensuring that laws are written and followed, or of providing plans for where structures should go in order to keep our environment clean and safe? Many of these issues require government intervention.

What is government? Government refers to the body tasked with carrying out the central goals and purposes of a State (properly so named), and its structure can be understood either in terms of territory or functioning (Zakari, 2022). The orderly management and direction of a group of people's affairs in a structured society could be characterized as



government. State-created government may have a three-tiered geographic organization, as it does in Nigeria, with the Federal, States, and Local Government Councils. The constitution of the country recognizes each of these tiers, and it establishes various constituted authorities to manage the issues at each level. However, the structures or institutions of a government can also be viewed via this prism.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 1**

1. Explain the concept of government from various perspectives
2. Examine some primary duties of the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

#### **1.3.1 Functions of Government**

To appreciate the duties or roles of government in a society or a Nation-State, we should first discuss the state of nature as explained by Thomas Hobbes as the hypothetical condition of humanity before the evolution of modern states with the aid of the Social Contract theory. He submits that “the state of nature is the condition before the rule of positive law comes into being, thus being a synonym of anarchy.” In his book, *Leviathan* (1651, Ch.13), Hobbes describes man as selfish, pursuing his own interest at the expense of others in a condition he hypothetically explains as “kill whom you can and take away what you can and from this spring all possibilities of internecine warfare.” He concludes, “the state of nature is the ill, unhappy and intolerable condition of life. The life of man is solitary, nasty, poor, brutish and short.” It is against the background of the above scenario that there is the need for a central authority called “government” to be saddled with the primary responsibility of maintaining law and order in order to ensure peace and tranquility in the society. However, the extent and nature of duties undertaken by government in the modern societies are functions of the level of socio-economic development and the type of political system adopted by individual society. For instance, in democratic nations, the roles, powers and responsibilities of the government are set out in the constitution of such countries - e.g. Nigeria, United States of America, France, Canada, India, etc. For instance, the Preamble to the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended), gives an insight to the nature and extent of duties and obligations of the country. It says: WE THE PEOPLE of the Federal Republic of Nigeria: HAVING firmly and solemnly resolved .... TO LIVE in unity and harmony as one indivisible and indissoluble Sovereign Nation under God dedicated to the promotion of inter-African solidarity, world peace, international co-operation and understanding: ..... AND TO PROVIDE for a Constitution for the purpose of promoting the good government and welfare of all persons in our country on the principles of Freedom, Equity and Justice, and for the purpose of consolidating the Unity of our people ..... In the same vein,

the purpose and primary responsibilities of the government of the United States of America are enshrined in the Preamble to the Constitution of the country. It says: We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America. The above phrases from the Preamble describe purposes or functions of government but generally, what could be regarded as the primary duties of a government in a society are: Maintenance of law and order Protection of life and properties to guarantee individual's rights and liberties To defend the nation's corporate existence from either external invasion or internal insurrection by providing security through Land borders, Airspace and territorial waters Administration of justice and conflict resolution between the government and the citizens on the one hand, and amongst the citizens on the other In Chapter II of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended), other responsibilities - Political Objectives, Economic Objectives, Social Objectives and Educational Objectives - of the Federal government of Nigeria are clearly set out and well-articulated under "Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy". Section 13 states: It shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of government, and of all authorities and persons, exercising legislative, executive or judicial powers, to conform to, observe and apply the provisions of this Chapter of this Constitution. Section 14(2) (b) states that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government while under the Political Objective, the provisions of Sec. 15(2) states thus:..... Accordingly, national integration shall be actively encouraged, whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, sex, religion, status, ethnic or linguistic association or ties shall be prohibited ..... What could be regarded as the economic duties (Economic Objectives) of the Federal government of Nigeria are enshrined in Sec. 16(1-4), which states as follow: the State shall: Harness the resources of the nation and promote national prosperity and an efficient, a dynamic and self-reliant economy; Control the national economy in such manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity; Without prejudice to its right to operate or participate in areas of the economy, other than the major sectors of the economy, manage and operate the major sectors of the economy; Without prejudice to the right of any person to participate in areas of the economy within the major sectors of the economy, protect the right of every citizen to engage in any economic activities outside the major sectors of the economy.

### **1.3.2 Government and State: Similarities and Differences**

3.3.3 What is a State? A state is a geographical entity made up of people who have or believe they have the followings in common: culture, language, history, tradition, and religion in a fixed territory (boundary). The term State is interchangeably used to mean a Country or a Nation. A State is an independent and sovereign entity with a system of law and an organized government, which has certain administrative tasks to be carried out for its proper functioning. The government carries out these administrative tasks. This entity has the right to exercise power over the territory and the people. State is the territory in which the government can practice its authority. A state is like an organization and the government is like the management team. A State has the following characteristics: Sovereignty; Population; Territory and Government, which distinguish it from any other union or association. Government, on the other hand, is a political or ruling administration that serves as the agent or machinery through which the purpose or goals for which the State or Country is established are achieved. However, while State exists in perpetuity except it collapses, governments the world over change by elections or by other 13 13 means. Another difference is that while government functionaries are visible, State exists in a „spiritual realm“, you only hear references made to the State but you cannot see the entity called the State physically even though the day to day activities of the government are done in her name. Below is the summary of important distinctions between the State and government. The State has four elements like population; territory; government and sovereignty. Government is a narrow concept and it is an element of the State. The State is regarded as an organic concept, which the government is a part thereof. The State is more or less permanent and continues from time immemorial. But the government is temporary. It changes frequently. A government may come and go, but the State continues forever. It is a known fact that citizens are a member of the State but not all of them are members of the government. The government consists of only a few selected citizens. The organ of the government consists of only a few selected citizens. The State possesses sovereignty. Its authority is absolute and unlimited. Any other institution cannot take its power away. Government possesses no sovereignty, no original authority, but only derivative powers delegated by the State through its constitution. Powers of government are delegated and limited. The State is an abstract concept whereas government is a concrete one. Nobody sees the State and the State never acts. The government is a physical manifestation and it acts for the State. All States are identical in character and nature. Whether big or small, the characteristics of the State do not undergo changes. But governments are of different types and they may vary from State to State. Government may be based on democracy, monarchy, theocracy, or oligarchy. Various political scientists have given different classifications of government. Lastly, the citizens have a right to go against government and not against the State. The State only acts through the government and the government may make mistakes and may

be sanctioned for it but not the State. The State can do no wrong or make mistake, therefore, the citizens only have rights to go against the government and not the State.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 2**

1. Distinguish between the State and government



#### **1.4 Summary**

The unit discussed and thorough examined core functions of government, delving into how governments operate to provide essential services, maintain order, and regulate societal processes. Moreover, the lesson entailed a critical analysis aimed at distinguishing between the concept of government and the State, shedding light on the nuanced differences in terms of power structures, responsibilities, and levels of authority wielded by each entity in governing a populace. The exploration of these fundamental concepts served to deepen students' understanding of political systems and governance dynamics, fostering a comprehensive comprehension of the intricate mechanisms that underpin modern societies..



#### **1.5 References/Further Reading**

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Barclay, Harold (1990). People Without Government: An Anthropology of Anarchy. Left Bank Books. ISBN 1871082161 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended), Lagos, Government Press

Flint, Colin & Taylor, Peter (2007). Political Geography: World Economy, NationState, and Locality (5<sup>th</sup> ed.). Pearson/Prentice Hall. <http://books.google.com/books>



## 1.6 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Explain the concept of government from various perspectives

Conceptualize "government" in an abstract way and, in most situations, disassociate themselves from the idea. Such people frequently refer to "government" when referring to things you cannot see with your eyes, such as funds, hospitals, offices, vehicles, etc. This belief explains why some individuals don't care when public funds are mismanaged or stolen by dishonest public officials, or when public infrastructure or properties are attacked during a demonstration against a public policy. This group of people is probably ignorant that the severe consequences of the vandalism they commit through taxation ultimately fall on the people (including themselves). However, some individuals think that only officials, including public/civil servants, members of the military and paramilitary, or foreign envoys are government. The truth is that these are merely government workers or agents, as government is the state's agent. While a result, the concept of governance must be considered outside these purviews or limiting definitions because it has to do with how individuals conduct themselves as they carry out their personal and community concerns. According to Wikipedia, a government is the organization, machinery, or agency, through which a political unit exercises its authority, regulates and administers public policy, and directs and governs the acts of its members or subjects. [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government) within the context of the social sciences, Frank Beasley (ed. 1999:147) defines government as "the specific set of persons, the administrative bureaucracy, who manage a (nation-) state at any one time. Their role is to enforce current laws, enact new ones, and mediate conflicts through their monopoly on violence. According to Harold Barclay (1990:31), in some communities, this group is often self-perpetuating or hereditary. In some civilizations, such as democracies, political roles are maintained, but the people who perform them change frequently. In a word, you should grasp that in order for people or groups of people to live together, rules directing individual conduct in the wider community are required to preserve peace and stability. The central authority known as "government" chooses what is best for individuals and groups, as well as how to use its resources to produce the best living conditions for members

## **2. Examine some primary duties of the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.**

To appreciate the duties or roles of government in a society or a Nation-State, we should first discuss the state of nature as explained by Thomas Hobbes as the hypothetical condition of humanity before the evolution of modern states with the aid of the Social Contract theory. He submits that “the state of nature is the condition before the rule of positive law comes into being, thus being a synonym of anarchy.” In his book, *Leviathan* (1651, Ch.13), Hobbes describes man as selfish, pursuing his own interest at the expense of others in a condition he hypothetically explains as “kill whom you can and take away what you can and from this spring all possibilities of internecine warfare.” He concludes, “the state of nature is the ill, unhappy and intolerable condition of life. The life of man is solitary, nasty, poor, brutish and short.” It is against the background of the above scenario that there is the need for a central authority called “government” to be saddled with the primary responsibility of maintaining law and order in order to ensure peace and tranquility in the society. However, the extent and nature of duties undertaken by government in the modern societies are functions of the level of socio-economic development and the type of political system adopted by individual society.

### **Answers to SAEs 2**

#### **1. Distinguish between the State and government**

A state is a geographical entity made up of people who have or believe they have the followings in common: culture, language, history, tradition, and religion in a fixed territory (boundary). The term State is interchangeably used to mean a Country or a Nation. A State is an independent and sovereign entity with a system of law and an organized government, which has certain administrative tasks to be carried out for its proper functioning. The government carries out these administrative tasks. This entity has the right to exercise power over the territory and the people. State is the territory in which the government can practice its authority. A state is like an organization and the government is like the management team. A State has the following characteristics: Sovereignty; Population; Territory and Government, which distinguish it from any other union or association. Government, on the other hand, is a political or ruling administration that serves as the agent or machinery through which the purpose or goals for which the State or Country is established are achieved. However, while State exists in perpetuity except it collapses, governments the world over change by elections or by other 13 13 means. Another difference is that while government functionaries are visible, State exists in a „spiritual realm“, you only hear references made to the State but you cannot see the entity called the State physically even

though the day to day activities of the government are done in her name. Below is the summary of important distinctions between the State and government. The State has four elements like population; territory; government and sovereignty. Government is a narrow concept and it is an element of the State. The State is regarded as an organic concept, which the government is a part thereof. The State is more or less permanent and continues from time immemorial. But the government is temporary. It changes frequently. A government may come and go, but the State continues forever. It is a known fact that citizens are a member of the State but not all of them are members of the government. The government consists of only a few selected citizens. The organ of the government consists of only a few selected citizens.

**UNIT 2:     ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT****Unit Structure**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.1 Executive
  - 2.1.1 Composition of Executive
    - 2.1.2 Types of Executive - Single or Plural
    - 2.1.3 Functions of Executive
- 2.2 Legislature
  - 2.2.1 Composition of Legislature
  - 2.2.2 Functions of Legislature
  - 2.2.3 Types of Legislature - Bicameral or Unicameral
- 2.3 Judiciary
  - 2.3.1 Composition - Structure and Officials
  - 2.3.2 Functions of Judiciary
  - 2.3.3 Judicial Independence
- 2.4 Inter-relationship: Checks and Balances in action
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

**2.1 Introduction**

In our last unit, we discussed and thorough examined core functions of government and how governments operate to provide essential services, maintain order, and regulate societal processes. This unit will thorough examination of the composition of three pivotal branches of government namely the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary. Moreover, it robustly deliberated on the functions and intricacies of these bodies, highlighting the vital distinctions that exist between them. By critically analyzing and evaluating the mechanisms through which each of these organs operates as checks and balances on one another, the study sought to uncover the underlying principles that govern the harmonious coexistence and effective functioning of these branches within the broader framework of governmental structure and accountability.

**2.2 Learning Outcomes**

After studying this unit, you should be able to:



- i. Explain the composition of the Executive,
- ii. Legislature and the Judiciary
- iii. Discuss the functions and distinction between the bodies
- iv. Critically analyse how each of the organ acts as checks and balances on the other.



## 2.3 The Executive

### 2.3.1 Meaning and composition

The executive is the arm of the government composed of the followings: The President/Head of State or Head of government; Ministers; Civil Servants; Police and the Armed Forces. In Nigeria where there are three tiers of government, the Chief Executive at the level of state and local government, are the Governor (assisted by Commissioners) and the Council Chairman (assisted by Supervisory Councilors) respectively. In a democracy, the head of the Executive are elected by popular votes and they, in turn, appoint the Ministers, the Commissioners or the Supervisory Councilors, as the case may be, with the approval of the Legislature.

### 2.3.2 Types of Executives

The two most common types of executive are presidential and parliamentary, as practiced by the United States and the United Kingdom. Between these two models is the French executive model known as a quasi-parliamentary or quasi-presidential. The President is the real executive in the French model, although the Prime Minister and cabinet are under his supervision and, at the same time, accountable to the Parliament. As a result, the French model incorporates elements of both parliamentary and presidential forms of governance. The presidential system is a concept in which executive functions are vested in our Mr. President. Section 5(1)(a)(b) of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Constitution of 1999 (as amended) makes this clear.: The executive powers of the Federation shall be vested in the President and may be exercised by him either directly or through the Vice President and Ministers of the Government of the Federation or officers in the public service of the Federation, subject to the provisions of this Constitution, and shall extend the execution and maintenance of this Constitution, all laws made by the National Assembly has, for the time being, powers to make laws.

### 2.3.3 Functions of Executive

The executive formulates and then implements public policies and executes laws enacted by the Legislature. As stated earlier, this organ of government refers to all agencies and officials of government that get involved in the day-to-day running of the business of government. It directs, supervises and coordinates the policies, maintains law and order, promotes social services as well as initiates legislation, among other things.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 1

1. Examine the composition
2. types and functions of the Executive

## 2.2 The Legislature

### 2.2.1 Composition of Legislature

This is a branch of government made up of respectable men and women who are elected to serve the people in parliament from various seats (federal or state). In Nigeria, the central legislature is known as the National Assembly, and it is made up of two chambers: the Senate and the House of Representatives. The body is known as Congress in the United States of America, whereas Parliament in the United Kingdom is made up of the Houses of Commons and Lords.

### 2.2.2 Functions of Legislature

The Legislature's primary function is to enact legislation to ensure the people's peace, order, and good governance. Section 4(2) of the Federal Republic of Nigeria's 1999 (amended) Constitution states: 17 17 The National Assembly shall have the authority to pass legislation for the peace, order, and good governance of the Federation or any part of it on any of the issues enumerated in the Exclusive Legislative list..... However, it should be noted that modern legislatures do more than just pass legislation; they also carry out other constitutionally prescribed duties, all while keeping to the principle of checks and balances. They, for example, give oversight to the Executive. The Legislature's other important responsibilities include: budget approval by the Executive; and budget control.

### 2.2.3 Types of Legislature

There are legislatures that are either unicameral or bicameral. However, the topic of bicameralism has grown in relevance. A unicameral

legislature has only one chamber based on popular representation and is in charge of the full legislative function. This type of legislation is ideal for smaller countries with a reasonably homogeneous ethnic population. A bicameral legislature, on the other hand, is made up of two chambers, the Upper and Lower Houses. Because representation in the lower chamber is based on population rather than equal representation, the lower chamber has a more popular character and a stronger say in law making.

Members of both the Upper and Lower Houses are elected directly, as in Nigeria and some other countries, such as the United States Senate.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 2**

1. Discuss Bicameral and Unicameral Legislature
2. Functions of Legislature

## **2.3 Judiciary**

### **2.3.1 Structure and Officials**

The judiciary is the government's law-interpreting organ, and it is made up of the following bodies in Nigeria, in descending order of hierarchy: Supreme Court Chief Justice and Justices Court of Appeal President and Justices Sharia Court of Appeal Grand Khadi and Khadis Federal High Court Justices State High Court Judges Magistrates and Customary Court Presidents The judiciary is an autonomous branch of government whose role it is, among other things, to resolve problems between citizens, between central authority and component states, or between states and local government authorities. It has been widely agreed among intellectuals that the judicial power should be viewed in accordance with state legislation.

### **2.3.2 Functions of Judiciary**

The Judiciary's important functions are a priori included in its description - justice administration and dispensing - as a baseline prerequisite of any government in sustaining law and order, peace and calm in society. However, depending on the political system, the following functions of the judiciary could be listed:

- a) Adjudication The judiciary hears and decides matters, whether criminal, civil, or constitutional, based on the strength of the arguments offered by the parties involved. As a defender of citizens' fundamental human rights, the judiciary is the last hope of the average individual.
- b) Interpretation of Constitution In a federation like Nigeria, United States, Canada, etc, Judiciary acts as the custodian of the Constitution and

as arbitrator between the central and governments of the component units. Its decision (Supreme Court) is final on any constitutional matters arising between central authority and state governments. Stressing the indispensability of an independent and impartial court in a federal state to keep the governments within reasonable limits as laid down by the constitution. J. S. Mill says: It is evidently necessary not only that the constitutional limits of the authority of each should be precisely and clearly defined, but that the power to decide between them in any case of dispute should not reside in either of the Governments or in any functionary subject to it, but in an umpire independent of both..... (see Johari, 2007:401)

c) **Legislation** Although legislation is the Legislature's primary job, courts of law also produce laws in diverse ways through decided cases and judicial pronouncements. Where the law is silent, vague, or appears to contradict the letters and spirit of the constitution, the decision of the law courts governs as to what the law should be. No legislation, when enacted, can possibly anticipate all possible scenarios. As a result, judges are regularly called upon to make decisions based on concepts such as equity, natural justice, necessity, or good conscience in instances when no direct law is applicable. This results in the formation of precedents, which are used to decide future cases.

d) **The Advisory Judiciary** also advises the government, as the President may send certain subjects of public concern to the Supreme Court for clarification and guidance. Although such counsel is not legally binding, it has a strong influence on policy.

e) **Judicial Reconsideration** The judiciary serves as a check on both the executive and legislative branches of government by declaring actions/inactions of the government or laws that are inconsistent with the constitution to be illegal, null and void, and of no effect by a Court of competent jurisdiction. This is known as judicial review, and it is now a feature of the constitutional systems in Nigeria, the United States, Canada, Australia, and India.

### **2.3.3 Judicial Independence**

The question here is what it means by „judicial independence“ and what are the conditions required for judicial independence to exist? There has not been a consensus on this. The concept, to some, requires little more than life tenure for judges (Stephen Burbank, et al, 2002), while for others, judicial independence requires budgetary control (Pilar Domingo, 2000) or an appointment process that involves more than legislators doing the choosing (Erika Moreno, et al, 2003). Still other scholars tout the virtues of judicial independence without defining clearly, what they mean by

“independence” (Eugenia F. Toma, 1991) and others (such as legal realists and most political scientists) suggest that judges are at least partially independent because they exercise discretion with every decision. Judicial independence could mean a judiciary that is separated from other arms of government and immune from partisanship or undue influences from external bodies in the discharge of its constitutional responsibilities so impartially and expeditiously without fear or favour, affection or ill will. To achieve this, the following conditions ought to prevail in the polity.

a) Security of job A secured, long and fixed tenure are very important for judges to make their appointment secured and free from unnecessary manipulation or intimidation by the Executive. In Nigeria, a judge retires on the attainment of 65 years of age and their appointment is made on permanent basis after meeting certain requirements.

b) Mode of Appointment In some countries judges are elected but this might make them liable to political pressures whimsicalities but in Nigeria and some other countries in the world, judicial officers are appointed by the President/Governors on the recommendation of major stakeholders in the judiciary - National Judicial Council, and subject to ratification by the Legislature (see Sec. 231(1) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999, as amended). In addition, Article III of the United States Constitution establishes the Federal Courts as part of the Federal government responsibility. It provides that Federal judges, including judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, are appointed by the President "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." In order to maintain judicial independence the Constitution states further that, once appointed, Federal judges, both of the Supreme and inferior Courts shall:.....hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office. Federal judges vacate office only upon death, resignation, or impeachment and removal from office by Congress.

c) Better Salaries/Emoluments To ensure independence, judges should be paid better salaries and allowances. This is not only to attract brilliant lawyers to the bench but also to distract them away from corruption and unethical tendencies. In addition to this, salaries of judiciary are to be charged on the first line i.e. consolidated fund, which no other arm of government could manipulate for a purpose.

## **2.4 Interrelationship of governmental organs**

In contrast to the parliamentary type of democracy, where there is "fusion of powers," a presidential system of government effectively expresses the

notion of separation of powers. Despite the fact that the "separation of powers" idea is significant in the presidential system, the organs of government are not mutually exclusive. The practice of using power to check power, known as "checks and balances," does not necessarily violate the theory of separation of powers; it simply seeks to foster specific interrelationships among the organs in order to prevent misuse of power by any of the government's organs. Laws enacted by the Legislature, for example, are interpreted by the Judiciary and may be reversed.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 3**

1. Critically assess the three organs of government in a democracy
2. Discuss the term separation of power.



### **2.5 Summary**

This unit thorough examined the composition of three pivotal branches of government namely the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary. Moreover, it robustly deliberated on the functions and intricacies of these bodies, highlighting the vital distinctions that exist between them. By critically analyzing and evaluating the mechanisms through which each of these organs operates as checks and balances on one another, the study sought to uncover the underlying principles that govern the harmonious coexistence and effective functioning of these branches within the broader framework of governmental structure and accountability. The government is divided into three primary organs: executive, legislative, and judicial, all of which function concurrently and separately to achieve the government's goal as the agent of the state. Members of the Executive and Legislature are elected for a definite term (typically four years in Nigeria), whereas members of the Judiciary are appointed following a method outlined in the constitution for a defined tenure until reaching the retirement age (usually sixty-five in Nigeria). The three branches of government appear to be separate compartments in accordance with the idea of separation of powers, but there is interdependence between them in order to curb excesses, abuse of power, or dictatorships, which are detrimental to the life of the country.



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## 2.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Examine the composition

The executive is the arm of the government composed of the followings: The President/Head of State or Head of government; Ministers; Civil Servants; Police and the Armed Forces. In Nigeria where there are three tiers of government, the Chief Executive at the level of state and local government, are the Governor (assisted by Commissioners) and the Council Chairman (assisted by Supervisory Councilors) respectively. In a democracy, the head of the Executive are elected by popular votes and they, in turn, appoint the Ministers, the Commissioners or the Supervisory Councilors, as the case may be, with the approval of the Legislature

#### 2. Types and functions of the Executive

The two most common types of executive are presidential and parliamentary, as practiced by the United States and the United Kingdom. Between these two models is the French executive model known as a quasi-parliamentary or quasi-presidential. The President is the real executive in the French model, although the Prime Minister and cabinet are under his supervision and, at the same time, accountable to the Parliament. As a result, the French model incorporates elements of both parliamentary and presidential forms of governance. The presidential system is a concept in which executive functions are vested in our Mr. President. Section 5(1)(a)(b) of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Constitution of 1999 (as amended) makes this clear.: The executive powers of the Federation shall be vested in the President and may be exercised by him either directly or through the Vice President and Ministers of the Government of the Federation or officers in the public service of the Federation, subject to the provisions of this Constitution, and shall extend the execution and maintenance of this Constitution, all laws made by the National Assembly has, for the time being, powers to make laws

#### Functions of the Executive

The executive formulates and then implements public policies and executes laws enacted by the Legislature. As stated earlier, this organ of government refers to all agencies and officials of government that get involved in the day-to-day running of the business of government. It directs, supervises and coordinates the policies, maintains law and order,



promotes social services as well as initiates legislation, among other things

## **Answers to SAEs 2**

### **1. Discuss Bicameral and Unicameral Legislature**

There are legislatures that are either unicameral or bicameral. However, the topic of bicameralism has grown in relevance. A unicameral legislature has only one chamber based on popular representation and is in charge of the full legislative function. This type of legislation is ideal for smaller countries with a reasonably homogeneous ethnic population. A bicameral legislature, on the other hand, is made up of two chambers, the Upper and Lower Houses. Because representation in the lower chamber is based on population rather than equal representation, the lower chamber has a more popular character and a stronger say in law making. Members of both the Upper and Lower Houses are elected directly, as in Nigeria and some other countries, such as the United States Senate

### **2. Functions of Legislature**

The Legislature's primary function is to enact legislation to ensure the people's peace, order, and good governance. Section 4(2) of the Federal Republic of Nigeria's 1999 (amended) Constitution states: 17 17 The National Assembly shall have the authority to pass legislation for the peace, order, and good governance of the Federation or any part of it on any of the issues enumerated in the Exclusive Legislative list..... However, it should be noted that modern legislatures do more than just pass legislation; they also carry out other constitutionally prescribed duties, all while keeping to the principle of checks and balances. They, for example, give oversight to the Executive. The Legislature's other important responsibilities include: budget approval by the Executive; and budget control.

## **Answers to SAEs 3**

### **1. Critically assess the three organs of government in a democracy**

People expect competent and efficient governance in any civilized society, a role that only the government plays as one of the four key pillars of the State. As previously said, there is no State without a government that not only provides security but also takes after the people's basic necessities and supports their socioeconomic development. Modern governments, in general, rely on three pillars known as organs, and it is through these that the government functions. The three organs are the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary, but in recent years, the press

has come to be recognized as the "fourth estate of the realm" due to the vital responsibilities that mass communication media play in society.

## **2. Discuss the term separation of power.**

In contrast to the parliamentary type of democracy, where there is "fusion of powers," a presidential system of government effectively expresses the notion of separation of powers. Despite the fact that the "separation of powers" idea is significant in the presidential system, the organs of government are not mutually exclusive. The practice of using power to check power, known as "checks and balances," does not necessarily violate the theory of separation of powers; it simply seeks to foster specific interrelationships among the organs in order to prevent misuse of power by any of the government's organs. Laws enacted by the Legislature, for example, are interpreted by the Judiciary and may be reversed

## UNIT 3: Classifications of Government

### Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Classification of Governments
  - 3.1 Means of Classifying Governments
  - 3.2 Factors that Determine Types of Government
  - 3.3 Institutional Differentiation of Government
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 3.1 Introduction

In our last unit, we thorough examined the composition of three pivotal branches of government namely the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary. In this unit, we will discuss the diverse classifications that define and shape the functioning of governments worldwide. The comprehensive analysis not only highlighted the various typologies of government prevalent in different societies but also elucidated their core characteristics and distinguishing features. By comparing and contrasting different government systems, a deeper understanding was cultivated, allowing for a nuanced appreciation of the complexities and nuances inherent in governance models across the globe. Through a meticulous examination of the intricate web of political systems, this unit provided a holistic overview that underscored the importance of recognizing and appreciating the diverse manifestations of governance that exist within the dynamic tapestry of political landscapes.



### 3.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Explain various classifications of government
- ii. Discuss different types of government
- iii. Differentiate between different governments



### **3.1 Classification of Governments**

#### **3.1.1. Aristotle's Classification**

Aristotle categorised government in ancient times based on two principles: the number of people in whose hands the authority of the state is vested and the aim of the state, on which he postulates that the government is of two types - normal and perverted forms of government. He goes on to clarify that the former is one in which the ultimate goal of the government is the welfare of the people, whereas the perverted form is one in which the government machinery is utilized to promote the personal or group interests of the functionaries or a select few in society. The true goal of Aristotle's classification is to justify the superiority of a particular type of governance - mixed government - known as polity. "As regards the number of persons holding power, he says that the ruling power may reside in the hands of one, a few, or many Persons while the nature of the exercise of their authority may be either good or bad. He makes use of the grounds of quality and quantity of the ruling persons that Eventually enables him to justify polity as the best form of an attainable or a Practicable government (Johari, 2007:408)".

#### **3.1.2 Thomas Hobbes**

Hobbes was aware of other names of government such as Tyranny, Oligarchy and

Anarchy but he refused to consider them as other forms of government. According to him, those who were discontented under Monarchy called it Tyranny; those who were displeased with Aristocracy called it Oligarchy; and those who nursed some grudges against Democracy called it Anarchy (see Leviathan, p. 96-7).

#### **3.1.3 John Locke**

John Locke substantially follows Hobbes in his classification, with some differences of detail, he says, „according as the power of making laws is placed, such is the form of the commonwealth“. If the majority, in whom the whole power of the community is placed at the dawn of civil society, retains the legislative power in their own hands and executes those laws by officers of their own appointing, the form of the government is a perfect democracy. If they put the power of making laws into the hands of a few select men and their heirs or successors, then it is an oligarchy but if into the hands of one man, then, it is a monarchy either hereditary or elective.

### 3.1.4 Montesquieu (1699-1785)

Montesquieu, a French political philosopher, held that States are of three types, the republican, the monarchic and the despotic. If all or part of the people has the sovereign power, the State is a republic, a democratic or an aristocratic one. A monarchy is the rule of a single person according to law; a despotism, the rule of a single person arbitrarily. Montesquieu indicates the various principles animating the various forms of government, the sustaining and driving powers behind them. In a democracy, the citizens' principle of a republic takes the shape of love of country and desire for equality. That the members of a ruling class will be moderate towards the people, maintain equality among them and enforce the laws against persons of rank - this is the virtue of an aristocracy. The mainspring of monarchy is honour: the confidence or conceit of the individual and of the governing classes concerning their own special importance, a confidence that spurs men to accomplish things quite as much as virtue itself. Despotism requires neither virtue nor honour, but fear that suppresses both courage and ambition among subjects.

States or governments could be classified according to the type of political system in the country, with respect to who exercises the effective or nominal political powers.

Aristotle refers to the quality and quantity of the ruling persons, which makes him to conclude that polity is the best form of government attainable by a state (Johari, J.

C., 207:408). A state or government could be in the hands of one person, usually a

Monarch; or in the hands of a few people - an oligarchy; many people, usually in a democracy, could control the state.

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 1**

1. Critically examine various views of classification of government
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### 3.2 Factors that Determine Types of Government

Political scientists developed various typologies for defining political systems and types of government during the twentieth century, and there is no agreement on one optimal or ideal technique because the one chosen depends on the part of politics that most interests the people. (Leeds, C. A., 1981). Some of the factors are as follow:

**Modernity:** Countries differ in terms of per capita income, level of education, technological progress, industrialization, urbanization, and availability of social infrastructure. However, such characteristics are

highly inter-correlated because a country that falls short in one area is likely to fall short in another.

**Location of authority:** In a federal system, for example, the powers for making major decisions are split among the central, component units, and local authorities, and this is usually explained by the constitution. In a unitary system, the national government has the authority to make decisions on all political affairs, while the component units are at the mercy of the central authority.

**Integration:** This refers to the degree to which the apparatus of the state is intertwined with the actions of individuals and groups in society. In some circumstances, the exercise of state power is absolute, and in others, it is liberal or egalitarian. Anarchism, or belief in limited or no government, is a utopian concept, but on the other end of the spectrum is laissez-faire rule, in which the government limits itself to restricted obligatory functions that are regarded vital for the survival of the state. The following stage is the "mixed economy," in which the government performs considerable political and economic functions under the influence of state socialism. Totalitarianism is at the other end of the spectrum.

### **Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 2**

Q1. Examine factors determining typologies of government
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### **3.3 Institutional Differentiation of Government**

Ordinarily, identifying a form of government through institutions appears simple. Many individuals, for example, believe that the United States of America is a federal republic, whereas the defunct Soviet Union was a totalitarian state. However, defining a form of government is especially difficult when attempting to identify the characteristics that are necessary for that form. There is a huge difference between being able to recognize a type of governance and being able to identify the necessary attributes of that form of government. For example, when attempting to identify the basic features of a democracy, one would state "elections," "party system," "judicial independence," and so on. It should be mentioned, however, that the authorities in both the former Soviet Union and the United States of America laid some of these characteristics are claimed because residents voted for candidates for public office in their respective states. The problem with such a comparison is that most people are unlikely to accept it because it contradicts their perception of reality. Because most people will not accept an assessment that ranks the former Soviet Union as democratic as the United States, the concept's use is diminished.

As a result, creating a typology or nomenclature of polities has long been an aim in political science, as typologies of political systems are not clear, particularly in comparative politics and international relations (Lewellen, T. C., 2003). One method is to go into greater detail on the traits observed in each regime. The United States and the Soviet Union, for example, both held elections; however, one significant distinction between these two regimes is that the USSR had a single-party system, with all other parties prohibited. In contrast, the United States has an effective bipartisan system, with political parties that are controlled but not prohibited. In addition, most Westminster democracies such as in the United Kingdom or Commonwealth of Nations, there are usually at least three major parties. A system that is generally regarded as a representative democracy (for example, Canada, India, and the United States) may also include measures that provide for a degree of direct democracy in the form of referendums and deliberative democracy in the form of the lengthy processes required for constitutional amendment.

Another problem is that many political systems emerge from social movements and are subsequently taken into administration by specific parties named after those movements. Experience with those movements in power, as well as their strong linkages to specific forms of government, can lead to them being regarded as forms of government in their own right.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 3**

Q1. Analyse classification of government by institution
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#### **3.4 Summary**

The unit explored, examining the diverse classifications that define and shape the functioning of governments worldwide. The comprehensive analysis not only highlighted the various typologies of government prevalent in different societies but also elucidated their core characteristics and distinguishing features. By comparing and contrasting different government systems, a deeper understanding was cultivated, allowing for a nuanced appreciation of the complexities and nuances inherent in governance models across the globe. Through a meticulous examination of the intricate web of political systems, this unit provided a holistic overview that underscored the importance of recognizing and appreciating the diverse manifestations of governance that exist within the dynamic tapestry of political landscapes.

A political system is a system of politics and government that is similar to, but distinct from, the legal system, economic system, cultural system,

and other social systems. Political systems can be characterized on a continuum from left to right, for example, communism and capitalism. This, however, is a very simplified perspective of a far more complex system of categories involving ideas on who should have authority, how religious issues should be handled, and how the government's influence over its people and economy should be. From the foregoing, it has been demonstrated that by studying current and historical governments in a society, we should be able to explain principles through an inductive process.



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### 3.6 Possible Answers to SAEs

#### Answers to SAEs 1

#### Critically examine various views of classification of government

##### Thomas Hobbes

Hobbes was aware of other names of government such as Tyranny, Oligarchy and Anarchy but he refused to consider them as other forms of government. According to him, those who were discontented under Monarchy called it Tyranny; those who were displeased with Aristocracy called it Oligarchy; and those who nursed some grudges against Democracy called it Anarchy (see Leviathan, p. 96-7).

##### John Locke

John Locke substantially follows Hobbes in his classification, with some differences of detail, he says, „according as the power of making laws is placed, such is the form of the commonwealth“. If the majority, in whom the whole power of the community is placed at the dawn of civil society, retains the legislative power in their own hands and executes those laws by officers of their own appointing, the form of the government is a perfect democracy. If they put the power of making laws into the hands of a few select men and their heirs or successors, then it is an oligarchy but if into the hands of one man, then, it is a monarchy either hereditary or elective.

##### Montesquieu (1699-1785)

Montesquieu, a French political philosopher, held that States are of three types, the republican, the monarchic and the despotic. If all or part of the people has the sovereign power, the State is a republic, a democratic or an aristocratic one. A monarchy is the rule of a single person according to law; a despotism, the rule of a single person arbitrarily. Montesquieu indicates the various principles animating the various forms of government, the sustaining and driving powers behind them. In a democracy, the citizens' principle of a republic takes the shape of love of country and desire for equality that the members of a ruling class will be moderate towards the people, maintain equality among them and enforce the laws against persons of rank - this is the virtue of an aristocracy. The mainspring of monarchy is honour: the confidence or conceit of the individual and of the governing classes concerning their own special importance, a confidence that spurs men to accomplish things quite as

much as virtue itself. Despotism requires neither virtue nor honour, but fear that suppresses both courage and ambition among subjects. States or governments could be classified according to the type of political system in the country, with respect to who exercises the effective or nominal political powers. Aristotle refers to the quality and quantity of the ruling persons, which makes him to conclude that „polity“ is the best form of government attainable by a state (Johari, J. C., 207:408). A state or government could be in the hands of one person, usually a Monarch; or in the hands of a few people - an oligarchy; many people, usually in a democracy, could control the state.

## Answers to SAEs 2

### Examine factors determining typologies of government

Political scientists developed various typologies for defining political systems and types of government during the twentieth century, and there is no agreement on one optimal or ideal technique because the one chosen depends on the part of politics that most interests the people (Leeds, C. A., 1981). Some of the factors are as follow:

**Modernity:** Countries differ in terms of per capita income, level of education, technological progress, industrialization, urbanization, and availability of social infrastructure. However, such characteristics are highly inter-correlated because a country that falls short in one area is likely to fall short in another.

**Location of authority:** In a federal system, for example, the powers for making major decisions are split among the central, component units, and local authorities, and this is usually explained by the constitution. In a unitary system, the national government has the authority to make decisions on all political affairs, while the component units are at the mercy of the central authority.

**Integration:** This refers to the degree to which the apparatus of the state is intertwined with the actions of individuals and groups in society. In some circumstances, the exercise of state power is absolute, and in others, it is liberal or egalitarian. Anarchism, or belief in limited or no government, is a utopian concept, but on the other end of the spectrum is laissez-faire rule, in which the government limits itself to restricted obligatory functions that are regarded vital for the survival of the state. The following stage is the "mixed economy," in which the government performs considerable political and economic functions under the influence of state socialism. Totalitarianism is at the other end of the spectrum.

## Answers to SAEs 3

### Analyse classification of government by institution

Ordinarily, identifying a form of government through institutions appears simple. Many individuals, for example, believe that the United States of America is a federal republic, whereas the defunct Soviet Union was a totalitarian state. However, defining a form of government is especially difficult when attempting to identify the characteristics that are necessary for that form. There is a huge difference between being able to recognize a type of governance and being able to identify the necessary attributes of that form of government. For example, when attempting to identify the basic features of a democracy, one would state "elections," "party system," "judicial independence," and so on. It should be mentioned, however, that the authorities in both the former Soviet Union and the United States of America laid some of these characteristics are claimed because residents voted for candidates for public office in their respective states. The problem with such a comparison is that most people are unlikely to accept it because it contradicts their perception of reality. Because most people will not accept an assessment that ranks the former Soviet Union as democratic as the United States, the concept's use is diminished.

As a result, creating a typology or nomenclature of polities has long been an aim in political science, as typologies of political systems are not clear, particularly in comparative politics and international relations (Lewellen, T. C., 2003). One method is to go into greater detail on the traits observed in each regime. The United States and the Soviet Union, for example, both held elections; however, one significant distinction between these two regimes is that the USSR had a single-party system, with all other parties prohibited. In contrast, the United States has an effective bipartisan system, with political parties that are controlled but not prohibited. In addition, most Westminster democracies such as in the United Kingdom or Commonwealth of Nations, there are usually at least three major parties. A system that is generally regarded as a representative democracy (for example, Canada, India, and the United States) may also include measures that provide for a degree of direct democracy in the form of referendums and deliberative democracy in the form of the lengthy processes required for constitutional amendment.

Another problem is that many political systems emerge from social movements and are subsequently taken into administration by specific parties named after those movements. Experience with those movements in power, as well as their strong linkages to specific forms of government, can lead to them being regarded as forms of government in their own right.

## UNIT 4: FORMS/TYPES OF GOVERNMENT

### Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Objectives
- 4.3 Monarchy
  - 4.3.1 Some Merits and Demerits of Absolute Monarchy
  - 4.3.2 Aristocracy
  - 4.3.3 Theocracy
  - 4.3.4 Oligarchy
  - 4.3.5 Gerontocracy
  - 4.3.6 Plutocracy
  - 4.3.7 Dictatorship
  - 4.3.8 Democracy
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.4 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 4.5 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 4.1 Introduction

In our last unit of this module meticulously explored, examined diverse classifications that define and shape the functioning of governments worldwide. The comprehensive analysis not only highlighted the various typologies of government prevalent in different societies but also elucidated their core characteristics and distinguishing features. In this unit, we will discuss the various types of government systems, offering a comprehensive examination of each one. It will meticulously elucidate the advantages and disadvantages inherent in every type, providing a nuanced perspective that encouraged critical thinking and analysis. Moreover, the unit will facilitate a thorough exploration of the similarities and differences between different forms of government, fostering a deeper understanding of the complexities involved in governance structures. By fostering a well-rounded discussion and encouraging thoughtful comparisons, students were able to gain a more profound insight into the dynamics of various governmental systems and how they shape societies.



### 4.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Discuss different types of government
- ii. Explain the merits and demerits of each type
- iii. Compare and contrast different types of government



### 4.3 Monarchy

This is the earliest form of government, in which a King or Queen rules over the state. In an absolute monarchy, the King or Queen has unrestricted powers to control the country, and his/her authority is not subject to any legal constraints and cannot be contested because he/she is sovereign and it is assumed that he/she does no wrong, especially if the succession is hereditary. Perhaps to emphasize the powerful nature of the monarchy, King James I of England wrote in his book "The Trew Law of Free Monarchies (1603)":

Even if the King is wicked, it means God has sent him as a punishment for people's sins, and it is unlawful to shake off the burden that God has laid upon them. Patience, earnest prayer and amendment of their lives are the only lawful means to move God to relieve them of that heavy curse! (Appadorai, A., 1975:230) However, in an elective or constitutional monarchy, the King or Queen reigns but does not rule. The monarch's powers are controlled by the constitution; he/she is a nominal Head of State and only performs ceremonial functions, whilst a Prime Minister, who is nominated from from the elected Parliament, wields effective State powers as the Head government. In administration, the King or ceremonial President is required to accept the Prime Minister's or Ministers with cabinet rank's advise on occasion and can only enjoy obedience as acknowledged by the constitution or conventions. This is the practice in the United Kingdom, India, and the majority of Commonwealth countries. This system was used in Nigeria's First Republic (1960-1966), when Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was the ceremonial President (Head of State), performing dignified functions while Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was the Head of Government.

#### 4.3.1 Some Merits and Demerits of Absolute Monarchy

##### a) Merits

It is undeniable that monarchy is the oldest form of government and has survived through centuries to the modern era; thus, it has been regarded as the most stable system of government because succession is hereditary and the monarch cannot be removed from office through impeachment or a vote of no confidence. The system allows for less antagonism and rancor in decision-making because the monarch has the last say and is not required to listen to or take counsel from anyone. A monarch is viewed as the pivot of unification and the center of dispute settlement in African

contexts, ensuring peace and calm. Policy design and implementation are simplified and expedited.

Because of the monarchy's duration, there is consistency and continuity in both internal and foreign policies, which promotes long-term development.

#### **b) Demerits**

One of the most significant disadvantages of a monarchical system of administration is that it is undemocratic in nature and practice. The method of ascent to office is not based on popular elections or democratic principles, but rather on "divine right" as the sole qualification, which cannot be questioned. There are no citizens in this society; only subjects of the king have any rights to freedom except those provided by the monarch.

Because the system does not accommodate the notion of checks and balances, the monarch frequently becomes a despot and tyrant to the people. This explains why, in 1625, Oliver Cromwell organized a revolution that resulted in the assassination of King Charles I of England. Absolute monarchy is associated with inefficiency, corruption, nepotism, and high-handedness culminating into turning the subjects to sycophants in order to enter the good books of the monarch for patronage.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 1**

Q1. Examine the merits and drawbacks of monarchy as a form of government

#### **4.3.2 Aristocracy**

This is a government system in which a few wealthy, gifted, or nobles rule, which Rousseau literally translates as "administration by the best citizens" (Appadorai, A., 1975:134). The aristocracy's fulcrum is the respect afforded it by other members of society, which is usually strengthened more by actions than words. Aristocracy denotes the exercise of authority by a few individuals who are distinguished by their superiority, ability, and merit. Joharis (2007), defines it as „a type of government in which only a very small number of the citizens have a voice in the choice of public officials and in determining public policies“. Some of the aristocratic distinctions are as follows: Birth circumstances (aristocratic family) Education and culture and education (aristocracy of intellectuals) Military prowess or talent Property or wealth (aristocracy of landowners) Charismatic potentialities Religious position

In other words, aristocracy is the rule of a state by nobles or chief persons, a privileged class or patrician. Aristocrats or the elite class are those who

are viewed as superior to the rest of the community in rank, fortune, or intelligence.

## **Merits and Demerits of Aristocracy**

### **Merits of Aristocracy**

The conservatism of the aristocracy as a type of governance is one of its benefits. Conservatism is a key component of political stability and the health of the economy in the political system. The aristocracy prefers to grow gradually but steadily rather than believing in quick change and being opposed to foolish political experimentation. Aristocrats are reasonable out of concern for their own security because they are constantly aware that because there are more people than they are, using power excessively could cause unrest and instability in the polity. It is said that nature favors aristocracy because it produces inequality and uneven resource distribution across people and nations, allowing a select group of favored and gifted individuals to dominate.

### **Demerits of Aristocracy**

The biggest flaw of aristocracies is their propensity to quickly deteriorate into oligarchy and dictatorship. Because it prohibits widespread public engagement in the decision-making process on their affairs, it is anti-democratic.

The ruling class frequently despises the lower classes in society, which diminishes their intelligence and aptitude and renders the inflexible system ineffective because no human community is static.

### **Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 2**

Q1. Critically assess Aristocracy as a form of government
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#### **4.3.3 Theocracy**

This is a system of government in which a religious or Spiritual Leader is the Head of State or Head of government or both combined. According to Merriam-Webster online dictionary "it is a system in which a state is understood as governed by immediate divine guidance especially a state ruled by clergy, or by officials who are regarded as divinely guided". From the perspective of the theocratic government, "God Himself is recognized as the head" of the state, hence the term theocracy,

"rule of God", a term used by Josephus of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah (see Catholic Encyclopedia)".

A theocracy may have two "arms," but the state administrative hierarchy is subordinate to the religious hierarchy. The administrative hierarchy of the government in a theocracy is the same as the administrative hierarchy of the religion. This style of government should be separated from other secular ones that have a dominant state religion, are just affected by them, and monarchs that were formerly in power "By the Grace of God".

The Vatican City in Rome, where the Pope serves as both the Head of State and the Head of government, is an example of a theocratic administration. The only difference between the system and monarchy is that a theocrat's source of authority is not through hereditary succession like that of the King or Queen. Iran was another country that practiced theocracy under Sheik Ayathullah Khomeini.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 3**

Q1. Define Theocracy with relevant examples
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#### **4.3.4 Oligarchy**

"This is a form of government in which power structure effectively rests with a small number of people (Frank Elwell, 2006)". "These people could be distinguished by royalty; wealth; family ties; corporate or military control. Oligarchy is from Greek words, (oligos), "a few" (Darcy K. Leach, 2005)" and "the verb (archo), "to rule, to govern, to command" (Nicos P. Mouzelis, 1968)". Such states are frequently under the authority of a small number of powerful families that pass on their influence from one generation to the next.

Although some oligarchies have been comparatively benign throughout history, most have been oppressive and dependent on public service. The term "oligarchy" was first used by Aristotle as a euphemism for the rule of the wealthy; the correct term for this is plutocracy. However, oligarchy is not always a rule by wealth because oligarchs can simply be a privileged group and are not required to be related through bloodlines as in a monarchy. In some Greek city-states of antiquity, oligarchies existed.

#### **Iron Law of Oligarchy**

The iron law of oligarchy is a political theory, first developed by the German sociologist Robert Michels in his book, *Political Parties* (1911). It states that "all forms of organization, regardless of how democratic or autocratic they may be at the start, will eventually develop into oligarchies".



Following are the reasons for this process:

- i. The indispensability of leadership;
- ii. The tendency of all groups, including the organization leadership, to defend
- iii. their interests; and
- iv. The passivity of the led individuals, more often than not taking the form of
- v. actual gratitude towards the leaders

He concluded that the “formal organization of bureaucracies inevitably leads to oligarchy, under which organizations originally idealistic and democratic eventually become dominated by a small, self-serving clique who pervert the positions of power and responsibility”. Large companies are susceptible to this because it becomes physically impractical for everyone to gather each time a decision needs to be taken. Imagine all the Ordinary Shareholders of a reputable Commercial Bank, such as UBA, or a bottling corporation, such as Coca-Cola, getting together to manage the day-to-day operations of the business. Therefore, the authority to make such choices is delegated to a small group. Michels believes that “the people in this group would become engrossed with their elitist positions and becoming more fascinated in making decisions that protect their power rather than represent the will of the group they are supposed to serve”. In essence, he asserts that democracy and bureaucracy are incompatible. Those put in positions of authority and responsibility frequently learn to believe that they are also indispensable and more knowledgeable than those they serve, despite any protestations and assurances that they would not become like all the others. They eventually grow more apart from the ordinary members.

Robert Michels “found a contradiction in the socialist parties of Europe that despite their democratic ideology and provisions for mass participation, seemed to be dominated by their leaders, just like traditional conservative parties. His conclusion was that the problem lay in the very nature of organizations. The more liberal and democratic modern era allowed the formation of organizations with innovative and revolutionary goals, but as such organizations become more complex, they became less and less democratic and revolutionary. He formulates the "Iron Law of Oligarchy": "Who says organization, says oligarchy."

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 4**

Critically assess this statement, “He who says organization says oligarchy”
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### 4.3.5 Gerontocracy

A polity is governed under this system by individuals who are recognized as senior citizens because they are considerably older than the majority of the adult population. Political power frequently accumulates with age within the ruling class due to the political framework, with the oldest typically holding the most influence. Even though they may not have official leadership roles, persons in positions of authority frequently control others who do. The pre-colonial Ibadan confederacy served as an illustration of this, where the job of leader was never up for election and still isn't. A similar form of government is also prevalent in communist countries, where the length of one's party membership is regarded as the primary qualification for leadership.

Paul Spencer (1965) describes “Samburu society in Kenya as a gerontocracy”.

According to Spencer, the “power of elders is linked to the belief in their curse, underpinning their monopoly over arranging marriages and taking on further wives”.

This is done at the expense of younger, single males, whose social development up to the age of thirty is suspended, prolonging their adolescent status. The paradox of Samburu gerontocracy is that the public's attention is drawn to the glitter and immoral behavior of these free-spirited bachelors, which includes gang warfare, widespread accusations of infidelity with older men's wives, and stock theft. However, the system's biggest strength—and one that may be better for nations or cultures that promote values that remain constant over time—is the stability it offers. However, due of out-of-date concepts and diminished faculties brought on by age, the system may not be fashionable in current societies' institutions, which must deal with rapid change.

### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 5

Discuss gerontocracy
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### 4.3.6 Plutocracy

A plutocracy is a kind of government in which the richest members of society exert significant political influence. For instance, the United States is a plutocracy where money and power are combined. The wealthy minority has many different ways of influencing politics. Political parties routinely take significant payments from diverse people either directly or through corporations or advocacy groups, and the majority of western

democracies authorize partisan organizations to raise money for politicians.

These contributions can be a result of a patronage system, where big donors and fund-raisers are rewarded with high-ranking government positions. Politicians have a personal interest in meeting the needs of their campaign contributors; if they don't, those contributors will probably donate their money to candidates who will support their interests in the future. Campaign contributions need not directly influence the legislative decisions of elected representatives. Politicians typically support measures that benefit their supporters or appoint them to government jobs unless there is a strict constitutional restriction. Extremely wealthy people have occasionally funded their own political campaigns. Many businesses and commercial interest groups use lobbyists to communicate often with elected officials and press for their interests.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 6**

Explain Plutocracy as a form of government
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#### **4.3.7 Dictatorship**

A dictatorship is a form of governance where power is vested in one person, hence the name. a government that is run by just one person or a select few. In this type of governance, the sole source of authority is a single person or group of people who can acquire it through inheritance or coercion. The dictator(s) may also restrict the freedom of the majority of the populace. This kind of administration gained popularity soon after the First World War (WWI), when Kamal Ataturk's government in Turkey, Joseph Stalin's government in Russia, and Benito Mussolini's government in Italy from 1925 to 1943 all demonstrated it. Others include Gen. Francisco of Spain and Adolf Hitler, who ruled Germany from 1933 to 1945. A dictator often does not come into power through popular vote or appointment; rather, he arises in a particular situation and holds onto power until his death or until he is forced to step down. The power of dictatorship is enormous, and he gives his autocratic position an ideological twist. A dictator is a totalitarian ruler who tolerates no challenge to his control. Good examples of contemporary African dictators are the late Gen. Sani Abacha of Nigeria, Field Marshall Dada Idi Amin of Uganda, and Col. Mohammad Gaddafi of Libya. Dictatorship is anti-democratic since the government's authority is not controlled or regulated by the constitution, therefore, the government is not accountable responsible or responsive to the people.

### **Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 7**

Define dictatorship as a form of government with relevant examples
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### 4.3.8 Democracy

“This is the most popular form of government, which has become a benchmark for measuring the level of socio-political civilization of any society or a nation in the international community. What makes democracy popular and peculiar is that „it is a form of state, a form of government, a form of society, and, above all, an ethical idea or a way of life(Johari, J. C., 2001:429)”. Where the rule of law is upheld and authority is truly placed in the people of the state, or what is known as political sovereignty, democracy triumphs. If the constitution firmly establishes the residence of sovereignty and the fundamental rights of citizens, a state will become democratic regardless of its administrative structure.

The term "democracy" is derived from the Greek terms "demos," which means "people," and "kratia," which means "rule," and which connotes "government by the people." Because democracy's definition varies depending on the society, it can be challenging to describe. But if we make an effort to define the idea, we can get to the conclusion that it refers to a form of governance in which the majority of the populace participates in making decisions. a framework that acknowledges everyone as a stakeholder in a venture or joint stock corporation. However, Abraham Lincoln's description of democracy as "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" is the most widely used definition today.

#### Elements of Democracy

The following characteristics must not only be present in the environment but also be fostered by the populace for a society to be considered democratic:

##### a) **Periodic elections**

Every adult eligible to vote should take part in elections to choose their leaders, and the outcomes of such elections should be representative of the will of the people. These elections should be held on a regular basis, such as every three to four years.

##### b) **Independent Judiciary**

Not only must the judiciary be above board in the administration of justice, but the courts in the land must be independent of the Executive and all other branches of government.

##### c) **Free Press**

Without concern for being detained or harassed by the authorities, the journalists and mass media should be free to inform the public. Media professionals should be allowed unrestricted access to information so they

can enlighten the public about government policies and provide the administration with feedback on the sentiments and desires of the populace.

#### **d) Open Competition**

Instead of a situation where the populace is forced to align themselves with a single party, democracy thrives when there are alternatives in terms of political philosophies, manifestos, and programs. People should be able to choose which political parties to join and how much they want to get involved in politics and the administration. Democracy is about having the ability to choose, which is only possible under a multi-party system, hence this is a prerequisite.

### **Merits of Democracy**

Scholars almost universally agree that this form of governance is the finest since it encourages widespread public engagement and acknowledges the people as the true holders of political sovereignty. It enables the people to select leaders who can be replaced periodically through the electoral process, the only peaceful method of doing so, as opposed to those who support violent change when peaceful change is no longer possible.

Being aware that they have the authority to choose and replace their leaders gives the populace a sense of pleasure and belonging. As a result, people won't consider using illegal measures to obtain the authority to influence government. They would rather wait until election season to make changes, even if the leadership and governance are poor.

Democracy is ranked highly because it is a system that educates the populace about how the government functions. This is accomplished through interactions between various governmental entities, political parties, non-governmental organizations, and the free press, which the system tolerates, in contrast to a totalitarian regime.

Above all, democracy is claimed to be the only viable option because it upholds and respects citizens' fundamental human rights as well as judicial rulings on all matters.

### **Demerits of Democracy**

As the proverb goes, "There is no rose without thorns," so democracy, as lovely as it may seem, also has its own disadvantages, some of which are listed below:

Democracy has the drawback of encouraging mediocrity because, in democratic elections, the "best" candidate does not necessarily prevail in either the primary or general election to represent the people. Many political officials frequently become benchwarmers and sycophants as a result of their educational or other shortcomings, which leave them susceptible to the moral and intellectual superiority of others.

The associated high expense of government is another disadvantage of democracy. The National and State Assemblies, the Executives, and the entourage of personal aides attached to each of the offices require a sizeable portion of the nation's income to be maintained. Periodically, huge sums of money are required for elections and electioneering campaigns, which could have been avoided under a non-democratic regime. Democracy is often blamed for encouraging continuity and sluggish development if power is transferred through elections too frequently. The new administration may have a tendency to scrap existing policies and programs in order to start over and prove to the voters that it is keeping its word. Additionally, making a decision requires a lot of time and resources.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 8**

Critically assess democracy against any other form of government
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#### **4.4 Summary**

The unit delved deeply into the intricacies of various types of government systems, offering a comprehensive examination of each one. It meticulously elucidated the advantages and disadvantages inherent in every type, providing a nuanced perspective that encouraged critical thinking and analysis. Moreover, the unit facilitated a thorough exploration of the similarities and differences between different forms of government, fostering a deeper understanding of the complexities involved in governance structures. By fostering a well-rounded discussion and encouraging thoughtful comparisons, students were able to gain a more profound insight into the dynamics of various governmental systems and how they shape societies.



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## 4.6 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### **Examine the merits and drawbacks of monarchy as a form of government**

##### **a) Merits**

It is undeniable that monarchy is the oldest form of government and has survived through centuries to the modern era; thus, it has been regarded as the most stable system of government because succession is hereditary and the monarch cannot be removed from office through impeachment or a vote of no confidence. The system allows for less antagonism and rancor in decision-making because the monarch has the last say and is not required to listen to or take counsel from anyone. A monarch is viewed as the pivot of unification and the center of dispute settlement in African contexts, ensuring peace and calm. Policy design and implementation are simplified and expedited.

Because of the monarchy's duration, there is consistency and continuity in both internal and foreign policies, which promotes long-term development.

##### **b) Demerits**

One of the most significant disadvantages of a monarchical system of administration is that it is undemocratic in nature and practice. The method of ascent to office is not based on popular elections or democratic principles, but rather on "divine right" as the sole qualification, which cannot be questioned. There are no citizens in this society; only subjects of the king have any rights to freedom except those provided by the monarch.

Because the system does not accommodate the notion of checks and balances, the monarch frequently becomes a despot and tyrant to the people. This explains why, in 1625, Oliver Cromwell organized a revolution that resulted in the assassination of King Charles I of England. Absolute monarchy is associated with inefficiency, corruption, nepotism, and high-handedness culminating into turning the subjects to sycophants in order to enter the good books of the monarch for patronage.



**Answers to SAEs 2****Critically assess Aristocracy as a form of government**

This is a government system in which a few wealthy, gifted, or nobles rule, which Rousseau literally translates as "administration by the best citizens" (Appadorai, A., 1975:134). The aristocracy's fulcrum is the respect afforded it by other members of society, which is usually strengthened more by actions than words. Aristocracy denotes the exercise of authority by a few individuals who are distinguished by their superiority, ability, and merit. Joharis (2007), defines it as „a type of government in which only a very small number of the citizens have a voice in the choice of public officials and in determining public policies“. Some of the aristocratic distinctions are as follows: Birth circumstances (aristocratic family) Education and culture and education (aristocracy of intellectuals) Military prowess or talent Property or wealth (aristocracy of landowners) Charismatic potentialities Religious position

In other words, aristocracy is the rule of a state by nobles or chief persons, a privileged class or patrician. Aristocrats or the elite class are those who are viewed as superior to the rest of the community in rank, fortune, or intelligence

**Answers to SAEs 3****Define Theocracy with relevant examples**

This is a system of government in which a religious or Spiritual Leader is the Head of State or Head of government or both combined. According to Merriam-Webster online dictionary "it is a system in which a state is understood as governed by immediate divine guidance especially a state ruled by clergy, or by officials who are regarded as divinely guided". "From the perspective of the theocratic government, "God Himself is recognized as the head" of the state, hence the term theocracy, "rule of God", a term used by Josephus of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah (Catholic Encyclopedia)".

A theocracy may have two "arms," but the state administrative hierarchy is subordinate to the religious hierarchy. The administrative hierarchy of the government in a theocracy is the same as the administrative hierarchy of the religion. This style of government should be separated from other secular ones that have a dominant state religion, are just affected by them, and monarchs that were formerly in power "By the Grace of God".

**Examples**

The Vatican City in Rome, where the Pope serves as both the Head of State and the Head of government, is an example of a theocratic administration and Iran was another country that practiced theocracy under Sheik Ayathullah Khomani.

**Answers to SAEs 4**

**Critically assess this statement, “He who says organization says oligarchy”**

Robert Michels “found a contradiction in the socialist parties of Europe, that despite their democratic ideology and provisions for mass participation, seemed to be dominated by their leaders, just like traditional conservative parties. His conclusion was that the problem lay in the very nature of organizations. The more liberal and democratic modern era allowed the formation of organizations with innovative and revolutionary goals, but as such organizations become more complex, they became less and less democratic and revolutionary. He formulates the "Iron Law of Oligarchy": "Who says organization, says oligarchy."

**Answers to SAEs 5****Discuss gerontocracy**

A polity is governed under this system by individuals who are recognized as senior citizens because they are considerably older than the majority of the adult population. Political power frequently accumulates with age within the ruling class due to the political framework, with the oldest typically holding the most influence. Even though they may not have official leadership roles, persons in positions of authority frequently control others who do. The pre-colonial Ibadan confederacy served as an illustration of this, where the job of leader was never up for election and still isn't. A similar form of government is also prevalent in communist countries, where the length of one's party membership is regarded as the primary qualification for leadership. Paul Spencer (1965) describes “Samburu society in Kenya as a gerontocracy”.

According to Spencer, the “power of elders is linked to the belief in their curse, underpinning their monopoly over arranging marriages and taking on further wives”.

This is done at the expense of younger, single males, whose social development up to the age of thirty is suspended, prolonging their adolescent status. The paradox of Samburu gerontocracy is that the

public's attention is drawn to the glitter and immoral behavior of these free-spirited bachelors, which includes gang warfare, widespread accusations of infidelity with older men's wives, and stock theft.

However, the system's biggest strength—and one that may be better for nations or cultures that promote values that remain constant over time—is the stability it offers. However, due to out-of-date concepts and diminished faculties brought on by age, the system may not be fashionable in current societies' institutions, which must deal with rapid change.

### **Answers to SAEs 6**

#### **Explain Plutocracy as a form of government**

A plutocracy is a kind of government in which the richest members of society exert significant political influence. For instance, the United States is a plutocracy where money and power are combined. The wealthy minority has many different ways of influencing politics. Political parties routinely take significant payments from diverse people either directly or through corporations or advocacy groups, and the majority of western democracies authorize partisan organizations to raise money for politicians.

These contributions can be a result of a patronage system, where big donors and fund-raisers are rewarded with high-ranking government positions. Politicians have a personal interest in meeting the needs of their campaign contributors; if they don't, those contributors will probably donate their money to candidates who will support their interests in the future. Campaign contributions need not directly influence the legislative decisions of elected representatives. Politicians typically support measures that benefit their supporters or appoint them to government jobs unless there is a strict constitutional restriction. Extremely wealthy people have occasionally funded their own political campaigns. Many businesses and commercial interest groups use lobbyists to communicate often with elected officials and press for their interests.

### **Answers to SAEs 7**

#### **Define dictatorship as a form of government with relevant examples**

A dictatorship is a form of governance where power is vested in one person, hence the name. a government that is run by just one person or a select few. In this type of governance, the sole source of authority is a single person or group of people who can acquire it through inheritance or coercion. The dictator(s) may also restrict the freedom of the majority

of the populace. This kind of administration gained popularity soon after the First World War (WWI), when Kamal Ataturk's government in Turkey, Joseph Stalin's government in Russia, and Benito Mussolini's government in Italy from 1925 to 1943 all demonstrated it. Others include Gen. Francisco of Spain and Adolf Hitler, who ruled Germany from 1933 to 1945. A dictator often does not come into power through popular vote or appointment; rather, he arises in a particular situation and holds onto power until his death or until he is forced to step down. The power of dictatorship is enormous, and he gives his autocratic position an ideological twist. A dictator is a totalitarian ruler who tolerates no challenge to his control.

### **Good examples of:**

1. Contemporary African dictators are the late Gen. Sani Abacha of Nigeria,
2. Field Marshall Dada Idi Amin of Uganda, and Col. Mohammad Gaddafi of Libya. Dictatorship is anti-democratic since the government's authority is not controlled or regulated by the constitution, therefore, the government is not accountable responsible or responsive to the people.

### **Answers to SAEs 8**

#### **Critically assess democracy against any other form of government**

Instead of a situation where the populace is forced to align themselves with a single party, democracy thrives when there are alternatives in terms of political philosophies, manifestos, and programs. People should be able to choose which political parties to join and how much they want to get involved in politics and the administration. Democracy is about having the ability to choose, which is only possible under a multi-party system, hence this is a prerequisite.

#### **Merits of Democracy**

Scholars almost universally agree that this form of governance is the finest since it encourages widespread public engagement and acknowledges the people as the true holders of political sovereignty. It enables the people to select leaders who can be replaced periodically through the electoral process, the only peaceful method of doing so, as opposed to those who support violent change when peaceful change is no longer possible.

Being aware that they have the authority to choose and replace their leaders gives the populace a sense of pleasure and belonging. As a result, people won't consider using illegal measures to obtain the authority to

influence government. They would rather wait until election season to make changes, even if the leadership and governance are poor. Democracy is ranked highly because it is a system that educates the populace about how the government functions. This is accomplished through interactions between various governmental entities, political parties, non-governmental organizations, and the free press, which the system tolerates, in contrast to a totalitarian regime.

Above all, democracy is claimed to be the only viable option because it upholds and respects citizens' fundamental human rights as well as judicial rulings on all matters.

## MODULE 5      TYPES OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Unit 1	Types of Political Systems
Unit 2	The Evolution of Federal System in Nigeria
Unit 3	Intergovernmental Relations
Unit 4	The Military in Politics
Unit 5	Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria
Unit 6	The Concept of Corruption
Unit 7	Nation-States and Challenges of Nigeria as A Nation – States

### UNIT 1      TYPES OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

#### Unit Structure

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Learning Outcomes
- 5.3 Types of Political Systems
  - 5.3.1 Monarchy
  - 5.3.2 Absolute monarchy
  - 5.3.3 Constitutional Monarchy
  - 5.3.4 Aristocracy
  - 5.3.5 Theocracy
  - 5.3.6 Totalitarianism/Dictatorship
- 5.4 Summary
- 5.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 5.6 Possible Answers to SAEs



#### 5.1 Introduction

The last unit discussed the various types of government systems, offering a comprehensive examination of each one. It meticulously elucidated the advantages and disadvantages inherent in every type, providing a nuanced perspective that encouraged critical thinking and analysis. This unit will be discussing various forms of government. These encompassed the traditional system of Monarchy, where a single individual, typically a king or queen, holds supreme authority over the state. Absolute monarchy, a subcategory, entailed unchecked authority with no limitations often seen in historical contexts. Constitutional Monarchy emerged as a compromise between monarchical power and a constitution that specifies the division of authority and limits the monarch's powers.

Furthermore, the concept of Aristocracy will be explored, illustrating a governing body comprised of the highest social class, usually hereditary nobility. Theocracy will be discussed, highlighting a system of governance where religious leaders hold political power based on their perceived divine authority. Lastly, Totalitarianism or Dictatorship will be analyze, depicting a form of autocratic rule characterized by a central authority exercising absolute power over all aspects of public and private life. By delving into these different governmental structures, the unit aimed to provide a comprehensive understanding of the diverse ways societies can be organized and governed.



## 5.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Analyse the characteristics of various forms of governments.
- Discuss how political organizations have evolved from one to another form of government.
- Explain which of the system of government is for the safety of the rights of the citizens.



## 5.3 Types of Political Systems

### 5.3.1 Monarchy

Monarchy is the first and oldest type of government. Simply put, it is a type of government where the head of state has no legal restraints and is free to act however he pleases. A monarchy is a form of government where a Queen, King, or Emperor is in charge. The United Kingdom and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are two examples. In contrast to Saudi Arabia's absolute monarchy, a constitutional monarchy is one that is bound by legal restrictions like the United Kingdom. It should be emphasized, though, that while hereditary monarchy is the most common variety, elective monarchies are also possible. Therefore, the personification of the grandeur and sovereignty of the state in an official capacity is the essence of monarchy.

A stable political system can be created by a monarchy, which is also a natural institution where submission to the king is equated with submission to God. The most recent example of a monarchy in operation is undoubtedly in Britain.

In fact, the British monarchy had changed from the Tudor era's absolute monarchy to Queen Elizabeth's constitutional monarchy. This change resulted from the Puritan uprising that broke out between the King and the parliament. After what became known as the Glorious Revolution in 1688, it was later settled bloodily. The following are some monarchy's characteristics: An ancient type of administration known as monarchy places the power of the state in the hands of a king, emperor, or queen. A monarchical form of government has some advantages:

Monarchy can bring about a stable political system; it is a natural institution where obedience to the king is seen as obedience to God and



thus promotes total loyalty to the state; and it is a natural institution where obedience to the king is seen as obedience to God and thus promotes total loyalty to the state. Only when supreme authority is vested in a single monarch can a stable political system be ensured. Monarchy could be used in an emergency case where the state requires the people's full loyalty to the government of the day. Decision-making in a monarchical system is faster because the monarch does not need to consult anyone before making necessary and urgent decisions.

- Monarchy serves to balance competing interests and prevents conflict. Democratic principles may be grafted into, as Britain has done admirably.
- The following are some of the drawbacks of monarchy:

Good intentions, ability, and industry are not inherited traits. As a result, a king may be a poor leader. A monarch may also be tyrannical in order to keep the people weak and unable to resist him. Monarchy Forms- There are two kinds of monarchies: hereditary and elective.

### **5.3.2 Absolute monarchy**

Occurs when no formal constitutional authority exists to curb the king's power. As both the head of government and the head of state, the king rules. Before the French Revolution, examples include Frederick the Great of Russia, the Queen of England, and Louis XIV of France. Countries with hereditary monarchies include the United Kingdom.

### **5.3.3 Constitutional Monarchy**

The constitution governs the power of a constitutional monarch. Only legislation agreed upon by the decision of the elected parliament, as in the United Kingdom, can be promulgated by the monarch. He or she is also required to follow not only the spirit of the constitution but also the laws of the state. He only gives his consent to laws passed by the elected legislature. The United Kingdom is an excellent example of a constitutional monarchy.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 1**

Describe the differences between absolute and constitutional monarchy.

### **5.3.4 Aristocracy**

Aristocracy is a government led by the best citizens; virtue: moral and intellectual superiority distinguishes the aristocrat from others. Because the aristocrat possesses these traits in abundance, he just assumes

leadership; he is not required to explain or justify his claims to superiority or positions of leadership.

In sum, his actions, not his words, speak to his dominance. In the view of Appadoria (2004), “any time an aristocrat is compelled to justify his power, it will be proof that his position is crumbling.”

An aristocracy is distinguished by noble birth (aristocracy of family), culture and education (aristocracy of priests or scholars), age (aristocracy of elders), military distinction (aristocracy of knight), or property (aristocracy of landowners). Aristocracy as a system of government has been defended by several scholars. "It is the everlasting privilege of the foolish to be governed by the intelligent," remarked Carlyle. Rousseau also claimed that the wisest should govern the many since it is the best and most natural arrangement. Montesquieu also observed that aristocracy typically exemplify the great virtue of moderation. This trait also causes them to be cautious in their leadership role so as not to incite opposition from the ranks of the masses, who have the benefit of numbers. Plato did, in fact, compare democracy to mob rule, arguing that if a few people of high quality were allowed to reign, they could accomplish better for society. Although Aristotle was not as skeptical of democracy as Plato, he favored aristocracy over democracy. He even maintained that, under certain circumstances, the judgment of a few could be equal to or wiser than the will of many. According to Aristotle, “the upper class contained people of the greater refinement or quality and as such they were best equipped to provide better government for the society as a whole (Baradat 2000:67)”.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 2**

Analyse the differences between monarchy and aristocracy.
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#### **5.3.5 Theocracy**

Theocracy is a government by divine guidance or by officials who are regarded as divinely guided. “Theocracy means literally the rule of God and the term was invented by Josephus (AD38-c. 100)”, to describe the ancient Hebrew constitution and the role of Mosaic Law.

A theocracy is also a government led by a priesthood or religious leader. It is divine, and the laws enacted are inspired by God. Many theocracies have government leaders who are clergy or Islamic clerics, and the judicial system is founded on religious laws. Early civilizations were characterized by theocratic authority. However, the Enlightenment age signaled the end of theocracy. For example, the Vatican City in Rome is a theocratic state led by the Pope. Saudi Arabia and Iran are two recent instances of governments that practice theocracy. A more secular

interpretation of theocracy is that it is priestly rule. In theocracies, religiously revealed laws or policies are unassailable, even whether supported by a public majority or an inherited monarch. It should be observed, however, that even regimes that claim their laws are divinely designed and thus immutable do not make this claim for all laws. Theocracy is a system of governance in which a god or deity is recognized as the primary civil ruler of the state, or, in a broader sense, a form of government in which a state is administered by immediate divine guidance or by officials who are considered as divinely guided.

Theocracy, according to believers, is a system of governance in which heavenly authority dominates an earthly human state, either personally or through religious institutional representatives such as the church, replacing or dominating civil government. Theocracy should be separated from other secular types of governance that have a state religion or are affected primarily by theological or moral notions, as well as monarchies, which are based on divine rights of the king. A theocracy can be monist, with the administrative hierarchy of the government identical to the administrative hierarchy of the religion, or dualist, with two arms, with the administrative hierarchy of the state subordinate to the religious hierarchy.

A theocracy is a type of governance in which individuals govern themselves.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 3**

Differentiate theocratic from a secular government
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#### **5.3.6 Totalitarianism/Dictatorship**

Some scholars have argued since the 1950s that the most extreme form of authoritarianism is best described as "totalitarianism.". Robert C. Fried (1966:3) noted that "totalitarian and dictatorial institutions related, but they differ in one respect". The former has complete control over governance, complete autonomy from the outside world, and entire control over social life. The latter shares the first two features of the former, but lacks social control. The type of government is significant because it defines the load that the political leadership bears. The weight is enormous when a government is tyrannical. Under contrast, in a democracy, the burden does not disappear but is shared by the people.

In addition to the previously mentioned characteristics, "totalitarianism" implies "an official ideology to which members of the society must adhere and which covers all aspects of life in the society"; "a system of terroristic police control which supports and supervises on behalf of the leader and is directed against the "enemies of the State"; and "central control and

direction of the entire economy." Totalitarianism also includes the subordination of all to the interests of political elites and the formulation of the ideology established and adopted by them. In a totalitarian regime, all groups, including youth, labor unions, cultural associations, and other intermediate social institutions such as the educational system, are organized to serve the state's and its citizens' interests.

Totalitarian governments want to control not only its citizens' behavior but also their ideas. Instead of providing cutlery to the people in order for them to survive, tyrants toss cutlasses at them in order for them to fight the war in order to defend their rulers. However, history is littered with tremendous accomplishments by tyrannical leaders:

“In spite of the notorious Nazi concentration camps Hitler rebuilt a shattered German economy and conceptualized a Volkswagen, a “people’s car”; while Stalin’s desperate struggle to even out with the United States at the onset of the cold war did not stop him from transforming the Soviet Union from a backward agrarian to a military superpower. Chairman Mao also put China out of a primitive state, and transformed it into an atomic power (Anyanwu 2002:209)”.

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE) 4**

Explain the distinguishing features of a democracy and totalitarianism



#### **5.4 Summary**

the unit discussed various forms of government were thoroughly examined. These encompassed the traditional system of Monarchy, where a single individual, typically a king or queen, holds supreme authority over the state. Absolute monarchy, a subcategory, entailed unchecked authority with no limitations often seen in historical contexts.

Constitutional Monarchy emerged as a compromise between monarchical power and a constitution that specifies the division of authority and limits the monarch's powers. Furthermore, the concept of Aristocracy was explored, illustrating a governing body comprised of the highest social class, usually hereditary nobility. Theocracy was another focal point, highlighting a system of governance where religious leaders hold political power based on their perceived divine authority. Lastly, Totalitarianism or Dictatorship was analyzed, depicting a form of autocratic rule characterized by a central authority exercising absolute power over all aspects of public and private life. By delving into these different governmental structures, the unit aimed to provide a comprehensive

understanding of the diverse ways societies can be organized and governed..



### **5.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

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## 5.6 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### **Describe the differences between absolute and constitutional monarchy**

##### **Absolute monarchy**

Occurs when no formal constitutional authority exists to curb the king's power. As both the head of government and the head of state, the king rules. Before the French Revolution, examples include Frederick the Great of Prussia, the Queen of England, and Louis XIV of France. Countries with hereditary monarchies include the United Kingdom. while

##### **Constitutional Monarchy**

The constitution governs the power of a constitutional monarch. Only legislation agreed upon by the decision of the elected parliament, as in the United Kingdom, can be promulgated by the monarch. He or she is also required to follow not only the spirit of the constitution but also the laws of the state. He only gives his consent to laws passed by the elected legislature. The United Kingdom is an excellent example of a constitutional monarchy.

### Answers to SAEs 2

#### **Analyse the differences between monarchy and aristocracy**

**Monarchy** is the first and oldest type of government. Simply put, it is a type of government where the head of state has no legal restraints and is free to act however he pleases. A monarchy is a form of government where a Queen, King, or Emperor are in charge. The United Kingdom and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are two examples. In contrast to Saudi Arabia's absolute monarchy, a constitutional monarchy is one that is bound by legal restrictions like the United Kingdom. It should be emphasized, though, that while hereditary monarchy is the most common variety, elective monarchies are also possible. Therefore, the personification of the grandeur and sovereignty of the state in an official capacity is the essence of monarchy while

**Aristocracy** is a government led by the best citizens; virtue: moral and intellectual superiority distinguishes the aristocrat from others. Because

the aristocrat possesses these traits in abundance, he just assumes leadership; he is not required to explain or justify his claims to superiority or positions of leadership.

In sum, his actions, not his words, speak to his dominance. In the view of Appaduria (2004), "any time an aristocrat is compelled to justify his power, it will be proof that his position is crumbling."

An aristocracy is distinguished by noble birth (aristocracy of family), culture and education (aristocracy of priests or scholars), age (aristocracy of elders), military distinction (aristocracy of knight), or property (aristocracy of landowners). Aristocracy as a system of government has been defended by several scholars. "It is the everlasting privilege of the foolish to be governed by the intelligent," remarked Carlyle. Rousseau also claimed that the wisest should govern the many since it is the best and most natural arrangement. Montesquieu also observed that aristocracy typically exemplify the great virtue of moderation.

### **Answers to SAEs 3**

#### **Differentiate theocratic from a secular government**

A theocracy is also a government led by a priesthood or religious leader. It is divine, and the laws enacted are inspired by God. Many theocracies have government leaders who are clergy or Islamic clerics, and the judicial system is founded on religious laws. Early civilizations were characterized by theocratic authority. However, the Enlightenment age signaled the end of theocracy. For example, the Vatican City in Rome is a theocratic state led by the Pope. Saudi Arabia and Iran are two recent instances of governments that practice theocracy. A more **secular** interpretation of theocracy is that it is priestly rule. In theocracies, religiously revealed laws or policies are unassailable, even whether supported by a public majority or an inherited monarch. It should be observed, however, that even regimes that claim their laws are divinely designed and thus immutable do not make this claim for all laws. Theocracy is a system of governance in which a god or deity is recognized as the primary civil ruler of the state, or, in a broader sense, a form of government in which a state is administered by immediate divine guidance or by officials who are considered as divinely guided.

A secular government is a secular concept in which a state is or professes to be officially neutral in religious affairs, promoting neither religion nor irreligion. A secular state professes to treat its entire people equally, regardless of religion, and to avoid preferential treatment for citizens based on religious views, affiliation, or lack thereof over those with other profiles.

### Answers to SAEs 3

#### **Explain the distinguishing features of a democracy and totalitarianism**

##### **Elements of Democracy**

The following characteristics must not only be present in the environment but also be fostered by the populace for a society to be considered democratic:

##### **a) Periodic elections**

Every adult eligible to vote should take part in elections to choose their leaders, and the outcomes of such elections should be representative of the will of the people. These elections should be held on a regular basis, such as every three to four years.

##### **b) Independent Judiciary**

Not only must the judiciary be above board in the administration of justice, but the courts in the land must be independent of the Executive and all other branches of government.

##### **c) Free Press**

Without concern for being detained or harassed by the authorities, the journalists and mass media should be free to inform the public. Media professionals should be allowed unrestricted access to information so they can enlighten the public about government policies and provide the administration with feedback on the sentiments and desires of the populace.

##### **d) Open Competition**

Instead of a situation where the populace is forced to align themselves with a single party, democracy thrives when there are alternatives in terms of political philosophies, manifestos, and programs. People should be able to choose which political parties to join and how much they want to get involved in politics and the administration. Democracy is about having the ability to choose, which is only possible under a multi-party system, hence this is a prerequisite.

##### **Merits of Democracy**

Scholars almost universally agree that this form of governance is the finest since it encourages widespread public engagement and acknowledges the people as the true holders of political sovereignty. It enables the people to select leaders who can be replaced periodically through the electoral process, the only peaceful method of doing so, as



opposed to those who support violent change when peaceful change is no longer possible.

Being aware that they have the authority to choose and replace their leaders gives the populace a sense of pleasure and belonging. As a result, people won't consider using illegal measures to obtain the authority to influence government. They would rather wait until election season to make changes, even if the leadership and governance are poor. Democracy is ranked highly because it is a system that educates the populace about how the government functions. This is accomplished through interactions between various governmental entities, political parties, non-governmental organizations, and the free press, which the system tolerates, in contrast to a totalitarian regime.

Above all, democracy is claimed to be the only viable option because it upholds and respects citizens' fundamental human rights as well as judicial rulings on all matters.

### **Demerits of Democracy**

As the proverb goes, "There is no rose without thorns," so democracy, as lovely as it may seem, also has its own disadvantages, some of which are listed below:

Democracy has the drawback of encouraging mediocrity because, in democratic elections, the "best" candidate does not necessarily prevail in either the primary or general election to represent the people. Many political officials frequently become benchwarmers and sycophants as a result of their educational or other shortcomings, which leave them susceptible to the moral and intellectual superiority of others.

The associated high expense of government is another disadvantage of democracy. The National and State Assemblies, the Executives, and the entourage of personal aides attached to each of the offices require a sizeable portion of the nation's income to be maintained. Periodically, huge sums of money are required for elections and electioneering campaigns, which could have been avoided under a non-democratic regime. Democracy is often blamed for encouraging continuity and sluggish development if power is transferred through elections too frequently. The new administration may have a tendency to scrap existing policies and programs in order to start over and prove to the voters that it is keeping its word. Additionally, making a decision requires a lot of time and resources.

Characteristics, "**totalitarianism**" implies "an official ideology to which members of the society must adhere and which covers all aspects of life in the society"; "a system of terroristic police control which supports and

supervises on behalf of the leader and is directed against the "enemies of the State"; and "central control and direction of the entire economy." Totalitarianism also includes the subordination of all to the interests of political elites and the formulation of the ideology established and adopted by them. In a totalitarian regime, all groups, including youth, labor unions, cultural associations, and other intermediate social institutions such as the educational system, are organized to serve the state's and its citizens' interests.

Totalitarian governments want to control not only its citizens' behavior but also their ideas. Instead of providing cutlery to the people in order for them to survive, tyrants toss cutlasses at them in order for them to fight the war in order to defend their rulers. However, history is littered with tremendous accomplishments by tyrannical leaders:

“In spite of the notorious Nazi concentration camps Hitler rebuilt a shattered German economy and conceptualized a Volkswagen, a “people’s car”; while Stalin’s desperate struggle to even out with the United States at the onset of the cold war did not stop him from transforming the Soviet Union from a backward agrarian to a military superpower. Chairman Mao also put China out of a primitive state, and transformed it into an atomic power (Anyanwu 2002:209)”.

## UNIT 2 THE EVOLUTION OF FEDERAL SYSTEM IN NIGERIA

### Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Meaning of government
  - 1.3.1 Meaning of federalism
  - 1.3.2 Emergence of federal practice in Nigeria
- 1.4 Summary
- 1.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 1.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 1.1 Introduction

In the last unit of Module 4, you learn various forms of government. These encompassed the traditional system of Monarchy, Absolute monarchy. Furthermore, the concept of Aristocracy was explored, Theocracy and Lastly Totalitarianism or Dictatorship were analyzed. In this unit, we shall be looking at the comprehensive analysis of various aspects related to government, starting with the exploration of different perspectives through which will be defined. We also took a deep dive into understanding the intricate concept of federalism, dissecting its principles and implications in governance structures. Furthermore, our exploration will extended to the evolution of federal practices specific to Nigeria, where we traced the historical development and the current state of federal governance in the country. This multifaceted discussion will provide us with a nuanced understanding of governmental structures and functions within the context of Nigeria's political landscape.



### 1.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Define government from different perspectives.
- Understand the concept of federalism.
- Know how federal practice evolved in Nigeria



### 1.3 Meaning of Government

The term Government can be viewed from many perspectives. These are:

- (a) Government as an institution of the state
  - (b) Government as a process or an art of governing.
  - (c) Government as an academic field of study.
- **Government as an Institution of state**  
According to this viewpoint, government is understood as a group of individuals and organizations that create and uphold state law. This government is a characteristic of the state (Afolabi, 2008). Here, the state is viewed as exercising its power and authority through an institution or agency, in order to carry out her will.
  - **Government as a Process or an Art of Governing**  
According to Silas (2013), “government as a process or art of governing deals directly with the actions and activities of government to establish, consolidate and sustain the cohesiveness of the society. Here formulation and enforcement of laws for the protection and good governance of the citizens are the primary functions”.
  - **Government as an Academic Field of Study**  
“This perspective regards government as one of the social sciences that is taught in schools and higher institutions where it is called political science or political studies, Silas (2013)”.

Besides being taught in schools as a discipline, it also connotes the following:

- (a) Political Theory, Public Administration, Political Economy, Political Behavior, Internal Relations, Comparative Government and Politics, Local Government Administration, Political History, Islamic Political Thought, and other courses are included in the study of government.
- (b) It examines the concepts, roles, and connections between the state's political institutions and procedures.
- (c) Different approaches and strategies have been established through the study of government to achieve systematic ideas that are applied to challenges faced by diverse governmental systems.

**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1**

1. What is government?
2. Define government from different perspectives

**1.3.1 Meaning of Federalism**

“In principles, federalism implies the construction of a system whereby consensus is reached between current demands of union and the territorial diversity within an emerging society, by the creation of a single political system within which central and provincial governments are assigned coordinated authority in a manner defining both the legal and political limits of equality or subordinate functions (Forje, 1981)”. Here, the limits are spelt out within the constitution stipulating what each party (unit of government) can or cannot do.

According to Wheare (1964), “the desire and capacity for federalism entails a number of

Prerequisites involving among others geographic proximity, hope for economic advantage, wishes for independence, earlier political ties and insecurity and similarities of traditional values. Generally, federal political systems are less efficient and are slower in policy making and policy implementation due to broad inputs from local and regional authorities which are encouraged and usually respected”.

Usually, nations decide to federate due to one or a combination of the following factors:

- (a) Socio-economic
- (b) Political
- (c) Security

- **Socio-economic Factor**

Some of the following elements, such as the presence of shared values, access to a larger domestic market, access to a port, greater standards of living, and the improvement of welfare systems, are thought to be unavoidable.

- **Political Factors**

Political factors include fostering existing ties between units in order to have a more powerful voice on the world stage.

- **Security Factors**

This refers to the capability of the unit in question to defend itself against challenges to its existence as an entity, whether they be actual or fictitious.

### 1.3.2 Emergence of Federal Practice in Nigeria

“The emerging new rulers in Africa after independence realized that, the colonial governors had in fact very fragile bases of power. This made the colonial governors to adopt unitary systems of government which emphasized the penetration and control of sub-national units as well as the centralization of authority as against a federal system. Consequently, most African leaders subsequently opted for the unitary system of government with federalism perceived as a crisis escalator rather than a crisis damper (Elaigwu, 1994)”.

However, federalism strives to address this issue in nations where the ethnic question has complicated government through frameworks meant to diffuse power, influence, and resources. It should be underlined that federalism is viewed as a tool for achieving goals rather than as a goal in and of itself. Thus, in multinational governments like Nigeria, federalism serves the objective of establishing mechanisms for the management of ethnic diversity through power sharing.

The establishment of the colonial Nigerian state in 1914 and the subsequent union of the distinct colonies of Northern and Southern Nigeria can be used to track the development of Nigerian federalism.

Nationalists and colonial functionaries agreed in 1954 that federalism was the ideal form of power-sharing for the nation. However, according to Gana (1999), “the choice of the federal formula was informed not so much by the intrinsic qualities of federalism as mention above, rather, it was the best deal for wresting independence statehood from the British”.

Agbu (2004) observed that, “despite the emotional attachment to federalism in Nigeria on the grounds of ethnic and cultural heterogeneity, the constituent units of the federation are not based on ethnic or cultural demarcations. Rather, a federation of states and the states do not necessarily correspond to ethnic and cultural distinctions”.

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

- |  |
|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. What is federalism?</li><li>2. Discuss the factors to be considered before a nation adopts federal system of government</li></ol> |
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## 1.4 Summary

The unit comprehensively analysed various aspects related to government, starting with the exploration of different perspectives through which it can be defined. We also took a deep dive into understanding the intricate concept of federalism, dissecting its principles and implications in governance structures. Furthermore, our exploration extended to the evolution of federal practices specific to Nigeria, where we traced the historical development and the current state of federal governance in the country. This multifaceted discussion provided us with a nuanced understanding of governmental structures and functions within the context of Nigeria's political landscape..



## 1.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

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## 1.6 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. What is government?

According to this viewpoint, government is understood as a group of individuals and organizations that create and uphold state law. This government is a characteristic of the state (Afolabi, 2008).

Here, the state is viewed as exercising its power and authority through an institution or agency, in order to carry out her will

#### 2. Define government from different perspectives

The term Government can be viewed from many perspectives. These are:

- (a) Government as an institution of the state
- (b) Government as a process or an art of governing.
- (c) Government as an academic field of study.

#### **Government as an Institution of state**

According to this viewpoint, government is understood as a group of individuals and organizations that create and uphold state law. This government is a characteristic of the state (Afolabi, 2008). Here, the state is viewed as exercising its power and authority through an institution or agency, in order to carry out her will.

#### **Government as a Process or an Art of Governing**

According to Silas (2013), “government as a process or art of governing deals directly with the actions and activities of government to establish, consolidate and sustain the cohesiveness of the society. Here formulation and enforcement of laws for the protection and good governance of the citizens are the primary functions”.

#### **Government as an Academic Field of Study**

“This perspective regards government as one of the social sciences that is taught in schools and higher institutions where it is called political science or political studies, Silas (2013)”.

Besides being taught in schools as a discipline, it also connotes the following:

- (a) Political Theory, Public Administration, Political Economy, Political Behavior, Internal Relations, Comparative Government and Politics, Local Government Administration, Political History, Islamic Political Thought, and other courses are included in the study of government.



(b) It examines the concepts, roles, and connections between the state's political institutions and procedures.

(c) Different approaches and strategies have been established through the study of government to achieve systematic ideas that are applied to challenges faced by diverse governmental systems.

## **Answers to SAEs 2**

### **1. What is federalism?**

“In principles, federalism implies the construction of a system whereby consensus is reached between current demands of union and the territorial diversity within an emerging society, by the creation of a single political system within which central and provincial governments are assigned coordinated authority in a manner defining both the legal and political limits of equality or subordinate functions (Forje, 1981)”.

### **2. Discuss the factors to be considered before a nation adopts federal system of Government**

According to Wheare (1964), “the desire and capacity for federalism entails a number of Prerequisites involving among others geographic proximity, hope for economic advantage, wishes for independence, earlier political ties and insecurity and similarities of traditional values. Generally, federal political systems are less efficient and are slower in policy making and policy implementation due to broad inputs from local and regional authorities which are encouraged and usually respected”. Usually, nations decide to federate due to one or a combination of the following factors:

- (a) Socio-economic
- (b) Political
- (c) Security

#### **Socio-economic Factor**

Some of the following elements, such as the presence of shared values, access to a larger domestic market, access to a port, greater standards of living, and the improvement of welfare systems, are thought to be unavoidable.

#### **Political Factors**

Political factors include fostering existing ties between units in order to have a more powerful voice on the world stage.

**Security Factors**

This refers to the capability of the unit in question to defend itself against challenges to its existence as an entity, whether they be actual or fictitious.

## UNIT 3 INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

### Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Meaning of intergovernmental relations (IGR)
  - 1.3.1 Meaning of federalism
  - 1.3.2 Emergence of federal practice in Nigeria
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 3.1 Introduction

In our last unit, we analysed the various aspects related to government, starting with the exploration of different perspectives through which it can be defined. We also discussed the concept of federalism, dissecting its principles and implications in governance structures. Furthermore, our exploration extended to the evolution of federal practices specific to Nigeria. In this unit, we will be discussing the intricate dynamics of intergovernmental relations. It will delve into the multifaceted aspects of how various levels of government interact in a federal system. By exploring the nuances and mechanisms at play within intergovernmental relations, the unit aimed to provide a comprehensive understanding of these complex interactions. Furthermore, the unit sought to elucidate the challenges and issues inherent in intergovernmental relations, focusing particularly on the Nigerian context. Through a critical lens, the unit endeavored to identify and analyze the obstacles and constraints that impede effective cooperation and collaboration between different tiers of government in Nigeria. By shedding light on these key problems, it aimed to contribute to a deeper comprehension of the intricacies surrounding intergovernmental relations in the Nigerian political landscape.



### 3.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this session, you should be able to:

1. Define Intergovernmental relations.
2. Understand how intergovernmental relations work in a federal setting.
3. Identify the problems of intergovernmental relations in Nigeria.



### 3.3 Meaning Of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR)

The concept of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) has different interpretations. For instance, Elekwa (1995) said, “Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) involves the patterns of cooperative relationships between various levels of government in a federal governmental system.

This definition emphasizes on a particular system of government, which is federal, what about the unitary system of government?”

Adamolekun (2002) viewed “intergovernmental Relations as a term which describes the interactions between the different levels of government in a country. Unlike the previous definition which emphasized on nations that practice federalism, it indicated that, it is not the system of government that matters before an IGR is practiced”.

Anderson (1960) sees IGR as “important interactions occurring between governmental institutions of all types and in all spheres. From the stand point of Anderson, one may say, it has created room for manipulations”.

This is because, what “A” considers important may not be the same as what “B” considers important and so creates possibilities of unnecessary manipulations of what really the term means.

In their contributions to the meaning of IGR, Mentzel and Fick quoted by Ezeaini (2004) “maintained that IGR is a mechanism for multi and bilateral, formed and informal, multisectoral and sectoral, legislative, executive and administrative interaction entailing joint decision-making, consultation, coordination, implementation and advise between spheres or government at vertical as well as horizontal levels and touching on every governmental activity”.

Mentzel and Fick's definition from before seems to cover a lot of ground. It has covered every definition that was previously mentioned and that is obtainable in Nigeria at all levels of government. This is due to the interaction between the tiers of government, which attempts to better coordinate public activities like policy formulation and implementation, resource sharing, and responsibility sharing for the peaceful coexistence and wellbeing of the populace.

It is crucial to note that whenever IGR is stated, the relationship between and among a country's various levels of government is being discussed. IGR and the idea of federation are frequently linked by writers. Readers typically comprehend that IGR is only available in cases where there is a

federal arrangement in such circumstances, no. It also exists in unitary systems, such as the one used by the United Kingdom, which has more than one layer of government. There are local administrations in Wales and Scotland, as well as the central government at West minister and Whitehall.

### 3.3.1 Evolution of IGR

In the past, IGR in Nigeria has closely mirrored the philosophies of ruling regimes and the direction of societal forces or interest groups, particularly the most powerful ones. Depending on their respective political dominance within the Nigerian polity, these social forces' fortunes changed. IGR also leans more in favor of the central government when the fortunes of the major interest group express themselves in its control.

On the other side, IGR tended to concentrate power when centrifugal forces worked against the ruling regime. For instance, IGR in Nigeria before to 1946 had limited regional decentralization and considerable authority centralization at the national level. This was due to the fact that the British colonial masters favoured the unitary tradition mainly due to economic considerations.

It should be noted that detailed rules on Nigeria's IGR were included in the constitution of 1979. It not only divided up the duties and responsibilities among the several levels of government, but it also established checks. For instance, without the consent of the state Governors, the federal government cannot add new states or change state borders. In a similar manner, the state governments serve as a check on the LGAs' legislative powers.

### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1

- Q1. Adamolekun (2002) viewed “intergovernmental Relations as a term which describes the interactions between the different levels of government in a country. Discuss.
- Q2. Clarify on the evolution of IGR.

### 2.3.2 Types of Intergovernmental Relations

According to Bello – Imam (1996) there are three modes of intergovernmental relations

Worldwide and these are:

- (a) The Partnership Model
- (b) The Principal/Agent Model

(c) The Dual Model

- **The Partnership Model**

“In this model, the three levels of government (Federal, State and Local) or two levels (Federal and State or Federal and Local) are regarded as equal before the law. That is, all of them can be sued when the need arises. Here, it is the constitution or parliament that regulates the activities of all the levels of government. In other words, the powers and responsibilities of tiers of government are derived from the constitution. In this model, there is an in built cooperation and understanding among the various levels of government to the extent that, the functions of one tier of government can be performed by another tier on its behalf (Bello – Imam, 1996)”.

### **The Principal/Agent Model**

This paradigm views local government as a branch of local administration or a local representative of the national government rather than as a separate entity. Not really independent are local governments (Bello – Imam). The central government's annual budget includes local government spending because, in Imam's opinion, services are deconcentrated rather than delegated. However, the activities of local government are severely constrained by national laws and regulations.

### **The Dual Model**

While attempting to incorporate both the Partnership and Principal/Agent models' components, the focus of this paradigm is on functional competency. All three of these IGR models have been utilized in Nigerian politics. Because the constitutional provisions are relied upon by all levels of government today, system operation is more akin to a partnership model. It is obvious that the Principal/Agent Model of IGR was in use when Nigeria used the native authority structure.

Nonetheless, the Dual Model is the best way to characterize the current state of Nigerian politics. Municipal governments experience the same "ailment" in practically every state of the federation. IGR is a mentality as well as structural arrangements that assure the survival of the system (country) for the benefit of society as a whole. This level of government does not exist as a full tier of government as allowed for by the constitution, but rather what pleases the operators. IGR is concerned about this.

If IGR are a set of financial, legal, political, and administrative relationships established among all levels of government with varying

degrees of authority and jurisdictional autonomy, then claiming that these arrangements of relationship do exist between and among the levels of government in the current Nigerian context would be irrelevant.

- (a) Federal – State – LG
- (b) Local - State
- (c) Local – Local
- (d) State – Local
- (e) Federal – State
- (f) Federal – Local

IGR thus includes political, economic, and sociocultural interactions among governmental levels.

### **3.5 Problems of IGR in Nigeria**

IGR has an impact on every part of government operations as long as the problem is intergovernmental. However, in the IGR literature that is now available, three current difficulties are typically highlighted:

- (a) Allocation of jurisdictional powers among the levels of government.
- (b) Intergovernmental fiscal relations.
- (c) The administrative mechanisms for managing IGR.

#### **• Allocation of Jurisdictional Powers**

The formal separation of jurisdictional powers among and between the levels of government within the polity is one of the main features of a federal constitution. One of the main focuses of IGR is the division of jurisdictional authority between the federal and state governments. There are three methods for distributing jurisdictional authority:

- There is an exclusive federal legislative list and residual list for the state.
- There is an exclusive list for the state government and whatever is left belongs to the central government.
- There is an exclusive list for the central government, a concurrent list for the central government and the states and residual list for state. The powers of the local government are derived from those of the state.

In Nigeria, schedule 2 of the 1995 constitution refers to the third of the three divisions of powers among the two levels (Central and State). The fourth schedule of the 1995 Constitution outlines the functional authority of municipal governments. These duties are divided into two categories:

those that are specific to local governments and those that are shared by the state and local governments simultaneously. IGR consequently enters the picture when cooperation and collaboration are required for the creation of policies and the implementation of programs.

### **Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations**

This aspect determines the type of IGR in a federation. This is a fiscal structure which outlines intergovernmental financial ties. In every federal system of government, the type and terms of the financial relationships are crucial to the survival and positive value of the federation.

### **Administrative Mechanism for Managing IGR in Nigeria**

Older federations like the United States, Canada, and others have permanent administrative structures in place for regulating IGR. For instance, in Canada, the Federal Minister for IGR serves as the political head of the Federal-Provincial Relations Office, which has ministerial status. Almost all ten provinces have IGR Ministries.

There are numerous constitutional organizations that support IGR in Nigeria (see Third Schedule of 1995 Constitution). The Nigerian Federal Government, unlike the older federations, has not created a special administrative system just for IGR. Only a few constitutional and administrative organizations, such as the liaison officers, are capable of facilitating IGR while carrying out their main responsibilities. To streamline the numerous interactions between the Federal and State Governments, all states are mandated to set up this office in the Federal Capital. They also act as lobbying organizations, post offices, and extensions of state protocol units.

IGR works in both federal and unitary systems. The complexity of the government and its structures determines the level of involvement. Because of this, it appears that federal systems are more active in IGR. One level of government must engage with another as long as it is unable to start, formulate, and carry out programs in a way that is satisfactory to the populace. IGR is in use because of this interaction.



## **3.6 Summary**

In this unit, you have learned about the idea of IGR, how it works, and how it should be managed for the welfare of the populace from the conversations above. Also, you now understand how the constitution affects IGR. There are approximately six main levels of engagement depending on the type of administration a country like Nigeria employs.



The type and terms of the financial ties are crucial to the survival and positive value of the federation and must be met for any IGR to succeed in its goals.

You discovered in this lesson that there are various ways to interpret the idea of IGR. IGR is a means to an end, but, is the main tenet. This is due to the fact that IGR, when done right and in practice, achieves the desired goals of governance. There are essentially three sorts everywhere, and each type was used in Nigerian politics. Similar to this, the literature on IGR emphasizes three crucial aspects. Additionally, you discovered that more established federations have IGR management mechanisms that are permanent, whereas in Nigeria such institutions are not sufficiently developed. Last but not least, IGR occurs in both federal and unitary governments.

### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1

- Q1. How do you describe the type of IGR operating in Nigeria today?  
Q2. Discuss any model of IGR you know.



### 3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

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### 3.8 Possible Answers to SAEs

#### Answers to SAEs 1

**1. Adamolekun (2002) viewed “intergovernmental Relations as a term which describes the interactions between the different levels of government in a country. Discuss.**

Adamolekun (2002) viewed “intergovernmental Relations as a term which describes the interactions between the different levels of government in a country. Unlike the previous definition which emphasized on nations that practice federalism, it indicated that, it is not the system of government that matters before an IGR is practiced”.

#### **1. . Clarify on the evolution of IGR.**

In the past, IGR in Nigeria has closely mirrored the philosophies of ruling regimes and the direction of societal forces or interest groups, particularly the most powerful ones. Depending on their respective political dominance within the Nigerian polity, these social forces' fortunes changed. IGR also leans more in favour of the central government when the fortunes of the major interest group express themselves in its control. On the other side, IGR tended to concentrate power when centrifugal forces worked against the ruling regime. For instance, IGR in Nigeria before to 1946 had limited regional decentralization and considerable authority centralization at the national level. This was due to the fact that the British colonial masters favoured the unitary tradition mainly due to economic considerations.

It should be noted that detailed rules on Nigeria's IGR were included in the constitution of 1979. It not only divided up the duties and responsibilities among the several levels of government, but it also established checks. For instance, without the consent of the state Governors, the federal government cannot add new states or change state borders. In a similar manner, the state governments serve as a check on the LGAs' legislative powers

#### Answers to SAEs 2

#### **1. How do you describe the type of IGR operating in Nigeria today?**

According to Bello – Imam (1996) there are three modes of intergovernmental relations

Worldwide and these are:

- (a) The Partnership Model
- (b) The Principal/Agent Model
- (c) The Dual Model

### **The Partnership Model**

“In this model, the three levels of government (Federal, State and Local) or two levels (Federal and State or Federal and Local) are regarded as equal before the law. That is, all of them can be sued when the need arises. Here, it is the constitution or parliament that regulates the activities of all the levels of government. In other words, the powers and responsibilities of tiers of government are derived from the constitution. In this model, there is an in built cooperation and understanding among the various levels of government to the extent that, the functions of one tier of government can be performed by another tier on its behalf (Bello – Imam, 1996)”.

### **The Principal/Agent Model**

This paradigm views local government as a branch of local administration or a local representative of the national government rather than as a separate entity. Not really independent are local governments (Bello – Imam). The central government's annual budget includes local government spending because, in Imam's opinion, services are deconcentrated rather than delegated. However, the activities of local government are severely constrained by national laws and regulations.

### **The Dual Model**

While attempting to incorporate both the Partnership and Principal/Agent models' components, the focus of this paradigm is on functional competency. All three of these IGR models have been utilized in Nigerian politics. Because the constitutional provisions are relied upon by all levels of government today, system operation is more akin to a partnership model. It is obvious that the Principal/Agent Model of IGR was in use when Nigeria used the native authority structure.

Nonetheless, the Dual Model is the best way to characterize the current state of Nigerian politics. Municipal governments experience the same "ailment" in practically every state of the federation. IGR is a mentality as well as structural arrangements that assure the survival of the system (country) for the benefit of society as a whole. This level of government does not exist as a full tier of government as allowed for by the constitution, but rather what pleases the operators. IGR is concerned about this.

If IGR are a set of financial, legal, political, and administrative relationships established among all levels of government with varying degrees of authority and jurisdictional autonomy, then claiming that these arrangements of relationship do exist between and among the levels of government in the current Nigerian context would be irrelevant.

- (a) Federal – State – LG
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- (e) Federal – State
- (f) Federal – Local

IGR thus includes political, economic, and sociocultural interactions among governmental levels.

## **2. Discuss any model of IGR you know.**

### **The Principal/Agent Model**

This paradigm views local government as a branch of local administration or a local representative of the national government rather than as a separate entity. Not really independent are local governments (Bello – Imam). The central government's annual budget includes local government spending because, in Imam's opinion, services are deconcentrated rather than delegated. However, the activities of local government are severely constrained by national laws and regulations

## UNIT 4 THE MILITARY IN POLITICS

### Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 How the Military Got Involved In Politics In Nigeria
  - 4.4 Achievements of the Military in Nigeria
  - 4.5 Problems Associated With Military Regimes in Nigeria
  - 4.4 Tools of Quantitative Methods/ Techniques
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 4.1 Introduction

In our last unit, you learned how the various levels of government relate to one another. In this unit, you will learn how the military's role in Nigerian politics. You will also learn about the military's accomplishments and the issues related to Nigeria's military administration.



### 4.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- i. Discuss How the Military Got Involved in Politics in Nigeria
- ii. Itemize Achievements of the Military in Nigeria
- iii. Outline Problems Associated With Military Regimes in Nigeria



### 4.3 How the Military Got Involved in Politics in Nigeria

During the colonial era, the Nigerian Army was established, coordinated, and trained. It came from the little native forces that the early British utilized to establish rule. Assembled units joined the West African Frontier Force. Around the turn of the 20th century, the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) was created to protect British colonies in West Africa. The RWAFF maintained a naval force in Lagos that was a component of the British (Royal) Army and was operationally supervised by the British Army Council. The RWAFF had its headquarters in Ghana (the Gold Coast). This West African Command

disbanded in March 1957, when Ghana gained independence. This led to the establishment of national forces in Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Later the disposition and operational control of the Nigerian Armed Forces, together with their budget was transferred to the British Governor-General in Nigeria. The Nigerian Armed Forces were made-up of the army, small navy and smaller air force created in 1964. "According to Akinsanya (1973) by independence, 18% of the officer corps of the army was Nigerianised as opposed to other federal and regional bureaucracies". Four major kinds of elements for interaction are shown by a review of the literature on military engagement in politics:

- (a) Socio-economic development;
- (b) Political development;
- (c) Characteristics of military establishment perse; and
- (d) Foreign influence

#### **(a) Socio-economic development**

According to Finer (1962) "the propensity of Military to intervene in politics is likely to decrease with increased social mobilization". This means that when we talk about social mobilization, we're talking about things like urbanization, the growth of mass media and education, the emergence of a commercialized economy, and an increase in the number of people participating in politics. (Karl Deutsch, 1961) opined "that the reason is, increases in the number of potential political actors diffuse increased political resources to these actors. Finer on other hand, argued that, economic development especially industrialization, diminishes the propensity for military intervention".

#### **(b) Political Development**

According to Finer and others, with rising public interest in and participation in politics, the likelihood of military intervention in polities declines. Similar to political parties, interest groups, and civilian governmental institutions, deficiencies in civilian political institutions lead to unrest. As a result, the civilian authorities become unjustified, which opens the door for military intervention. The emphasis is on how the military is becoming more and more reliant on the civilian administration to maintain power.

#### **(c) Characteristics of Military establishment**

"The political sociology of the military in Less Developed Countries (LDCs) is based on organizational theory. The military in LDCs is seen as the most nationalistic, unified,

disciplined, modern and efficient structure in the society. Furthermore, the larger and more sophisticated the military, the more likely they will have the administrative and technical skills necessary for running government and the greater the propensity for the military to intervene (Morris, 1964)".

#### (d) Foreign Influences

It is argued by Alexander (1965) that, "the most important causes of military intervention in Latin America was due to the influences of German, Italian and the foreign military missions. There is the demonstration effect simply put, military coups are contagious".

All of the aforementioned elements have influenced military interventions in body politics. This is due to the roles that the Nigerian Military assumed in post-independence Nigeria, such as maintaining law and order in the various crises like the Tiv Division in the former Northern Nigeria in 1960 and 1964 and the former Western Nigeria in 1962 and 1965, which led to the Nigerian Military's perception of itself as a "impartial arbiter."

### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Q1. Do you agree that political development is a factor for military intervention into Politics?

### 3.4 Achievements of the Military in Nigeria

The state of Nigeria is enormous, home to more than 300 different ethnic and religious groups, and is densely inhabited. Since Nigeria gained independence, or post-colonial, the military has controlled the nation for roughly three decades, with the exception of the colonial administration. Precisely, from 15th January, 1966.

The Nigerian military has significantly contributed to the political development of Nigeria.

- (a) The creation of more states. No civilian government after independence Succeeded in structurally creating more states and local governments successfully.
- (b) The introduction of the NYSC scheme after the civil war was by the military.
- (c) The popular 1976 Local Government Reform which unified the system of Local Government in Nigeria was by the military.

- (d) The recognition of the Local Governments becoming a full tier of government was by the military and consequently, the 1979 constitution was drawn by the military before handing over to the civilian regime in 1979.
- € The Land Use Decree introduced by the military as well as the indigenization Decree was meant to facilitate the economic growth of Nigeria.
- (f) The introduction of the Primary Health Care, Petroleum (Special) Trust Fund (PTF) was meant to turn around the socio-economic activities of the citizenry.
- (g) The history of Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) in 1977 brought glory to Nigeria.
- (h) There was serious expansion in the education system by establishing new educational institution all in a bit to increase literacy level.

### **3.5.1 Problems Associated With Military Regimes in Nigeria**

Assuming that the military had no negative effects on Nigeria's development would be inaccurate. Recall that the organizers of the military coup in 1966 pledged to purge the nation of all evils, including bribery and corruption, racism, political unrest, and misuse of public funds, among other things. The same assertion was repeated by other coup leaders. Nonetheless, the problems that the nation faced during the first republic are still very much present now. As an illustration, despite the military's efforts to promote economic growth, the manufacturing sector has remained reliant on imported raw materials, and the rate of inflation has risen since the implementation of the special adjustment programme.

Without a doubt, the military performed admirably well in the field of education. The administration of the day is having a very tough time dealing with the tremendous unemployment that has resulted from the high turnout from these institutions. However, despite numerous pledges made upon assuming political power, the military had failed to advance the nation, particularly in the social and economic spheres. Nigeria continues to have economic, religious, and ethnic crises.

In spite of the above short comings, the military deserves commendation for maintaining the unity of Nigeria as a nation. As Ukpabi (1986) noted: "For one thing, it has proved time and again, that is, the only instrument capable of maintaining Nigerian unity without which this country will continue to be seen by outsiders as a mere geographical expression".



**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

- Q1. Identify and discuss any factors you know that will make the military to intervene in Politics in Nigeria.
- Q2. Assuming that the military had no negative effects on Nigeria's development would be inaccurate. Discuss

**3.6 Summary**

You have learned about the formation of the Nigerian military and how it came to be involved in politics in this unit. Also, you studied the many arguments for political involvement by the military. Although there were drawbacks to its control, the military made significant contributions to Nigeria's political growth. With the exception of the Gambia, the British dependencies in West Africa were protected by the early military formation, which had its headquarters in Gold Coast and began around the turn of the 19th century. The British Governor-General in Nigeria received control of the Nigerian Military Forces after 1957. There are four types of circumstances that call for political intervention. For the straightforward reason that the military.

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## 4.8 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Do you agree that political development is a factor for military intervention into Politics?

During the colonial era, the Nigerian Army was established, coordinated, and trained. It came from the little native forces that the early British utilized to establish rule. Assembled units joined the West African Frontier Force. Around the turn of the 20th century, the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) was created to protect British colonies in West Africa. The RWAFF maintained a naval force in Lagos that was a component of the British (Royal) Army and was operationally supervised by the British Army Council. The RWAFF had its headquarters in Ghana (the Gold Coast). This West African Command disbanded in March 1957, when Ghana gained independence. This led to the establishment of national forces in Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Later the disposition and operational control of the Nigerian Armed Forces, together with their budget was transferred to the British Governor-General in Nigeria. The Nigerian Armed Forces were made-up of the army, small navy and smaller airforce created in 1964. “According to Akinsanya (1973) by independence, 18% of the officer corps of the army was Nigerianised as opposed to other federal and regional bureaucracies”.

### Answers to SAEs 2

#### (1) Identify and discuss any factors you know that will make the military to intervene in politics in Nigeria.

Four major kinds of elements for interaction are shown by a review of the literature on military engagement in politics:

- (a) Socio-economic development;
- (b) Political development;
- (c) Characteristics of military establishment perse; and
- (d) Foreign influence

#### (a) Socio-economic development

According to Finer (1962) “the propensity of Military to intervene in politics is likely to decrease with increased social mobilization”. This means that when we talk about social mobilization, we're talking about

things like urbanization, the growth of mass media and education, the emergence of a commercialized economy, and an increase in the number of people participating in politics. (Karl Deutsch, 1961) opined “that the reason is, increases in the number of potential political actors diffuse increased political resources to these actors. Finer on other hand, argued that, economic development especially industrialization, diminishes the propensity for military intervention”.

### **(b) Political Development**

According to Finer and others, with rising public interest in and participation in politics, the likelihood of military intervention in politics declines. Similar to political parties, interest groups, and civilian governmental institutions, deficiencies in civilian political institutions lead to unrest. As a result, the civilian authorities become unjustified, which opens the door for military intervention. The emphasis is on how the military is becoming more and more reliant on the civilian administration to maintain power.

### **(c) Characteristics of Military establishment**

“The political sociology of the military in Less Developed Countries (LDCs) is based on organizational theory. The military in LDCs is seen as the most nationalistic, unified, disciplined, modern and efficient structure in the society. Furthermore, the larger and more sophisticated the military, the more likely they will have the administrative and technical skills necessary for running government and the greater the propensity for the military to intervene (Morris, 1964)”.

### **(d) Foreign Influences**

It is argued by Alexander (1965) that, “the most important causes of military intervention in Latin America was due to the influences of German, Italian and the foreign military missions. There is the demonstration effect simply put, military coups are contagious”.

All of the aforementioned elements have influenced military interventions in body politics. This is due to the roles that the Nigerian Military assumed in post-independence Nigeria, such as maintaining law and order in the various crises like the Tiv Division in the former Northern Nigeria in 1960 and 1964 and the former Western Nigeria in 1962 and 1965, which led to the Nigerian Military's perception of itself as a "impartial arbiter."

## **(2) Assuming that the military had no negative effects on Nigeria's development would be inaccurate. Discuss**

Assuming that the military had no negative effects on Nigeria's development would be inaccurate. Recall that the organizers of the military coup in 1966 pledged to purge the nation of all evils, including bribery and corruption, racism, political unrest, and misuse of public funds, among other things. The same assertion was repeated by other coup

leaders. Nonetheless, the problems that the nation faced during the first republic are still very much present now. As an illustration, despite the military's efforts to promote economic growth, the manufacturing sector has remained reliant on imported raw materials, and the rate of inflation has risen since the implementation of the special adjustment programme. Without a doubt, the military performed admirably well in the field of education. The administration of the day is having a very tough time dealing with the tremendous unemployment that has resulted from the high turnout from these institutions. However, despite numerous pledges made upon assuming political power, the military had failed to advance the nation, particularly in the social and economic spheres. Nigeria continues to have economic, religious, and ethnic crises.

In spite of the above shortcomings, the military deserves commendation for maintaining the unity of Nigeria as a nation. As Ukpabi (1986) noted: "For one thing, it has proved time and again, that is, the only instrument capable of maintaining Nigerian unity without which this country will continue to be seen by outsiders as a mere geographical expression".

**UNIT 5 FISCAL FEDERALISM IN NIGERIA****Unit Structure**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Revenue Allocation
- 4.4 Restructuring
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

**4.1 Introduction**

In the last unit, you studied the military's role in politics in the last lesson, as well as the causes, benefits, and problems that justify it. You will discover how Nigerian government revenue is distributed among the many departments and agencies, as well as about the problems with restructuring and corruption, in this unit.

**4.2 Learning Outcomes**

At the end of this unit, you should to:

**4.1 Revenue Allocation in Nigeria**

“The political and economic nexus in revenue allocation in Nigeria can better be understood when one considers the colonial and dependent nature of the Nigerian economy, which in turn provokes a contestation and struggle among the ruling class for the political control of the state, Bolaji, (2014). According to Bolaji, the politics-economics nexus becomes more complex when one considers the heterogeneous and the multi-various nature of Nigerian societies. He maintained that, the inherent diversity in Nigerian federation introduced a dangerous dimension to the contest for power; hence, the various groups and communities within the nation will stop at nothing to gain access to state power knowing fully well that, this in turn assures them of the control of scares economic resources of the state”. Thus political considerations have greatly influenced the economics of revenue allocations in Nigeria.

Over the years, Nigeria's revenue allocation system has seen instability and a high degree of politicization. This raises the following issues:

- How should federally collected revenue be shared between the centre and the federating units?
- What should be the principle for sharing statutory and non-statutory revenue, among the state?
- Who possesses the power of amendment to the revenue/income tax allocation principles?

“The historical and political conditions of a nation have great influence on its revenue allocation. In Nigeria, the funding of levels of Government Issue came to the fore when regions were granted internal autonomy under the Richards Constitution of 1946 (Anyanwu, 1997)”. The issue of the lower levels of government being able to get sufficient financial resources to carry out their political and other necessary duties is one of the most frequent sources of intergovernmental disputes in the most, if not all, federations. It is impossible to understate the significance of money in the day-to-day operations of any government, hence the method of raising revenue, primarily by the regional/state governments and increasingly including the local governments in Nigeria, frequently presents issues.

In Nigeria, the Federal Government established commissions and committees to develop an appropriate formula for allocating revenues and offer suggestions. This was due to the issue of intergovernmental fiscal transfer and the economics of federalism. Many of these commissions included:

- (a) Phillipson Commission (1946)
- (b) Hicks – Phillipson Commission (1951)
- (c) Chick Commission (1953)
- (d) Raisman Commission (1958)
- (e) Binns Commission (1964)
- (f) Dina Committee (1968)
- (g) Various Decrees and Acts were also promulgated among others.

The ultimate goal, regardless of the theory used, is to lessen the disparity between the levels of governance, either horizontally or vertically. Yet, there have been conflicts with all of these systems, including competition for larger national cake allocations, needless claims to ownership of jurisdictions owing to economic causes, and control, whether political, economic, or otherwise.

Differences in allocation among the same tiers of government are referred to as a horizontal imbalance. e.g. Borno and Lagos, or Yobe and Bauchi. Vertical imbalance is the differences between the tiers of government, that is, Federal, states and Local Governments.

The current sharing formula is

FGN - 48.5%

STATE - 24%

LGA - 20%

Special Fund - 7.5%

Source: Office of the Accountant General of the Federation, 2010

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1**

Q1. Differentiate between Vertical and Horizontal Imbalances

Q2. Why do you think that, the most constant source of argument among tiers of government is finance?

## **4.2 Restructuring**

A comprehensive analysis of the distribution of federally sourced resources reveals that there are disputes that have sparked ferocious debate and partisan politics among Nigeria's levels of government. Since the return to civil government in 1999, the subject of resource control has taken on a greater scope. In fact a combination of the negative aspects of revenue allocation formula has led to the agitation for a restructuring of the Nigerian Federation (Goke, 2014).

Contrary to what some might think, the term "restructuring" does not relate to the consolidation of states reorganizing with basic methods "Divesting the central government of certain powers and limiting its area of influence to such issues as fiscal policies, military defenses, foreign policy, immigration and national elections (Nuhu, 2016). Nuhu maintained that, restructuring will help to stem the tide of restiveness in many parts of the country. It will also resolve the questions of citizenship, religion, resource control and fiscal federalism. When these issues are properly addressed, Nigeria will be said to be on the right path to meaningful development. The essence of the restructuring is to make the Nigerian federation less centralized, less suffocating and less dictatorial in the affairs of the constituent units and logistics (Nuhu, 2016). He further observed that, the call for restructuring is more relevant now in the light of the governance and economic challenges facing the country as well as the rising tide of agitations, some militant and violent, require a reset in our relationship as a united nation".



**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

Q1. What is restructuring?

Q2. Discuss the essence of restructuring in Nigeria

**4.3 Summary**

The unit detailed on Revenue Allocation in Nigeria and restructuring, insights were provided regarding the complex system of distributing financial resources within the country. The discussion covered allocating revenue among different tiers of government, considering factors such as population density, regional development needs, and fiscal sustainability. Additionally, the unit delved into the challenges and criticisms associated with the current revenue allocation framework, exploring potential reforms and restructuring strategies to address efficiency, transparency, and equal distribution concerns. By examining historical perspectives and international best practices in revenue allocation, the overall objective was to foster a deeper understanding of the Nigerian economic landscape and advocate for progressive changes that could lead to more equitable and sustainable development outcomes of the citizenry.

**4.4 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

Anyanwu, J. C. (1979). *Nigerian Public Finance*, JOANEE Educational Publishers Ltd., 51 Awka Road, Onitsha, Nigeria.

Bolaji, O. O. (2014). *Revenue Allocation, Resource Control and Nigerian Political Economy* in Adeoye A. A. and John, A. A. (eds) *Readings Nigeria Government and Politics*, New Nigerian Books and Communication, Ibadan.

Goke Lalude (2014). *Resolving the National Question*, in Adeoye, A. A. and John, A. A. (ed). *Readings in Nigerian Government and Politics*, New Nigerian Books and Communications, Ibadan.

Nuhu, Y. (2016). *What is in restructuring in the era of change in Nigerian Politics*, Proceedings of IASTEM International Conference, and Dammam, Saudi Arabia 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> December?



## 4.5 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Differentiate between Vertical and Horizontal Imbalances

The ultimate goal, regardless of the theory used, is to lessen the disparity between the levels of governance, either horizontally or vertically. Yet, there have been conflicts with all of these systems, including competition for larger national cake allocations, needless claims to ownership of jurisdictions owing to economic causes, and control, whether political, economic, or otherwise. Differences in allocation among the same tiers of government are referred to as a horizontal imbalance. e.g. Borno and Lagos, or Yobe and Bauchi. Vertical imbalance is the differences between the tiers of government, that is, Federal, states and Local Governments. The current sharing formula is

FGN - 48.5%  
 STATE - 24%  
 LGA - 20%  
 Special Fund - 7.5%

Source: Office of the Accountant General of the Federation, 2010

#### 2. Why do you think that, the most constant source of disagreement among tiers of government is finance?

“The political and economic nexus in revenue allocation in Nigeria can better be understood when one considers the colonial and dependent nature of the Nigerian economy, which in turn provokes a contestation and struggle among the ruling class for the political control of the state, Bolaji, (2014). According to Bolaji, the politics-economics nexus becomes more complex when one considers the heterogeneous and the multi-various nature of Nigerian societies. He maintained that, the inherent diversity in Nigerian federation introduced a dangerous dimension to the contest for power; hence, the various groups and communities within the nation will stop at nothing to gain access to state power knowing fully well that, this in turn assures them of the control of scares economic resources of the state”. Thus political considerations have greatly influenced the economics of revenue allocations in Nigeria.

Over the years, Nigeria's revenue allocation system has seen instability and a high degree of politicization. This raises the following issues:

- How should federally collected revenue be shared between the centre and the federating units?
- What should be the principle for sharing statutory and non-statutory revenue, among the state?
- Who possesses the power of amendment to the revenue/income tax allocation principles?

“The historical and political conditions of a nation have great influence on its revenue allocation. In Nigeria, the funding of levels of Government Issue came to the fore when regions were granted internal autonomy under the Richards Constitution of 1946 (Anyanwu, 1997)”. The issue of the lower levels of government being able to get sufficient financial resources to carry out their political and other necessary duties is one of the most frequent sources of intergovernmental disputes in the most, if not all, federations. It is impossible to understate the significance of money in the day-to-day operations of any government; hence the method of raising revenue, primarily by the regional/state governments and increasingly including the local governments in Nigeria, frequently presents issues.

In Nigeria, the Federal Government established commissions and committees to develop an appropriate formula for allocating revenues and offer suggestions. This was due to the issue of intergovernmental fiscal transfer and the economics of federalism.

## **Answers to SAEs 2**

### **1. What is restructuring?**

A comprehensive analysis of the distribution of federally sourced resources reveals that there are disputes that have sparked ferocious debate and partisan politics among Nigeria's levels of government. Since the return to civil government in 1999, the subject of resource control has taken on a greater scope. In fact a combination of the negative aspects of revenue allocation formula has led to the agitation for a restructuring of the Nigerian Federation (Goke, 2014).

### **2. Discuss the essence of restructuring in Nigeria**

Contrary to what some might think, the term "restructuring" does not relate to the consolidation of states reorganizing with basic methods “Divesting the central government of certain powers and limiting its area of influence to such issues as fiscal policies, military defenses, foreign policy, immigration and national elections (Nuhu, 2016). Nuhu maintained that, restructuring will help to stem the tide of restiveness in

many parts of the country. It will also resolve the questions of citizenship, religion, resource control and fiscal federalism. When these issues are properly addressed, Nigeria will be said to be on the right path to meaningful development. The essence of the restructuring is to make the Nigerian federation less centralized, less suffocating and less dictatorial in the affairs of the constituent units and logistics, (Nuhu, 2016). He further observed that, the call for restructuring is more relevant now in the light of the governance and economic challenges facing the country as well as the rising tide of agitations, some militant and violent, require a reset in our relationship as a united nation”.

## UNIT 6 THE CONCEPT OF CORRUPTION

### Unit Structure

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Learning Outcomes
- 6.3 The concept of corruption
  - 6.3.1 Bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria
  - 6.3.2 Solutions to bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria
- 6.4 Summary
- 6.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 6.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 6.1 Introduction

The previous unit examined into the intricate topic of Revenue Allocation in Nigeria and the necessary restructuring efforts. Building upon this foundation, the upcoming unit will thoroughly explore the definition of corruption, shedding light on its multifaceted nature and far-reaching implications. Specifically, the focus will pivot towards understanding how corruption permeates various levels of government, examining its detrimental impact on governance, public trust, and economic development. Moreover, the unit will meticulously delve into strategies aimed at preventing and effectively managing corruption, emphasizing the importance of accountability, transparency, and the implementation of robust anti-corruption measures. By fostering a comprehensive understanding of corruption dynamics and advocating for proactive solutions, this unit aims to equip learners with the knowledge and tools necessary to navigate the complex landscape of corruption in governance effectively.



### 6.2 Learning Outcomes

You should be able to:

- i. Defines corruption
- ii. How it affects the government.
- iii. How to prevent and manage it.



### 6.3 The Concept of Corruption

The definition of corruption is disputed. However, contemporary literature proposes three distinct definitions of corruption, namely those focused on public office, the market, and public interest. Most social scientists, however, seem to agree with the public office centred definition, such as Heidenheirner, 1978, Bayley, 1978, McMullan, 1978 and Nye, 1978 are the most prominent representatives of the public office centred definition of corruption. For instance, Bayley (1978) noted that: While specifically referring to the act of bribery, the term "corruption" is a catch-all for the abuse of power due to considerations of personal gain, which need not be monetary.

On his part, McMullan (1978) asserts that:

A public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something that he is under duty to do anyway, that he is under duty not to do or to exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reasons.

Nye (1978) also defined corruption as:

Behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of public role because of private regard (family, close private clique), pecuniary or status gains or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private regard regarding influence.

Within the Nigeria perspective, there are many theories that can explain corruption. Ekpo (1979) in his article "Gift-giving and bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria" presented an anthropological analysis. He argues that, the phenomenon in Nigeria has a history and that it is in fact a continuation of traditional gift-giving practices. Thus, the tradition of gift-giving ... is a prime mechanism of manipulation and influence in the social and cosmic order of traditional Nigerian society.

In his essay "Corruption in Nigeria: A structural approach", Cohen (1979) argues that colonialism, post-colonial factionalism and rapid growth and change have created certain structures in the bureaucracy (over centralization of decision making, excessive hierarchy and programme inexperience). These maladaptive patterns, Cohen thinks, breed corruption in the bureaucracy and in the larger society as well.

Corruption is a value – oriented word. It is difficult to discuss it without its moral aspects. It has become institutionalized in Nigeria to the point that, virtually all public officials are engaged in one form of corruption or

the other. Ibrahim (2003) opined that, the military has entrenched the culture of public corruption established by earlier civilian regime.

### **6.3.1 Bureaucratic Corruption in Nigeria**

Bureaucratic corruption is a widely prevalent phenomenon in Nigeria. It is openly practiced in nearly all ministries, departments and governmental agencies. For instance, investigations initiated by the Murtala Government into the conduct of affairs by public servants have brought to light massive inefficiencies, nepotism, corruption and mismanagement.

Any of the following forms of corruption in the regular course of government business are possible:

- Fraudulent use of official stationary.
- Payment for office visits.
- Bribes paid to have compromising documents removed from files.
- Payment for letters of recommendations.
- Kickbacks for hiring.
- Misuse of official housing.
- Two salaries and neglect of public service for outside businesses.
- Salary computerization fraud.
- Embezzlement (in its many varieties).
- False bills.
- Income tax fraud.
- Import, Export and Excise tax fraud.
- Business auditing fraud.
- Tax-stamp fraud.
- Postal fraud.
- Court tempering.
- Military and Police shakedown.

### **5.3.2 Solutions to Bureaucratic Corruption in Nigeria**

Because of its detrimental effects on the nation's socioeconomic and political development, corruption has become a science of significant concern.

Thus, it is imperative that both the government and the populace battle against this monster known as corruption.

The current administration and those who came before it have instituted a number of anti-corruption measures, but it doesn't seem like anything has been accomplished. The following ideas may be helpful to individuals in leadership roles and the followers as an addition to the current efforts:

- An ideology of austerity to curb desire for material gain.
- Salary must be adequate
- Live above corruption by leaders. Set example with your selves.
- Get into a transactional analysis made and talk to him/her as a colleague, friend, brother, sister etc., explaining hear his/her action was inimical to him/her self and the public.

It should be remembered that eliminating corruption takes a multifaceted strategy and is a joint duty.

### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2

- (1) Corruption has been a source of growing concern. Discuss.
- (2) From the perspective Ekpo (1979) explain corruption in Nigeria.
- (3) Discuss any four ways that can complement the effort of the existing strategies in Controlling corruption.



#### 5.4 Summary

It is clear from the comments above that corruption has negative characteristics that are harmful to the socioeconomic and development of the nation. Government cannot combat corruption on its own; citizens must participate.

In this unit, it was determined that colonialism and post-colonial factionalism are linked to corruption in Nigeria. The military institution's involvement in the art of administration further solidified the prior civilian regime-instituted culture of public corruption.. A number of tactics have been implemented, but little progress appears to have been accomplished. The government cannot tackle corruption alone since it affects every aspect of government operations. Government and citizens must work together on this. It should start with the leadership, then the followership, and finally the entire citizenry if any progress is to be made. Nigeria might be deemed to be on the path to socio-economic and political progress after corrupt practices have been reined in.



#### 5.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Bayley, D. H. (1978) The effects of corruption in a Developing Nation in Heidenheiner, A. J. (ed) Political Corruption, Transaction Books, N. J.



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- Ibrahim, J. (2003) *Corruption in Nigeria: Transition, Persistence and continuity in the Nigerian Social Scientist* Vol.6, No.2.
- Ibrahim, S. Y. and Gunda, B. N. (2005) *Bureaucratic Corruption and Anti-Corruption Strategies in Nigeria: An Over view*. *Global Journal of Social Sciences* Vol.4, Nos. 1&2.
- McMulla, M. (1978). *Corruption in the Public Services of British Colonies and Ex-Colonies in West Africa* in Heidenheimer, A. J. (ed).
- Nye, J. S. (1978) *Corruption and Political Development: A Cost Benefit Analysis* in Heidenheimer, A. J



## 6.6 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### (1) Corruption has been a source of growing concern. Discuss.

The definition of corruption is disputed. However, contemporary literature proposes three distinct definitions of corruption, namely those focused on public office, the market, and public interest. Most social scientists, however, seem to agree with the public – office – centred definition, such as Heidenheirner, 1978, Bayley, 1978, McMullan, 1978 and Nye, 1978 are the most prominent representatives of the public – office – centred definition of corruption. For instance, Bayley (1978) noted that while specifically referring to the act of bribery, the term "corruption" is a catch-all for the abuse of power due to considerations of personal gain, which need not be monetary.

On his part, McMullan (1978) asserts that a public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something that he is under duty to do anyway, that he is under duty not to do or to exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reasons.

Nye (1978) also defined corruption as: Behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of public role because of private regard (family, close private clique), pecuniary or status gains or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private regard influence.

#### (2) From the perspective Ekpo (1979) explain corruption in Nigeria.

Within the Nigeria perspective, there are many theories that can explain corruption. Ekpo

(1979) in his article "Gift-giving and bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria" presented an anthropological analysis. He argues that, the phenomenon in Nigeria has a history and that it is in fact a continuation of traditional gift-giving practices. Thus, the tradition of gift-giving ... is a prime mechanism of manipulation and influence in the social and cosmic order of traditional Nigerian society.

In his essay "Corruption in Nigeria: A structural approach", Cohen (1979) argues that colonialism, post-colonial factionalism and rapid growth and change have created certain structures in the bureaucracy (over centralization of decision making, excessive hierarchy and programme inexperience). These maladaptive patterns, Cohen thinks, breed corruption in the bureaucracy and in the larger society as well.

Corruption is a value – oriented word. It is difficult to discuss it without its moral aspects. It has become institutionalized in Nigeria to the point that, virtually all public officials are engaged in one form of corruption or the other. Ibrahim (2003) opined that, the military has entrenched the culture of public corruption established by earlier civilian regime.

**(3) Discuss any four ways that can complement the effort of the existing strategies in Controlling corruption.**

Because of its detrimental effects on the nation's socioeconomic and political development, corruption has become a science of significant concern.

Thus, it is imperative that both the government and the populace battle against this monster known as corruption.

The current administration and those who came before it have instituted a number of anti-corruption measures, but it doesn't seem like anything has been accomplished. The following ideas may be helpful to individuals in leadership roles and the followers as an addition to the current efforts:

- An ideology of austerity to curb desire for material gain.
- Salary must be adequate
- Live above corruption by leaders. Set example with your selves.
- Get into a transactional analysis made and talk to him/her as a colleague, friend, brother, sister etc., explaining hear his/her action was inimical to him/her self and the public.

It should be remembered that eliminating corruption takes a multifaceted strategy and is a joint duty.

## UNIT 7 NATION-STATES AND CHALLENGES OF NIGERIA AS A NATION – STATES

### Unit Structure

- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Learning Outcomes
- 7.3 Civil War in 1970
  - 7.3.1 Insurgencies and freedom fighters
  - 7.3.2 Peace and progress
- 7.4 Centre of Common Services
- 7.5 Summary
- 7.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 7.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content



### 7.1 Introduction

In the last, we discussed corruption permeates various levels of government, examining its detrimental impact on governance, public trust, and economic development. Moreover, the unit will meticulously delve into strategies aimed at preventing and effectively managing corruption, emphasizing the importance of accountability, transparency, and the implementation of robust anti-corruption measures. In this unit, we will be discussing the 1970 Civil War, delving into the various aspects that shaped and defined this significant historical event. Additionally, the session also focus on the intricacies of the Insurgencies and freedom fighters, shedding light on their motivations, strategies, and impact on the socio-political landscape of the time. Furthermore, a detail examination of the issue of Peace and progress will undertake, exploring the challenges, opportunities, and importance of fostering stability and development in the aftermath of conflicts like the Civil War. Lastly, the unit will elucidate the Centre of Common Services, elucidating its role, functions, and significance in promoting cooperation, coordination, and efficiency among different entities for shared objectives and mutual benefit. Overall, this session will provide a comprehensive and enlightening exploration of key historical, social, and administrative topics that are pertinent to understanding and navigating complex issues and contexts.



## 7.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

1. Explain the Civil War in 1970
2. Discuss the Insurgencies and freedom fighters
3. Examine the issue of Peace and progress
4. Explain the Centre of Common Services



## 7.3 Civil War in 1970

Following the end of the Nigeria-Biafra Civil War in 1970, military dictatorship and governance continued in Nigeria until October 1979, when the country made another attempt at civilian democratic government. This did not endure long since at the end of December 1983, it was again overthrown.

Following the end of the Civil War in 1970, it became obvious and clear that Nigeria needed a consensus true federal structure arrangement in order to continue to exist and thrive as a nation state in unity, peace, and advancement, as neither the majority nor the minority populations of Nigeria's constituent ethnic nationalities appear prepared to usurp British Colonial dominance and control with the control and dominance of any other Nigerian ethnic power block or combination of such power blocks.

### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 1

1. Nation-states and Challenges of Nigeria as a Nation – States.  
Discuss
2. Discuss Civil War in 1970.

### 2.3.1 Insurgencies and freedom fighters

The many political groups are now maintaining the ongoing political agitation, disputes, and problems by deploying weapons of war such as innocent youngsters participating in MASSOB, IPOB, AVENGERS, MEND, MOSOP, Boko Haram, marginalization, Islamization, and cattle herders. Since the end of the Civil War in Nigeria in 1967–1970, the country has been dealing with insurgencies that can only be resolved via an open, sincere conversation between all of its ethnic nationalities (2015). Violence is never the solution; just look at what occurred in Sudan. As a result of their conflict with the Muslim North Sudan, the two ethnic nationalities in the South are now at each other's throats.

### **2.3.2 Peace and progress**

The sustenance of Nigeria's nation state in peace, unity, and progress, in my opinion, depends on all of Nigeria's ethnic nationalities (majority and minority), as well as other stakeholders, being able to come together and freely agree (without coercion, force, manipulation, or fighting) on how to live as one nation in genuine unity, peace, and progress. This proposal is almost analogous to how the United Kingdom of Great Britain, composed of England, Scotland, and Wales, respectively, came into existence as one nation state in 1707 and how Canada, composed of English- and French-speaking nationalities, did so following the American War of Independence and have remained united and making progress ever since.

### **2.4 Centre of Common Services**

Making the Federal Government a Coordinating Centre of Common Services rather than a Controlling Centre, with responsibility for common national services such as the Armed Forces, National Police, Citizenship, Customs, Central Banking, Immigration, Foreign Affairs including foreign trade, National Education Standards, National Industrial Goods Standards, and National Scientific Research Standards, respectively, internal roads, internal economic development supporting infrastructure, and internal economic development supporting infrastructure, among other specific internal infrastructure; sharing national revenue among all tiers of governments strictly according to mutually agreed ratio of derivation and in proportion to what each federating unit contributes to the maintenance of the Nigerian Federation.

The aforementioned must be accomplished without demonizing or disparaging any of the ethnic groups that make up Nigeria as the Devil, as it is obvious that all of the ethnic groups (both large and small), as can be seen above from our history from 1914 to 2015, have equally contributed to what currently divides Nigeria. Since the difficulties of Nigeria's amalgamation in 1914, no ethnic nationality has been more responsible for the division of the country than any other.

Any talk of leaving Nigeria by any ethnic group is wrong, useless, and undesirable because all of the ethnic groups that make up Nigeria have a lot to lose in the improbable event that Nigeria disintegrates as a nation state.

What needs to be done now is for all of the leaders of the various ethnic groups that make up Nigeria to make an effort to communicate with one another honestly and openly. They should explain why Nigeria as a nation state from our history is not progressing, as well as what can be done to

help Nigeria do so without strife or by demeaning one another. Instead of exploiting and wasting them in various insurrections like Avengers, MASSOB, IPOB, etc., as cannon fodder to fight partisan political power conflicts for our heartless and self-serving political masters, we should teach our youth who were born during and after the Civil War about this. Therefore, any effort or attempt to resolve Nigeria's endemic political crisis for a united and peaceful nation state should first carefully consider the history of our country from its founding in 1914, taking into consideration all the issues and events that have been spelled out and covered in detail above.

Any effort to avoid dealing with the magnitude and complexity of the aforementioned existential challenges for Nigeria with sincerity, vision, truth, courage, and determination, in my opinion, would be detrimental to the wellbeing of all Nigerians as well as the country's ability to remain a peaceful and united nation state. For the benefit of the African continent, Nigeria must be preserved as a really peaceful and cohesive nation state.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

1. Elaborate on insurgencies and freedom fighters in Nigeria.
2. Making the Federal Government a Coordinating Centre of Common Services. Discuss



### **2.5 Summary**

The unit discussed the 1970 Civil War, delving into the various aspects that shaped and defined this significant historical event. Additionally, the session also focused on the intricacies of the Insurgencies and freedom fighters, shedding light on their motivations, strategies, and impact on the socio-political landscape of the time. Furthermore, a detailed examination of the issue of Peace and progress was undertaken, exploring the challenges, opportunities, and importance of fostering stability and development in the aftermath of conflicts like the Civil War. Lastly, the unit elucidated the Centre of Common Services, elucidating its role, functions, and significance in promoting cooperation, coordination, and efficiency among different entities for shared objectives and mutual benefit. Overall, this session provided a comprehensive and enlightening exploration of key historical, social, and administrative topics that are pertinent to understanding and navigating complex issues and contexts..



## 2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

- Bayley, D. H. (1978) The effects of corruption in a Developing Nation in Heidenheimer, A. J. (ed) Political Corruption, Transaction Books, N. J.
- Cohen, R. (1979) Corruption in Nigeria: A Structural Approach in Ekpo, M. U. (ed) Bureaucratic Corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa, University Press of America.
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- Nye, J. S. (1978) Corruption and Political Development: A Cost Benefit Analysis in Heidenheimer, A. J





## 2.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAEs 1

#### 1. Nation-states and Challenges of Nigeria as a Nation – States. Discuss

These nation-states are struggling to validate identities and understand them in the post-colonial era. They have limited tools at their disposal to address the fundamental issues of resurgent sectarianism coupled with economic and political collapse because the political system in which they operate does not permit natural assimilation in the face of the governance challenges that emerge during and after this period. Instead, it superimposes a forced assimilation paradigm, further dividing society.

The purpose of nation-states is to provide a decentralized means of distributing political (public) benefits to people residing within predetermined boundaries (borders). Modern nations concentrate on and respond to the concerns and needs of citizenries after inheriting, taking over for, or replacing the monarchies of the past. They coordinate and direct public interests, frequently but not always in support of national objectives and ideals. They moderate between the restrictions and challenges of the worldwide arena and the dynamism of their own internal economic, political, and social realities. They buffer or manipulate external forces and influences. They promote the local or specific issues of their supporters.

Depending on how well or poorly a state performs on each of these dimensions. However, powerful states can be distinguished from weak ones based on their performances, or the extent to which they effectively offer the most important political goods, and weak states can be distinguished from failed or collapsed states. Political goods are those illusive, difficult to measure demands that citizens have made in the past of sovereigns and in the present of states. Together, they provide content to the social contract between rulers and ruled, which is at the heart of interactions between the regime/government and the populace. They include indigenous expectations and maybe duties.

#### 2. Discuss Civil War in 1970.

Following the end of the Nigeria-Biafra Civil War in 1970, military dictatorship and governance continued in Nigeria until October 1979, when the country made another attempt at civilian democratic government. This did not endure long since at the end of December 1983, it was again overthrown.

Following the end of the Civil War in 1970, it became obvious and clear that Nigeria needed a consensus true federal structure arrangement in order to continue to exist and thrive as a nation state in unity, peace, and advancement, as neither the majority nor the minority populations of Nigeria's constituent ethnic nationalities appear prepared to usurp British Colonial dominance and control with the control and dominance of any other Nigerian ethnic power block or combination of such power blocks

## **Answers to SAEs 2**

### **1. Elaborate on insurgencies and freedom fighters in Nigeria.**

The many political groups are now maintaining the ongoing political agitation, disputes, and problems by deploying weapons of war such as innocent youngsters participating in MASSOB, IPOB, AVENGERS, MEND, MOSOP, Boko Haram, marginalization, Islamization, and cattle herdsmen. Since the end of the Civil War in Nigeria in 1967–1970, the country has been dealing with insurgencies that can only be resolved via an open, sincere conversation between all of its ethnic nationalities (2015). Violence is never the solution; just look at what occurred in Sudan. As a result of their conflict with the Muslim North Sudan, the two ethnic nationalities in the South are now at each other's throats.

### **2. Making the Federal Government a Coordinating Centre of Common Services. Discuss**

Making the Federal Government a Coordinating Centre of Common Services rather than a Controlling Centre, with responsibility for common national services such as the Armed Forces, National Police, Citizenship, Customs, Central Banking, Immigration, Foreign Affairs including foreign trade, National Education Standards, National Industrial Goods Standards, and National Scientific Research Standards, respectively, internal roads, internal economic development supporting infrastructure, and internal economic development supporting infrastructure, among other specific internal infrastructure; sharing national revenue among all tiers of governments strictly according to mutually agreed ratio of derivation and in proportion to what each federating unit contributes to the maintenance of the Nigerian Federation.

The aforementioned must be accomplished without demonizing or disparaging any of the ethnic groups that make up Nigeria as the Devil, as it is obvious that all of the ethnic groups (both large and small), as can be seen above from our history from 1914 to 2015, have equally contributed to what currently divides Nigeria. Since the difficulties of Nigeria's amalgamation in 1914, no ethnic nationality has been more responsible for the division of the country than any other.

Any talk of leaving Nigeria by any ethnic group is wrong, useless, and undesirable because all of the ethnic groups that make up Nigeria have a lot to lose in the improbable event that Nigeria disintegrates as a nation state.

What needs to be done now is for all of the leaders of the various ethnic groups that make up Nigeria to make an effort to communicate with one another honestly and openly. They should explain why Nigeria as a nation state from our history is not progressing, as well as what can be done to help Nigeria do so without strife or by demeaning one another. Instead of exploiting and wasting them in various insurrections like Avengers, MASSOB, IPOB, etc., as cannon fodder to fight partisan political power conflicts for our heartless and self-serving political masters, we should teach our youth who were born during and after the Civil War about this. Therefore, any effort or attempt to resolve Nigeria's endemic political crisis for a united and peaceful nation state should first carefully consider the history of our country from its founding in 1914, taking into consideration all the issues and events that have been spelled out and covered in detail above.

Any effort to avoid dealing with the magnitude and complexity of the aforementioned existential challenges for Nigeria with sincerity, vision, truth, courage, and determination, in my opinion, would be detrimental to the wellbeing of all Nigerians as well as the country's ability to remain a peaceful and united nation state. For the benefit of the African continent, Nigeria must be preserved as a really peaceful and cohesive nation state.