



NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA
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FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION

COURSE GUIDE

Course Code: PAD 308

Course Title: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS I

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CONTENT

PAD 308: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

1.0 INFORMATION

This is a three credit units course for the Post-Graduate Diploma in Public Administration Programme. This course of (12) units consists of four (4) modules; the Evolution of the Federal system, Inter-governmental Relations, Role of the Military in the Nigerian Government and Politics and Revenue Allocation. Each Module has an average of 3 units. The material has been developed to suit post-graduate diploma students in Public Administration at the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN) by adopting an approach which highlights the key areas of government and politics. The course guide tells you briefly what the course is all about, the course materials you will be using and how to make use of your time and the information on the tutor marked assignments. There will be tutorial classes. Full details concerning the tutorial classes will be communicated to you at the appropriate time.

2.0 WHAT YOU WILL LEARN IN THIS COURSE

The course content consists of evolution of federal system in Nigeria, intergovernmental relations, politics of resources control, revenue allocation, corruption, and restructuring.

3.0 COURSE OVERVIEW

This course, 'Nigerian Government and Politics' aims to give you an understanding of the political development and the involvement of the military institution in governance in Nigeria.

4.0 COURSE OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the course are to:

1. Examine the concept of government

2. Examine the concept of federalism
3. Analyse the military institution's role
4. Explain how the military institution found itself in the art of governance
5. Discuss the rationale for agitations for restructuring
6. Examine the concept of corruption

In addition, each unit also has specific objectives and self-assessment exercise. The unit's objectives are also included at the beginning of a unit; you should read them before you start working through the unit. You may want to refer to them during your study of the unit to check on your programme. You should always look at the unit objectives after completing a unit, in this way, you can be sure that you have done what is required of the unit.

5.0 WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

To successfully complete this course, you are required to read the study units, read related books and other materials provided by the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN). Each unit contains self-assessment exercise and at certain points during the course, you will be expected to submit assignments. At the end of the course is a final examination. The course should take you about a total of 18 weeks to complete. The course has four modules, the Evolution of the Federal System, Inter-governmental Relations, Role of the Military in the Nigerian Politics and Government. The following are the components of the course; the course guide, study units and text books. What you have to do and how you should allocate your time to each unit in order to complete the course successfully on time.

6.0 STUDY UNITS

The study units in this course are as follows:

MODULE 1:

THE EVOLUTION OF FEDERAL SYSTEM IN NIGERIA

Unit 1: Meaning of Government

Unit 2: Meaning of Federalism

Unit 3: Emergence of Federal Practice in Nigeria

MODULE 2:

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Unit 4: Meaning of intergovernmental relations

Unit 5: Types of intergovernmental relations

Unit 6: Problems of IGR in Nigeria

MODULE 3:

Unit 7: How the military got involved in Politics

Unit 8: Achievements

Unit 9: Problems

MODULE 4:

FISCAL FEDERALISM IN NIGERIA

Unit 10: Revenue Allocation

Unit 11: Restructuring

Unit 12: The concept of Corruption

7.0 COURSE OUTLINED PROGRAMME PROPOSAL (OPP) FOR PAD 308

This course is designed to give students a detailed understanding of the Nigerian Government and Politics. This is achievable through the discussions on the meaning of government, federalism, intergovernmental relations, the military involvement in politics, its achievements and problems, revenue allocation, restructuring and the concept of corruption.

8.0 COURSE MATERIALS

Major components of the course are:

- (i) Course guide
- (ii) Study units
- (iii) Text books

9.0 COURSE MARKING SCHEME

There are two aspects to the assessment for this course: The first is the Tutor – Marked Assignment; and secondly, examination. Within each unit are self-assessment exercises, which are aimed at helping you to check your assimilation as you proceed. Try to attempt each of the exercises before finding out the expected answers from the literature.

10.0 ASSIGNMENT FILE

There will be an assignment in each unit, the exercise are tailored to help you have a full understanding of the course. Practice these assignments carefully; it will help you assess the course critically and consequently increasing your knowledge of the course.

11.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA'S)

This is your continuous assessment exercise and it accounts for 30% of your total score. You are expected to answer at least four set of TMA's questions, before you sit for the end of course examination. Your best three TMA's will account for the 30% total score.

12.0 FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

Your course examinations would earn you 70% which would be added to your TMA score (30%). The time for this examination would be communicated to you.

13.0 SUMMARY

This course, *Nigerian government and Politics* (PAD 308) is designed to give you some knowledge which would help you understand the concept of government and politics in Nigeria. After going through this course, you would be in a position to pass your examination at the end of the semester and programme, the knowledge gained could enhance further your understanding of the Nigerian government and politics and appreciate why we are where we are. We wish you success in this interesting course and hope you will use the knowledge acquired in this post-graduate diploma programme as a gateway to Master's degree programme in Public administration.

14.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Here are some references for further reading that can assist you. At the end of each unit, you will see a list of references directly related to the topic treated.

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COURSE DEVELOPMENT

Course Code: PAD 308

Course Title: Nigerian Government and Politics

Course Developer:

Course Writer: Dr. Saalah Yakubu Ibrahim

Course Editor:

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Course Coordinator:

MODULE ONE

UNIT 1

THE EVOLUTION OF FEDERAL SYSTEM IN NIGERIA

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- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to the concept of government and politics. You will be exposed to the meaning of government, politics and federalism, how federal practice emerged in Nigeria.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 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.

3.1.1 Government as an Institution of state

From this perspective, government is viewed as a body of persons and institutions that make and enforce law in a state. This government is a feature of state (Afolabi, 2008). Here government is seen as an institution or agency through which the state exercises its power and authority for the realization of her will.

3.1.2 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.

3.1.3 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) The study of government includes such courses as Political Theory, Public Administration, Political Economy, Political Behaviour, Internal Relations, Comparative Government and Politics, Local Government Administration, Political History, Islamic Political Thought etc.
- (b) It studies the theories, functions and relationships between political institutions and processes in the state.

- (c) The study of government has developed different methods and techniques to achieve systematic propositions which are being used for solving problems that confront various governmental systems.

Self-Assessment Exercise

1. What is government?
2. Discuss Government as a process.

3.2 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

3.2.1 Socio-economic Factor

This is assumed that, some of the following factors are inevitable, like the presence of shared values, access to larger domestic market, access to seaport, higher standards of living and welfare policies enhancement.

3.2.2 Political Factors

Politically, the considerations are the strengthening of existing relations among units with a view to bringing about a stronger voice internationally.

3.2.3 Security Factors

This refers to the ability of the unit in question to protect itself from real or imagined threats to its survival as an entity.

3.3 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 (Elaiwu, 1994).

However, countries where the ethnic issue has complicated governance, federalism seeks to address this problem through structures designed to dissipate power, influence and resources. It should be noted that, federalism is understood not as an end in itself but as a means to an end. Thus, federalism serves the purpose of providing structures for the management of ethnic diversity through power sharing in multinational states such as Nigeria.

The evolution of Nigerian federalism can be traced to the beginning of the colonial Nigerian state through the instrumentality of amalgamation of the separate colonies of Northern and Southern Nigerian in 1914.

In 1954, the then colonial functionaries and nationalists arrived at the consensus that, federalism was the best form of power-sharing for the country. 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.

4.0 CONCLUSION

From the foregone discussion, you have learnt the concept of government and the three major perspectives of looking at the concept. You similarly learnt the concept of federalism and the factors leading to the adoption of federal system of government by an entity. You further more, learnt how federal practice evolved in Nigeria.

5.0 SUMAMRY

In this unit, you learnt that the concept of government can be viewed in three major perspectives namely, institution of the state, as a process or art governing and as an academic field of study. Similarly, you learnt the concept of federalism, the reasons why an entity will prefer adopting the federal system of government such as security, proximity to seaport, market etc. You also learnt how federal practice evolved in Nigeria which was

basically an arrangement between the colonialists and the nationalists. Its formation was not based on any ethnicity rather on states.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What is federalism?
2. Discuss the factors to be considered before a nation adopts federal system of government.
- 3, Discuss any three perspectives of government you know.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODUEL TWO

UNIT 2

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

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- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous lesson, you learnt about government and the evolution of federal system in Nigeria. In this session, you will learn how these units of operate in a federal set up like Nigeria. Here you will learn the meaning of intergovernmental relations, types of intergovernmental and problems of intergovernmental relations in Nigeria.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

Define Intergovernmental relations.

Understand how intergovernmental relations work in a federal setting.

Identify the problems of intergovernmental relations in Nigeria.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 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 co-operative 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, multi-sectoral 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.

The above definition by Mentzel and Fick seems very encompassing. It has covered all the other definitions mentioned and that is obtained in Nigeria among the tiers of government. This is because, they(tiers of government) interact among and or between the levels of

government which aims at better coordination of public activities such as policy formulation and implementation, sharing of resources and responsibilities for harmonious existence and well being of the citizenry.

It is important to point out that, whenever IGR is mentioned, it is talking of the relationship between and among the levels of government of a country. Most writers do often associate IGR with the concept of federation. In such situations, readers tend to understand that IGR is only obtainable where there is a federal arrangement, NO. It also exists in unitary systems, e.g. the United Kingdom is operating a unitary system of government but has more than a tier of government. There are the central government at Westminster and Whitehall, Home governments for Wales and Scotland as well as Local government.

3.1.1 Evolution of IGR

Historically, IGR in Nigeria has followed closely the orientations of regimes in power and the direction of social forces or interest group especially, the dominant social forces in the society. The fortunes of these social forces fluctuated according to their relative political influence in the Nigerian body politic. When the fortunes of the dominant interest group manifest themselves in the control of the Central Government, IGR also is tilted more in favour of the central government. On the other hand, when the centrifugal forces move against the regime in power, IGR tended towards concentration of authority. For instance, IGR in Nigeria before 1946, there was high power centralization at the centre while there was low decentralization at the regions. The reason for this was, the British colonial masters favoured the unitary tradition mainly due to economic considerations.

It must be noted that, the 1979 constitution made elaborate provisions on the mode of IGR in Nigeria. It did not only apportion powers and functions of the different levels of government, it also put in place checks. e.g. the Federal Government cannot create more states or adjust state boundaries without the corporation of the state Governors. The same way, the state Governments act as a check on the legislative functions of the LGAs.

Self Assessment Exercise

1. Intergovernmental Relations in Nigeria before 1946 was tended towards concentration of authority. Discuss.
2. How does a constitution influence intergovernmental relations?

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

3.2.1 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).

3.2.2 The Principal/Agent Model

Under this model, the local government is not regarded as government but a form of local administration or field agent of the central government. Local governments are not really independent (Bello – Imam). The expenditure of local government is subsumed in the annual budget of the central government because, according to Imam, services are

deconcentrated and not devolved. Furthermore, the operations of local government are grossly limited by central rules and regulations.

3.2.3 The Dual Model

This model attempts to integrate both the elements of the first two (Partnership and Principal/Agent models) but the emphasis is on functional competence.

Considering the Nigerian polity, all these three models of IGR have been practiced. Today, the system operation is more of partnership model because; all the levels of government depend on the constitutional provisions. During the period Nigeria practiced the native authority system, it was clearly the Principal/Agent Model of IGR that was in operation.

However, currently, what is taking place in Nigerian politics is best described as the Dual Model. In almost all the states of the federation, Local Governments suffer from the same "ailment". This level of government does not exist as a full tier of government as provided for by the constitution, rather what pleases the operators and hence, IGR is both an attitude of mind as well as structural arrangements which ensures the survival of the system (nation) for the well-being of the society at large. This is the concern of IGR.

If IGR are series of financial, Legal, Political and Administrative relationships established among all units of government with varying degrees of authority and jurisdictional autonomy, then, in the present Nigerian context, it will be out of point, if it is said, these arrangements of relationship do exist between and among the levels of government.

- (a) Federal – State – LG
- (b) Local - State
- (c) Local – Local
- (d) State – Local
- (e) Federal – State
- (f) Federal – Local

Thus, IGR involves political, economic and socio-cultural relations between levels of government.

3.3 PROBLEMS OF IGR IN NIGERIA

IGR affects all aspects of government functions as long as the issue involved cut across governmental units. However, three topical issues are usually given prominence in the existing literature on IGR:

- (a) Allocation of jurisdictional powers among the levels of government.
- (b) Intergovernmental fiscal relations.
- (c) The administrative mechanisms for managing IGR.

3.3.1 Allocation of Jurisdictional Powers

One major characteristics of federal constitution is the formal division of jurisdictional powers among and between the levels of governments within the polity. This allocation of jurisdictional powers is one of the focal points of IGR, particularly between the central and state governments. There are three ways of this jurisdictional power allocation:

- (i) There is an exclusive federal legislative list and residual list for the state.
- (ii) There is an exclusive list for the state government and what ever is left belongs to the central government.
- (iii) 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, the third approach of the three divisions of powers among the two levels (Central and State) schedule 2 of the 1995 constitution refers. The functional powers of the local government are specified in the 4th schedule of the 1995 Constitution. These functions are also in two parts on the exclusive functions of local authorities and the concurrent functional powers between the state and local government authorities. IGR therefore comes in when

there is need for cooperation and collaboration in the formulating of policies and execution of programmes.

3.3.2 Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations

This factor influences the nature of IGR in a federation. This is a fiscal arrangement which defines intergovernmental financial relations. The nature and conditions of the financial relations in any federal system of government is very important and fundamental to the survival and positive value of the federation.

3.3.3 Administrative Mechanism for Managing IGR in Nigeria

In older federations such as Canada, USA, etc. some permanent administrative mechanisms have been put in place for managing IGR. e.g. in Canada, there is a Federal – Provincial Relations Office at the centre with a political head of ministerial rank called Federal Minister for IGR. Nearly all the ten provinces have Ministries of IGR.

In Nigeria, there are many constitutional bodies that facilitate IGR (see Third Schedule of 1995 Constitution). Unlike the older federations, the Nigerian Federal Government has not developed specific administrative mechanism specifically for IGR. Only a number of constitutional and administrative structures that can facilitate IGR while performing their primary duties, e.g. the Liaison officers. All states are required to establish this office in the Federal Capital as quasi-diplomatic outputs to facilitate the numerous interactions between the Federal and State Governments. In addition, they serve as lobbying agencies, postal boxes and extension of states protocol units.

IGR operates both in a Unitary and Federal systems. The degree of interaction depends on the complexity of the government and structures. This is why federal systems appear to be more involved in IGR. So long as one level of government cannot initiate, formulate and execute programmes to the satisfaction of the citizenry, there must be the need for one level of government to interact with another. Since this interaction occurs, IGR is in operation.

4.0 SUMMARY

In the above discussions, you have learnt about the concept of IGR, its operation and how it should be managed for the well being of the citizenry. You have also learnt the influence of constitution on the IGR. Base on the nature of government a nation practices like Nigeria, there are about six different levels of interaction. Finally, for any IGR to achieve its objectives, the nature and conditions of the financial relations is very important and fundamental to the survival and positive value of the federation.

5.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, you learnt that, the concept of IGR has many interpretations. But the central idea is, IGR is a means to an end. This is because, where there is proper and actual IGR taking place; it brings about the desired objectives of governance. There are also basically three types world over and within the Nigerian polity, each type was practiced. Similarly, there are three important issues that are prominent in the literature of IGR. You also learnt that, older federations have permanent structures to manage IGR which in Nigeria such structure have not been properly developed. Finally, IGR takes place in both the unitary and Federal nations.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. IGR involves political, economic and socio-cultural relations between levels of government. Discuss.
2. How do you describe the type of IGR operating in Nigeria today?
3. Discuss any model of IGR you know.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE THREE

UNITS 3

THE MILITARY IN POLITICS

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- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about how the various levels of government relate especially in a federal system of government like Nigeria with three levels of government. In this session, you will learn about the military as an institution involved in politics in Nigeria. You will also learn about the military's achievements and the problems associated with military regime in Nigeria.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The Nigerian state witnessed a long period of military rule from 1966 – 1999, except for the period of 1979 – 1983. Since the course is about Nigerian Government and Politics,

students are expected to understand how the military as an institution found itself in governance, what it achieved and the problems associated with military regime in Nigeria.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 HOW THE MILITARY GOT INVOLVED IN POLITICS IN NIGERIA

The Nigerian Army was created, organized and trained during the colonial period. It originated from the small indigenous forces used to establish early British rule. The forces became part of the West African Frontier Force. Later the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) was established towards the end of the 19th century and covered British dependencies in West Africa. The RWAFF had its headquarters in Ghana (the Gold Coast) and maintained a naval force in Lagos which was part of the British (Royal) Army under the operational control of the British Army Council. This West African Command broke-up when Ghana became independent in March, 1957. 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.

A survey of the literature on military intervention in politics reveals four broad categories of factors for interaction:

- (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. What this means here is, social mobilization refers to such developments as urbanization, rise of mass education and media, development of a monetized economy and increased mass political participation. (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, the propensity for military intervention in polities decreases with increasing popular attention to and increasing participation in politics. Similarly, weaknesses in civilian political institutions create unrest like political parties, interest groups, civilian governmental institution. This creates lack of legitimacy of the civilian authorities and can cause the military to intervene. The emphasis here is the civilian government depends increasingly on the armed power to stay in 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 the above factors have contributed to the military interventions into body politics. This is because the Nigerian Military sees itself as an "impartial arbiter" by the roles it came to shoulder in post-independence Nigeria such as maintenance of law and order in the various crises such as the Tiv Division in the former Northern Nigeria in 1960 and 1964, and the former Western Nigeria in 1962 and 1965.

Self Assessment Exercise

1. Do you agree that political development is a factor for military intervention into politics?

3.2 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MILITARY IN NIGERIA

The Nigerian state is large with over three hundred ethnic groups, religious difference and above all thickly populated. Apart from the colonial administration, since Nigeria became independent, that is, post colonial, the military ruled the country for about three decades. Precisely, from 15th January, 1966.

The Nigerian military has made significant contributions in the development of Nigeria in the area of politics.

- (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.
- (e) 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.

3.3 PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH MILITARY REGIMES IN NIGERIA

It will be misleading to assume that, the military did not impact negatively on Nigeria's development. It could be recalled that, the leaders of the 1966 military coup promised to rid the country of all ills such as bribery and corruption, ethnicity, political crises and embezzlement of public funds among others. Subsequent coup leaders re-echoed the same statement. However, today such ills which confronted the country during the first republic are very much prevalent. For instance, although the military worked hard to in the area of economic development, the manufacturing sector has remained dependent on imported raw materials and the inflation rate has been on the increase since the introduction of the special adjustment programme.

There is no doubt that, the military had done creditably well in the education sector. However, the large turnout from these institutions has created massive unemployment which the government of the day is finding it very difficult to grapple with. Furthermore, in spite of the repeated promises on assumption of political leadership, the military had failed

to develop the country particularly in the social and economic sectors. Nigeria is still bedeviled with ethnic, religious and economic 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.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit you have learnt how the military in Nigeria was created and how it found itself involved in politics. You also learnt the various postulations why the military must be involved in politics. The military contributed immensely to the political development of Nigeria but had pitfalls in its rule.

5.0 SUMMARY

In the preceding lesson, you learned how the early stages of the military formation took place at about the 19th Century and covered the British dependencies in West Africa except the Gambia and the headquarters was in Gold Coast. It was after 1957 that the Nigeria Armed Forces was transferred to the British Governor-General in Nigeria. There are four categories of factors that will warrant intervening into politics. The simple reason being that, the military institution sees itself as an impartial arbiter. However it could be said the military did so well in the political development of Nigeria but had some challenges in the process.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- (1) Identify and discuss any factors you know that will make the military to intervene in politics in Nigeria.
- (2) Compare and contrast the military involvement in politics in Nigeria.

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MODUEL FOUR

UNIT 4

FISCAL FEDERALISM IN NIGERIA

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1.0 INTROCUITION

In the previous session, you learnt about the military involvement in politics, factors that warrant its involvement, contributions and predicaments. In this current unit, you will learn how revenue in Nigeria is been shared among the component units of government, the issue of restructuring and corruption.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this session, you should understand the principles upon which revenue is shared among the units of government in Nigeria.

Understand what restructuring means.

Know acts of corruption and effect on governance.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 REVENUE ALLOCATION

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 scarce economic resources of the state. Thus political considerations have greatly influenced the economics of revenue allocations in Nigeria.

In Nigeria, revenue allocation system over the years has witnessed a turbulent and highly politicized system. This throws the following questions:

- (a) How should federally collected revenue be shared between the centre and the federating units?
- (b) What should be the principle for sharing statutory and non-statutory revenue, among the state?
- (c) 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). In most, if not all federations, one of the most constant sources of intergovernmental wrangles is the problem of securing adequate financial resources on the part of the lower levels of government to discharge their essential and political responsibilities. One cannot ignore the importance of revenue in the day to day running of any government, so, the mode of acquiring the revenue particularly by the regional/state governments and now includes the local governments in Nigeria creates problems several times.

In Nigeria, the issue of intergovernmental fiscal transfer and economics of federalism made the Federal Government to set out commission and committees to articulate a proper revenue allocation formula and make recommendations. Some of these commissions were:

- (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.

Whatever principle that is adopted, the ultimate objective is to reduce the imbalance either horizontally or vertically among the tiers of government. But with all these mechanisms, there have been entangles among them, competing for bigger allocations from the national cake, unnecessary claim of rights over ownership of jurisdictions due to economic factors and control be it political, economic or otherwise.

Horizontal imbalance is the differences in allocation among the same levels of government 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 Exercise

1. Differentiate between Vertical and Horizontal Imbalances.
2. Why do you think that, the most constant source of quarrel among tiers of government is finance?

3.2 RESTRUCTURING

A critical examination of sharing federally derived revenue reveals that, there are contentions issues that have generated fierce controversy and partisan politics among the levels of government in Nigeria. The issue of resource control assumed a wider dimension since the return to civil rule in 1999. 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).

The word restructuring does not mean the merging of states as some people would prefer.

Restructuring simple means:

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 Exercise

1. What is restructuring?
2. Discuss the essence of restructuring in Nigeria/

4.0 CONCLUSION

From the discourse above, you have learnt the concept of restructuring and why it should be carried out in Nigeria now. You have learned some of the reasons why there is the necessity of restructuring in Nigeria.

5.0 SUMMARY

In the above session you have learned that restructuring in Nigeria now is timely due to numerous challenges ranging from economic, social and political dimensions. The essence is to put Nigeria back on the track for meaningful development and well being of the citizenry.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. How can restiveness be controlled in Nigeria of today?
2. How will you describe the revenue sharing among tiers of government in Nigeria.

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3.3 THE CONCEPT OF CORRUPTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last session, you learnt about restructuring in Nigeria. In this current session, you will learn about the concept of corruption and its impact on the economic, social and political well being of the citizenry.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this session you should understand what constitutes acts of corruption and its effect on government.

How to control and prevent it.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.3 THE CONCEPT OF CORRUPTION

There is no agreed meaning of what corruption is. However, contemporary literature suggests three different types of definitions of corruption, that is, Public Office, Market and Public Interest centred definitions. 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:

Corruption, while being tied particularly to the act of bribery, is a general term covering the misuse of authority as a result of considerations of personal gain, which needs 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 or influence.

Within the Nigerian 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.

3.3.1 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.

Corruption in the routine course of government business can take any of the under listed forms:

- (a) Fraudulent use of official stationary.
- (b) Payment for office visits.
- (c) Bribes paid to have compromising documents removed from files.
- (d) Payment for letters of recommendations.
- (e) Kickbacks for hiring.
- (f) Misuse of official housing.
- (g) Two salaries and neglect of public service for outside businesses.
- (h) Salary computerization fraud.
- (i) Embezzlement (in its many varieties).
- (j) False bills.
- (k) Income tax fraud.
- (l) Import, Export and Excise tax fraud.
- (m) Business auditing fraud.
- (n) Tax-stamp fraud.
- (o) Postal fraud.
- (p) Court tempering.
- (q) Military and Police shakedown.

3.3.2 SOLUTIONS TO BUREAUCRATIC CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA

Corruption has been a science of growing concern and this is so because of negative attributes that determined to the socio-economic and political development of the nation. There is therefore the urgent need for both the government and the citizen to fight against this monster called corruption.

Several anti-corruption stages have been put in place by the present government and those before it, yet it appears not much has been achieved. To compliment the existing efforts, the following suggestions may be useful to those in leadership positions and the followers:

- (a) An ideology of austerity to curb desire for material gain.
- (b) Salary must be adequate
- (c) Live above corruption by leaders. Set example with your selves.
- (d) 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 noted that fighting corruption is a collective responsibility and requires multi dimensional approach in curing it.

4.0 CONCLUSION

From the discussions above it is established that corruption has negative attributes that are detrimental to the socio-economic and development of the country. Government alone cannot fight corruption without the involvement of the citizenry.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, it was identified that, corruption in Nigeria is associated with colonialism and post colonial factionalism. The intervention of the military institution in the art of governance further entrenched the culture of public corruption which was established by earlier civilian regimes. Several strategies have put in place, yet there seem to be little achievement was made. Since corruption cuts across every facet of government business, the fight against it cannot be done alone by the government. It requires collective effort of government and the citizenry. To make any headway, it should begin with the leadership, then the followership and the entire citizenry. It is when corrupt practices have been

controlled that Nigeria can be said to be on the path to socio-economy and political development.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- (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 compliment the effort of the existing strategies in controlling corruption.

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