

# Governance and Local Government Elections in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

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## Introduction and Statement of Problem

Local governments and elections are two essential features of modern democracies. They help to establish, nurture and sustain democracy and democratic political culture. Elections provide the electorate with the power to freely participate in choosing their leaders and in providing the much-needed support and legitimacy to the state. Leaders are made accountable, and the institutions that create the stability of the political system are strengthened (Fage 2007). Local governments, on the other hand, are viable instruments of grassroots political participation and socialization. In theory, they are generally viable instruments in the democratisation of modern governments, while elections are means of ensuring regular changes of governments. Despite this, the Nigerian experience has been very disappointing. After several attempts at democratisation, the country is yet to evolve a viable, virile and stable democracy that will elicit popular support or even have direct bearing on the lives of the ordinary people. This is so because the so-called elected governments often lack legitimacy. Fundamentally, the primary role of local governments is to promote the spirit of local self-help and self-reliance, community sense of unity and achievement, through a network of grassroots and civil society organisations.

The most fundamental weaknesses of local governance in Nigeria are non-delivery, lack of accountability and corruption. The institution of local government in Nigeria has failed to enhance its capacity, to engage and mobilise the people and respond to their needs, and to administer effectively and responsibly the various local services. Ojofeitimi (2000) has observed that local governments have failed woefully in providing good governance. They have failed in their areas of primary responsibility – provision of such basic services as primary education, primary

health care, refuse collection and refuse disposal, street drainage and lighting, provision of potable water, care of the destitute, provision of comfortable stations, clean and hygienic markets, security, etc.

Local government elections in the country had been on non-party basis from 1987 to 1998. They were first held in 1987 during the Babangida Administration. This was the first time local government chairmen were elected through universal adult suffrage. There were local government elections in 1996, 1997 and 1998 but all proved problematic. In 2003, local government elections were postponed against the provisions of the Constitution. Some states conducted local government elections in 2007 which were marred by violence, fraud and rigging; while some, like Lagos and Jos, conducted theirs in 2008. Others, like Anambra State, did not have local government elections until January 2014. This particular State had been ruled for many years by four successive governors – Chris Ngige, Peter Obi, Andy Uba and Virginia Etiaba and again Peter Obi without local council chairmen. They appointed Caretaker Committees to run the affairs of the local governments in the state. It has also been observed that local government elections were generally marred by violence, fraud and rigging. Thus, the purpose of this study was to examine the role of local government elections in the governance of the people from 1999 to date in three states of the federation.

Specifically, the objectives of the study were to:

- a) Explore the level of citizens' participation in the local government elections in 1999, 2004 and 2007/2008.
- b) Assess the challenges of local government elections in Nigeria in 1999, 2004 and 2007/2008.
- c) evaluate the successes or failures of the local governments in the provision of basic social services to their citizens.
- d) highlight the level of involvement of citizens in the provision of basic social services in their various LGAs
- e) suggest ways of achieving good governance at the local government level.

The following research questions formed the basis of this study:

- a) What was the level of citizens' participation in the local government elections in 1999, 2004 and 2007/2008?
- b) What were the challenges that affected local government elections in 1999, 2004 and 2007/2008?
- c) Which of the basic social services were provided by the local governments from 1999 to date?
- d) Were the citizens involved in the provision of basic social services in their LGAs?
- e) What can be done to correct any observed anomalies?

## **Local Government – Conceptual Discourse**

In modern usage, local government is equated with grassroots participatory democracy. It refers to self-government of the local community for local community by its elected local inhabitants (Fage 2007)). In fact, it is within the framework of grassroots democracy that the 1976 Nigerian Local Government Reform Guidelines defined local government as: government at the local level exercised through representative councils established by law to exercise specific powers within areas defined. These powers should give the council substantial control over its local affairs as well as staffing and institutional and financial powers to initiate and direct the provision of services and to determine and implement projects that complement the activities of the state and federal government in their areas. They are also to ensure, through devolution of functions to these councils and through the active participation of the people and their traditional institutions, that local initiative and response to local needs and conditions are maximized (Reform Guidelines 1976:1).

From this, it is clear that the concept of (modern) local government involves a philosophical commitment to the idea of democratic participation in the governing process of a country at the grassroots level. The implication of this is that, the higher-level government voluntarily grants a certain degree of legal and administrative autonomy to a local community so as to enable the community perform specific functions within the broad national policy framework. By so doing, the operation of local government is confined to a specific geographic area within which the local community enjoys local 'self-government'. Self-government here does not mean that the local government becomes a local sovereign political entity. Rather, the term connotes that the local government council is at liberty to make bye-laws to enable it perform specific functions, have control over its finances, recruit and discipline its staff and formulate policies to usher in development programmes within the broad national objective(s).

Local governments could also be understood as administrative offices that are smaller than a state or province. The institutions of local government vary greatly between countries, and even where similar arrangements exist, the terminology often varies. Common names for local government entities include state, province, region, department, county, prefecture, district, city, township, town, borough, parish, municipality, shire and village (Ojo 2007). However all these terminologies are often used informally in countries where they do not describe a legal local government entity. Local governments are set up to bring government closer to the grassroots people – i.e. people in the communities, be it urban or rural. The Local Government in Nigeria forms the third tier of government, coming after the Federal and State Governments.

According to Green 'Local government is an essential instrument of national or state government for performance of certain basic functions which can best be administered locally on the intimate knowledge of the needs, conditions and

peculiarities of the areas concerned' (see Akinboye 2007). The constitutional guarantee of an autonomous local government system in Nigeria is a clear indication that grassroots administration in the country's political system is a fact of life (Akinboye, 2007).

The most authoritative and generally acceptable definition is that provided by the United Nations Office for Public Administration. This defines local government as a political sub-division of a nation or (in a federal system) state, which is constituted by law and has substantial control of local affairs, including the power to impose or exact labour for prescribed purposes (UN Report, 1960:3; cited in Akinboye 2007). A clearer picture of this definition reveals quite poignantly that local government is 'local', in the sense that it has to do essentially with a group of people having something of a common outlook and living in a close vicinity in a particular locality; and is 'government' in the sense that it is not just a mere delegation of powers from state or central government but has effective autonomous legal status (Akinboye 2007).

In the light of the above definitions, the definition provided by the 1976 Nigerian Local Government Reform Guidelines was adopted in this study.

## **Governance**

The concept of governance is a contested one. Adejumbi (2004) maintains that it is a concept that is notoriously slippery, frequently used by social scientists and practitioners without a concise definition. It has been variously conceptualized to suit legal, political and economic systems or ideologies. However, one strand that runs through all the definitions is that governance has to do with the relationship between the government and the governed. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights defines governance as the process whereby public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources and guarantee the realisation of human rights (UNHCR 2002). In this regard, governance is perceived as the process through which the leaders have as their basic guide and target, the guarantee of basic rights of the governed. This approach has its foundation basically in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights which proclaimed human rights 'as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations'. This definition is basically saying that public resources should be managed in such a way and manner as to guarantee the basic civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of the people.

Another school of thought views governance in a technical sense. In this case, the concept borrows directly from its usage in the corporate world. It implies the efficient management of state institutions. Issues of public accountability, transparency in government procedure, rule of law, and public sector management are emphasised. This is the restricted view of governance adopted by the World Bank (Adejumbi 2004). The essence of this governance approach is to discipline

the state and its institutions for economic purposes. Adejumobi (2004) further states that governance is the acceptable face of spending cuts. Governance is the political construct of a minimalist state.

A third perspective to governance is a holistic one that transcends the state and its institutions. Governance is seen as the process of steering state and society towards the realisation of collective goals. It points to the dynamic, but problematic and often times contradictory relationship between the state and society (Adejumobi 2004). In this direction, a meeting of experts convened by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) defines governance as a process of social engagement between the rulers and the ruled in a political community. Its component parts are rule-making and standard-setting, management of regime structures and outcome and results of the social pact (Adejumobi 2004). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) describes governance as 'the totality of the exercise of authority in the management of a country's affairs, comprising of the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, and mediate their differences. It encompasses the political, economic, legal, judicial, social and administrative authority and therefore includes; government, the private sector and the civil society' (World Bank 1999). In every legal or political system, there are rules guiding resource allocation and exploitation. This is to ensure even distribution of resources. Taxes and other revenues are imposed and collected for or by the government. In this same system also, there are natural and human resources which are to be harnessed by the government. The manner in which the government does the above for the overall benefit of the people and to enhance development is regarded as governance.

While there are variations in this holistic conception of governance, there is a consensus on the major actors or agencies of the governance project. These are the state, the civil society and the private sector. The state, though under enormous attack in the regime of market economy, remains a major actor in the governance agenda.

The latter conception of governance, though broader, is not unproblematic. It also has an economic undertone, in which the private sector is deliberately emphasised. The essence is to promote and reinforce a market economy. The rural population that constitutes the bulk of Africa's population do not feature overtly in this conception of governance, whereas the civil society that is basically urban-based, and the private sector that is small and limited in Africa are prioritized.

The UNDP further stresses that governance is the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. The main drivers in this approach to governance are

government institutions and the civil service. This definition is predicated upon the fact that the Constitution confers legislative, executive and judicial powers upon certain persons and institutions, the exercise of which will either constitute good or bad governance. Governance, in this respect, being the ability of the concerned institutions of government to play creditably, their rightful roles of legislating for the order, peace and good governance of their area of operation, executing government policies for the public good and creating a forum for the adequate redress of wrongs. Another important area is that of creating opportunities for interest articulation and aggregation. Individual members of any given society should be able to form groups or elect to join any of their choice. Governance entails government being able to make good use of these diverse interests for the benefit of the society at large.

Good governance flows logically from the concept of governance. According to Ahmed Mohideen, governance becomes 'good', when it operates in accordance with legal and ethical principles as conceived by society and seeks to provide a guide and direction to itself through standards and norms embedded in the governance idea (see Adejumobi 2004). The urge to steer state and society according to defined rules and procedures, and ensuring that governance in all its ramifications serves the interests of the greatest number of people in society through a collective, participatory endeavour.

Theoretically, understanding the role of government in any society relates directly to the fact of state-citizen relations in respect of the *Social Contract*, in which the state provides security and welfare for the citizens, and the citizens in turn reciprocate by recognizing the authority of the state and paying taxes to it. This relationship is further strengthened in a democratic environment where the citizens are allowed to freely elect their representatives through a transparent process. It is when this process is undermined that we see individuals selected rather than elected, and this could have serious long-term consequences for the health of the polity even at the local level.

### **Historical Perspective on the Nigerian local government system**

Local government has been variously conceptualized. In its generic sense, the term refers to self-government by the local community. From this broad and all-encompassing sense, therefore, one can argue that both the idea and practice of a 'local self-government' predated British colonialism. Fage (2007) contends that long before the British colonialists' conquest, the various communities that were later to form modern Nigeria had one form of local administration or the other. For instance, centralized states such as Borno, the Hausa states, Oyo and Benin kingdoms had a hierarchical system comprising of a central administration, a local government administration and a field administration. At the helm of affairs was a supreme leader (king, emir, etsu and oba, etc.) who ruled the entire kingdom or emirate with the help of traditional council at the local government level, where

title holders (appointed by and responsible to the supreme leader) administered their respective local areas. Beneath the title-holders were indigenous rulers (field administrators) through whom the entire local government administration was carried out. In fact, even in the decentralized states like the Igbo, Tiv, etc, there was a system of local government administration based on lineage. Here the lowest level of the administration was the village, while its upper level were groups of villages that had common ancestry.

Local governments in Nigeria have undergone so many transitions since the colonial period. Between 1950 and 1975, the country's systems of local governance moved from the colonial inheritance of indirect rule through Native Authorities to elected councils (Adedeji 2000). In his contribution, Ojofeitimi (2000) asserts that local government in Nigeria has had a chequered history. He discerns six phases, during which local government's fortune rose and ebbed. The first phase, commencing in the early 1950s, witnessed early efforts at democratisation. It marked the end of 'Indirect Rule' system with the attendant dominance of traditional rulers in grassroots governance and the experimentation by two of the regional governments (East and West) with English-Style Divisional, District and County Local Governments. The local government councils in the East were wholly elected. In the North, the Chief-in-Council replaced the Sole Native Authority while traditional districts and village group/villages remained as subordinate administrative organs of the Native Authority. Thus, by the end of the 1950s, there were high expectations that the 1960s would witness the emergence of a virile, effective and democratic local government.

He noted that during the second phase, which began in the early 1960s and which terminated with the end of the Civil War in 1970, the hope for a democratic system of local government was dashed. Various developments, both political and economic, took their toll on the structure, staffing, services and finances of local government. The multi-tier system introduced in the 1950s in the Eastern and Western regions was abandoned in favour of the one-tier system of local government. State government developed the field administration of their various ministries instead of strengthening local governments by making more funds available to them. Local governments, to all intents and purposes, became mere extensions of the state bureaucracy. The replacement of elected councils in the Western Region by nominated ones in 1963 completed the dismantling of the representative/democratic edifice.

The third phase inspired and epitomized by the Local Government Reforms of 1976 witnessed a determined effort by the Federal Government to revamp, rationalize and rehabilitate the system of local government. By October 1979, it could be safely stated that the rehabilitation of local government had been satisfactorily executed. Many years later, the country was still bedevilled by the dichotomy between the state and local government in respect of fiscal control and autonomy of local government. Unfortunately, the fourth phase of local

government administration (1979 to 1983) which held out high hopes for the consolidation of local government as a democratic and results-oriented system collapsed, due to its dependent nature on the state as a constituent unit in the Nigerian federation. Indeed, local government was virtually brought back to the unenviable position that it was in before the Local Government Reforms of 1976.

The fifth phase (1984 to 1993) witnessed efforts of the Buhari and Babangida administrations, especially the latter, to salvage local government from the mess that it was plunged into between 1979 and 1983. The first set of local government chairmen was then elected. The dominance of state governments was greatly reduced with the abolition of the state ministry for local governments. Their share of federally-allocated revenue was increased from 10 per cent to 15 per cent and subsequently 20 per cent. This reform also made it possible through the provision of the clause of 'Recall' for the people of the locality to recall councillors found wanting in the discharge of their duties.

The last phase (1994 to date) has been characterised by efforts to modify and resuscitate the system of local government following the political crises caused by the annulment of the 1993 Presidential Elections which virtually paralyzed the operations of government at federal, state and local government levels for several months. Local government council elections were held in March 1996 on a non-party basis. The way and manner the election was managed by the Abacha regime caused some concern in some sections of civil society that the government sought to control the transition process. By the second quarter of 1996, the General Abacha regime had created six additional states to calm frayed nerves so that he could drum up support for the transition programme (Ojo and Azeez 2002). The country witnessed another round of local government elections in April 1997 which were considered to be free and fair. Later, all the councils that emerged from the elections were dissolved by the Abubakar government and sole administrators were appointed to manage their affairs. In 1998, another local government election was held before the general election. Meanwhile, the Abacha regime had created more local government areas by adding 179 to the list – thus bringing the total number of local government areas to 768.

### **Legal Framework for Local Governments in Nigeria**

Section 3(6) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN) 1999 emphatically guarantees democratically elected local government administration in the country while 7(6) talks about statutory allocation provisions to local governments by both the National and State Assemblies. In Section 7(4) the government of a state is enjoined to ensure that every person who is eligible to vote and be voted for in a House of Assembly election is also given the right to vote and be voted for at a local government council election.

Furthermore, Section II of the concurrent legislative list says that 'the National Assembly may make laws for the Federation with respect to the registration of voters and the procedure regulating elections to a local government council' while Section 12 of the concurrent list says 'Nothing in paragraph 11 hereof shall preclude a House of Assembly from making laws with respect to election to a local government council in addition to but not inconsistent with any law made by the National Assembly' In consonance with the provisions of Section 7(5), functions of local governments are set out in the Fourth Schedule of the 1999 Constitution. Part VII of the Electoral Act 2006 comprising Sections 120 to 123 sets up the procedure for Local Government Council Elections.

## **Research Design and Methods**

### ***Research design***

The study adopted a non-experimental research design. Three states were selected on purpose because of their peculiarities. Two of them were problem states – Anambra and Plateau, representing South-East and North-Central geopolitical zones, respectively. The third state was Lagos which had been consistent in the conduct of local government elections. Anambra had not had any local government elections since 1999 while Plateau experienced crisis after 2008 local government elections.

### ***Anambra State***

The original Anambra State was created in 1976 when East Central State was broken into Anambra and Imo States. Then, it comprised the present Anambra State and Enugu State including the Abakaliki part of Ebonyi State, with Enugu as its capital. During further state creation in August 1991, Enugu State with Abakaliki was excised, leaving Anambra State as currently constituted, with Awka as its capital. The state derived its name from the Anambra River, the largest, most southerly, left bank tributary of the River Niger. With a total land area of 4,416 sq. km, Anambra State is situated on a generally low elevation on the eastern side of the River Niger. It is located in South-East Nigeria, and bounded by Delta State to the west, Imo State to the south, Enugu State to the east and Kogi State to the north. It has one of the highest population densities in Nigeria. The state comprises numerous thickly populated villages, a number of small towns and a few major towns; some areas are so thickly populated that the estimated density is 1500-2000 persons living within every square kilometre.

Anambra State had a population of 4,182,032 as at March 2006 (Federal Government Printer [FGP] 2007). The indigenous ethnic group in Anambra State is the Igbo (98 per cent per cent of population) and Igala (2 per cent of the population). Most of the population is rural, although over the last two decades rural-urban migration has stretched the meagre urban services to a breaking

point. This pattern of human migration has posed serious problems for the state's resources, fragile infrastructure, environmental sanitation, erosion control and social services. This pressure is especially evident in its huge commercial city of Onitsha. Consequently, potable water, electricity and decent housing for the residents of Onitsha have become a luxury. Anambra is rich in natural gas, crude oil, bauxite, ceramics and almost 100 per cent arable soil. Most of its natural resources remain largely untapped.

Administratively, the state consists of twenty one local government areas. There are three senatorial districts in the state, namely: (a) Anambra North, (b) Anambra Central, and (c) Anambra South. Most of the population of Anambra State consists of members of the enterprising Igbo ethnic group who are renowned for their resourcefulness and entrepreneurship. The Anambra Igbo can be found in all nooks and crannies of Nigeria, as well as in virtually every part of the world. Wherever they find themselves, the entrepreneurial skills of the Igbo stand them out in all their fields of endeavour.

Anambra State citizens, who refer to themselves as 'Anambrarians' are also educationally advanced. Literacy rate in the state is comparatively high, and there is an abundance of well educated and skilled personnel in virtually all fields of endeavour. Anambra State is the home state of many prominent Nigerians such as Nnamdi Azikiwe, former Governor-General and President of Nigeria; renowned writer Chinua Achebe and Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, the civil war Biafran Leader.

### ***Lagos State***

Lagos State was created on 27 May 1967 by virtue of the State Creation and Transitional Provisions of Decree No. 14 of 1967, which reconstructed Nigeria's federation into 12 states. The State is located in the south western part of Nigeria. Administratively, Lagos State is divided into 20 local government areas (LGAs) and 37 development areas. By the results of 1991 census, Lagos State had the highest population of 5,725,116 which was over 5 per cent of the national estimate of 88,992,220 (National Population Commission [NPC], 1998) with a landmass of 3,577 square kilometres representing 0.4 per cent of the total landmass of the federation. However, in the 2006 census figures, Lagos had over 9.0 million inhabitants (FGP 2007). The Lagos State Government has however declared that the figure was unacceptable because a parallel census conducted by the state produced a much higher figure of 17.6 million people (Obia 2007). The fact is that it is believed that Lagos State has a population figure far higher than the official census figure.

Lagos State is inhabited predominantly by the Aworis and Eguns who are Yorubas in Ikeja and Badagry divisions, respectively. Generally her ethnic configuration is diverse, with Yorubas constituting 65 per cent, Hausa 15 per cent, Igbo 15 per cent and others 5 per cent (Lagos State website 2004). Until

12 December 1991, Lagos served as the federal capital of the country. It also serves as the industrial and commercial hub of the nation with a Gross National Product (GNP) that triples that of any other West African country (Lagos State Government 2006). The five LGAs investigated in Lagos State were: Lagos Mainland, Kosofe and Ajeromi-Ifelodun as urban LGAs while Ikorodu and Epe were studied as rural LGAs.

### *Plateau State*

Plateau State, which derives its name from the Jos Plateau State is located in Nigeria's middle belt and shares common boundaries with Benue, Nassarawa, Kaduna, Taraba, Bauchi and Gombe States. With an area of 26,899 square kilometres, the state has an estimated population of 3,178,712 people (FGP 2007). The state is named after the picturesque Jos Plateau, a mountainous area in the north of the state with captivating rock formations. Bare rocks are scattered across the grasslands, which cover the plateau. The altitude ranges from around 1,200 meters (about 4000 feet) to a peak of 1,829 metres above sea level in the Shere Hills range near Jos. Years of tin mining have also left the area strewn with deep gorges and lakes.

Plateau State is a product of half a century of boundary adjustments arising, on the one hand, from the ambition of the colonial masters to create a province which consisted largely of non-Muslims under one Resident, in order to protect the railway line being constructed at that time and guarantee the sustenance of tin mining activities which began in 1902, and the strong desire of the peoples in the area for political self-determination, on the other hand.

In the formative years of British colonialism in Nigeria, much of Plateau State was part of Bauchi Province. In 1926, Plateau Province, comprising Jos and Pankshin Divisions, was carved out of Bauchi Province. At various times between 1926 and 1976, the boundary of Plateau Province oscillated, paralleling the general trend of political development in the country, as the government of the day acquiesced to the agitation of different ethnic groups to be merged with their kith and kin that were of larger concentrations in other provinces. During this period, therefore, some administrative units or divisions, as they were then called, from neighbouring provinces were added to or subtracted from Plateau Province. In May 1967, Benue and Plateau Provinces were merged to form Benue-Plateau State, one of the twelve states into which the military administration of General Yakubu Gowon divided Nigeria in place of the four existing regions then.

The division of the country into smaller semi-autonomous states was strategic and an attempt to introduce a sense of balance between the north and the south, and to save the federation from total disintegration, which was imminent from the polarization of the country along ethnic lines after the bloody military takeover of 1966 and the subsequent crisis which led to an attempted secession by the

Eastern Region. Benue-Plateau State emerged as one of those large states of the Federation where pressure was mounted on the Federal Government immediately after the civil war for the creation of more states.

When the country was however further divided into nineteen states in 1976, Plateau Province was severed from Benue-Plateau State to become Plateau State. In 1996, the present Nassarawa State was carved out of the western half of Plateau State by the Abacha military regime. In 1976, Plateau State had fourteen local government areas (LGAs). New LGAs were carved out of the large ones in 1989, 1991 and 1996, so that today, the new Plateau State is subdivided into seventeen LGAs. The state has over forty ethno-linguistic groups. Each ethnic group has its own distinct language, but as with the rest of the country, English is the official language in Plateau State; Hausa is also a medium of communication and commerce as is the case in most parts of the North and Middle Belt of Nigeria.

### **Research Method**

A cross-sectional survey was employed to elicit qualitative and quantitative data from the population. Data were collected at one point in time through the use of interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

### **Study populations**

The units of analysis for the survey were household individuals and Local Government employees in the studied population. This constituted the quantitative aspect of the study.

### **Sample and Sampling Techniques**

Sample size for the study was computed based on the proportion of females to males in 2006 census data. Women were 48.78 per cent while men were 51.22 per cent of the total population of Nigeria as at March 2006. The computed sample size was 1,650. Due to limited fund, 25 per cent of the number i.e. 412 was finally accepted.

However, 455 respondents were studied because populations of Anambra and Plateau states were raised in order to allow for comparative analysis. The states were allocated sample sizes based on the proportional distribution of their populations to the total 2006 census figures e.g. Anambra State has a total population of 4,182,032, which is 2.99 per cent of the total population of Nigeria. The population of Plateau State is 3,178,712, representing 2.27 per cent of the total and Lagos State – 9,013,534 representing 6.44 per cent of the total. This implies that 225 respondents in Lagos State; 112 in Anambra State and 75 in Plateau State should be studied. However, in order to get the least number that was adequate for comparative analysis between rural and urban populations, the populations of Anambra and Plateau states were increased. Consequently, 120 and

110 were studied in Anambra and Plateau states, respectively i.e., for Anambra State 70 urban dwellers and 50 rural people were studied. In Plateau State, 60 urban and 50 rural dwellers were interviewed. In each selected local government area, five employees of local governments were also investigated except in Plateau State where only 11 Local Government employees were interviewed. Their total number was not included in the sample size.

Multi-stage random sampling method was used to select the 455 respondents. The first stage involved identifying and selecting the states from the zones. In the second stage, considering that each of the states has three Senatorial Districts, there was allocation of sample slots to the states based on the proportion of each state to the total population size of Nigeria using the 2006 census figures as provided by the National Population Census. The third stage was the selection of 25 per cent of LGAs (which in Lagos was five LGAs) from the Senatorial Districts in the states. Consideration was given to the urban-rural spatial distribution such that in a peculiarly urban state like Lagos, 60 per cent of the respondents were drawn from urban LGAs while 40 per cent were drawn from the rural LGAs. It thus follows that three urban LGAs (Lagos Mainland, Kosofe and Ajeromi-Ifelodun) and two rural LGAs (Ikorodu and Epe) were selected for the study in Lagos.

In Plateau and Anambra States, one rural LGA and two urban LGAs were investigated in each since their sample sizes were less than that of Lagos State. In Anambra, Awka South and Onitsha North were the urban LGAs selected, while Awka North was the rural LGA. In Plateau State, Jos North and Jos South formed the urban LGAs while Barkin-Ladi was the rural LGA studied. From the selected LGAs, a minimum of 25 per cent of the wards were selected in the fourth stage. From the selected wards, 25 per cent of the streets were selected randomly. From the selected streets, households were selected systematically and then the final sampling unit was the consenting individuals in the fifth stage. This constituted the eligible respondents. Efforts were made to have a gender balance of 50 per cent males and 50 per cent females in the final sampling unit but in some instances women declined to respond to questions. With respect to ethical considerations, respondents' oral consent was obtained. They were not coerced.

### **Research Instruments**

Since the study was carried out in both rural and urban areas, interview schedule was employed as most of the population might be semi-literate or non-literate and if there was need to probe further in order to get clear answers this was made possible. The interview schedule was structured with closed-ended and a few open-ended questions based on the objectives of the study. The interview method was complemented by Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). The content of the instrument was highly specific to the elections and governance of the LGAs. Two sets of interview schedules were developed, one for the individuals and the other for the LG officials.

### **Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**

The FGDs were helpful in the collection of qualitative data. There were four FGDs in each state, one for each of the following categories of participants: (a) Male youths (18-29 years); (b) Adult males (30 years and above); (c) Female youths (18-29 years); (d) Adult females (30 years and above). There were six people in a session, a moderator and a note-taker.

A pre-testing of the research instruments was conducted outside the LGAs under study.

### **Data Collection**

The survey was conducted from June to July 2009. Research team consisted of sociologists and political scientists: the principal investigator, three state supervisors and eleven research assistants (RAs) (5 in Lagos State; 3 in Anambra State and 3 in Plateau State). The state supervisors and RAs were recruited among the residents in the states under study. All the RAs were trained for one day. The training focused on the objectives of the study, the techniques of interview and how to approach and develop rapport with the respondents. The aim of the training was to ensure that the interviews were conducted in similar ways in order to enhance comparability of information and to minimize interview bias. The individuals were selected on the basis of possession of demonstrated and adequate social research skills and experience.

### **Data Analysis**

Data were analysed using version 15 of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Quantitative data were presented in frequencies and percentages while qualitative data were used to buttress the findings of the quantitative data.

### **Challenges of the Fieldwork**

One major problem was that of recall on the part of the respondents since the study was in retrospect. It was also not uncommon for the respondents to demand financial rewards for their time and cooperation. Rains constituted another major challenge. These problems were addressed as they arose. The training equipped the RAs with the necessary skills to overcome the challenges. During the training, emphasis was on communication skills and interpersonal relations which should enhance rapport with diverse respondents in the communities of interest. The recruitment and training ensured that RAs were people who understood the local terrain as well as the language of the communities under study. These ensured that the survey gained acceptance of the local population and also took care of the uneducated.

## Findings

### *Social Demographic Profile of the Respondents*

The total number of respondents investigated was 455, comprising 120 from Anambra State, 225 from Lagos State and 110 from Plateau State. Disaggregating into rural and urban locations, 60 per cent of the respondents were from the urban centres in both Anambra and Lagos States while in Plateau we investigated 54.5 per cent of urban dwellers (see Table 4.1). In other words, 58.7 per cent of the total respondents were urban dwellers. Out of the total respondents, 55.8 per cent were males while 44.2 per cent represented females. In spite of our efforts to investigate equal number of males and females, many women declined to participate. About three fifths of the total respondents were married (60.7 per cent) while one-third of them were never married. Educational levels of the respondents indicated that 30.1 per cent had acquired tertiary education and 17.4 per cent, professional education. About one-quarter of the total respondents had obtained other forms of education such as Modern 3, Pitman etc. With respect to occupational status, 25.7 per cent of the total respondents were self-employed and artisans accounted for 14.7 per cent, while others were distributed as follows: students (14.3 per cent), private sector employees (10.5 per cent) and civil servants (9.9 per cent). The respondents were predominantly Christians as they accounted for three quarters of the sample. The next dominant religion was Islam (22.0 per cent).

**Table 4.1:** Social Demographic Profile of the Respondents

Characteristics	Anambra N = 120		Lagos N = 225		Plateau N = 110		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Urban	72	60.0	60	54.5	60	54.5	267	58.7
Rural	48	40.0	90	40.0	50	45.5	188	41.3
Gender								
Male	61	50.8	126	56.0	67	60.9	254	55.8
Female	59	49.2	99	44.0	43	39.1	201	44.2
Marital status								
Single	48	40.0	50	22.2	51	46.4	149	32.7
Currently married	59	49.2	167	74.2	47	42.7	273	60.0
Divorced/ separated/ widowed	7	5.8	8	3.5	9	8.1	24	5.3
No response	6	5.0	–	–	3	2.7	9	2.0
Education								
None	5	4.2	4	1.8	3	2.7	12	2.6
Primary	15	12.5	11	4.9	8	7.3	34	7.5

Secondary	7	5.8	12	5.3	3	2.7	22	4.8
Tertiary	43	35.8	82	36.4	16	14.5	141	31.0
Professional	17	14.2	30	13.3	32	29.1	79	17.4
Others	32	26.7	86	38.1	44	38.9	162	35.6
No response	1	0.8	–	–	4	3.6	5	1.1
Occupation								
Unemployed	4	3.3	7	3.1	14	12.7	25	5.5
Housewife	6	5.0	7	3.1	10	9.1	23	5.1
Pension/Retired	6	5.0	2	0.9	3	2.7	11	2.4
Student	29	24.2	18	8.0	18	16.4	65	14.3
Farmer	6	5.0	3	1.3	8	7.3	17	3.7
Self/Own	25	20.8	75	33.3	17	15.5	117	25.7
Self/Informal	6	5.0	14	6.2	1	0.9	21	4.6
Art	6	5.0	60	26.7	1	0.9	67	14.7
Unskilled	4	3.3	–	–	–	–	4	0.9
Private sector	10	8.3	23	10.2	15	13.6	48	10.5
Civil Servant	16	13.3	10	4.4	9	17.3	45	9.9
Others	–	–	1	0.4	3	2.7	4	0.9
No response	2	1.7	5	2.2	1	0.9	8	1.7
Religion								
Traditional	5	4.2	2	0.9	3	2.7	10	2.2
Christianity	114	95.0	133	59.1	95	86.4	342	75.2
Islam	–	–	90	40.0	10	9.1	100	22.0
Others	1	0.8	–	–	1	0.9	2	0.4
5.00	–	–	–	–	1	0.9	1	0.2

## Political Behaviour

### *Participation in Local Government Elections*

In this section, the political behaviour of the respondents was assessed. In Table 4.2 all the studied states conducted LG elections in 1999 but at the time of the study, Anambra State had not yet held another one. Lagos and Plateau States were supposed to hold LG council election in 2003 and 2007 but they were delayed to 2004 and 2008 respectively because of some political reasons. The level of awareness of local government elections in the three periods under review showed a similar pattern. 84.8 per cent, 81.1 per cent and 80.9 per cent of the respondents were aware of the local government council elections of 1999, 2004, and 2008 respectively. These varied from one state to another. For instance, in 1999, 70.8 per cent of Anambra State respondents compared to 92.4 per cent of Lagos State and

84.5 per cent of Plateau State respondents knew about the LG council elections. The level of awareness in Lagos and Plateau States increased to 97.3 per cent and 88.2 per cent respectively in 2004. By 2008, almost all the respondents in Lagos State and 99.1 per cent respondents from Plateau State knew that local government elections were held.

**Table 4.2:** Respondents' Participation in Local Government Elections

	Anambra N=120			Lagos N= 225			Plateau N =110		
	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Aware of LGA elections	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Yes	70.8	-	-	92.4	97.3	99.1	84.5	88.2	89.1
No	29.2	-	-	7.6	2.7	0.9	15.5	11.8	10.9
Take part in elections	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Yes	55.0			62.7	76.0	68.4	60.0	60.0	64.5
No	43.3			37.3	24.0	31.1	40.0	40.0	34.5
No response	1.7			-	-	0.4	-	0	0.9
If no, why	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Didn't know	9.2			2.7	0.4	0.4	0.9	0.9	--
Didn't know anybody	1.7			4.0	1.8	1.3	6.4	6.4	6.4
Not interested	7.5			15.6	14.7	24.0	15.5	16.4	18.2
Not my business	4.2			1.8	0.9	0.4	6.4	3.6	3.6
Others	24.2			12.9	6.2	4.0	10.9	8.2	6.4
No response	53.3			63.1	76.0	69.8	60.0	64.5	65.5
If yes, in what capacity	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Vice chairman	0.8			0.4	-	-	0.9	-	-
Councillor	0.8			-	-	-	1.8	-	-
Voted	55.8			59.1	72.4	65.3	52.7	53.6	53.6
Campaigned	2.5			3.1	2.7	3.1	4.5	9.1	12.7
No response	40.0			37.3	24.9	31.1	40.0	37.3	33.6
Whether the respondents belonged to any party	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Yes	35.8			25.8	26.7	28.4	45.5	54.5	38.2
No	57.5			73.3	72.4	70.7	52.7	43.6	57.6
No response	6.7			0.9	0.9	0.9	1.8	1.8	4.2

About 43.3 per cent of respondents from Anambra State, 37.3 per cent from Lagos State and 40 per cent from Plateau State did not take part in 1999 local government council elections (see Table 4.2). The situation improved in Lagos State but remained the same in Plateau State until 2008 when fewer people declined to participate (34.5 per cent). Reasons provided for non-involvement in the elections were apathy, not familiar with the contestants, not their business and therefore unconcerned or that they travelled outside the states. However, the study showed that 55.0 per cent of respondents from Anambra State, 60.0 per cent from Plateau State and 62.7 per cent from Lagos State actually participated in the LG elections of 1999. The findings revealed in Table 4.2 that the respondents participated in various capacities. Major mode of participation was voting, although some respondents contested as Vice Chairmen, councillors while others campaigned for others. Political party membership was not common among the respondents because majority of the total respondents did not belong to political parties. For instance, in Table 4.2, 73.3 per cent of Lagos State respondents, and more than one half of both Anambra and Plateau State respondents affirmed that they did not belong to any political party in 1999. Lagos and Plateau States ran almost similar patterns in 2004 and 2008 elections as in 1999. This indicates the level of apathy among the electorate.

### **Challenges of Local Government Council Elections**

In 1999 LG council elections, 50.8 per cent, 48.2 per cent and 35.6 per cent of the respondents from Anambra, Plateau, and Lagos States, respectively, did not know whether all the contesting parties were represented (see Table 4.3). This could be attributed to low level of campaigns and too many political parties which usually confuse the electorate. However, 35.8 per cent of Anambra State respondents, 62.2 per cent of those of Lagos State and 38.2 per cent of Plateau State respondents ascertained that all political parties were represented during the voting exercise.

In 2004 and 2008, Anambra State did not hold any LG elections but for Lagos State, the findings revealed that a higher proportion of the respondents (70.7 per cent) than that of 1999 (62.2 per cent) testified that all the parties involved were represented. On the contrary, in Plateau State a lower percentage (21.8 per cent) than that of 1999 (38.2 per cent) reported so. By 2008, the proportions of respondents who affirmed that all parties were represented dropped to 52.9 per cent in Lagos State and 18.2 per cent in Plateau State. By this time, LG council elections were characterised by rancour, accusations and counter-accusations by various parties. A greater proportion of those who said that some political parties were not represented were found among the Plateau respondents throughout the three periods under review. They revealed that some parties declined to participate. For instance, in Lagos, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) declined

to participate in 2008 because of the issue of 20 Local Government Councils and 37 Local Council Development Areas (LCDAs). Thirty-one political parties indicated their interest in participating in the local council poll in the state.

Voters' turnout in 1999 was encouraging in all the states investigated. About 62.5 per cent of Anambra State, 69.8 per cent of Lagos State and 75.5 per cent of Plateau State respondents said that the turnout of voters was impressive. In Lagos State, people's turnout was more impressive in 2003 than in 1999 as 80.4 per cent compared to 69.8 per cent of the respondents said that the citizens came out en masse to vote, but this percentage dropped to 67.1 per cent in 2008 (see Table 4.3). On the contrary, in Plateau State, the percentage of respondents who said that there was a mass turnout of voters dropped from 75.5 per cent in 1999 to 70.9 per cent in 2004 but increased to 80.0 per cent in 2008.

However, in 1999, one in four of Anambra State respondents, one in ten of Lagos State and a little above one in five of Plateau State respondents reported that the voters were bribed by the political parties while 15.8 per cent, 7.1 per cent and 13.6 per cent of Anambra, Lagos and Plateau respondents respectively claimed that the voters were compelled to vote for parties which were not their choices in the same year. Furthermore, 15 per cent of Anambra State, 4.9 per cent of Lagos State and 15.5 per cent of Plateau State respondents reported that LG Chairmen and councillors declared as having won the elections did not actually win. This is probably because these politicians exercise their political powers by putting their friends and clients on the state payroll as council employees, thus ensuring them a secured livelihood.

**Table 4.3:** Challenges of Local Government Council Elections

	Anambra N=120			Lagos N= 225			Plateau N =110		
All parties were represented	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Yes	35.8			62.2	70.7	52.9	38.2	21.8	18.2
No	4.2			1.8	3.6	18.2	10.9	21.8	30.9
Don't know	50.8			35.6	23.6	27.6	48.2	52.7	47.3
No response	9.2			0.4	2.2	1.3	2.7	3.6	3.6
People came out to vote	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Yes	62.5			69.8	80.4	67.1	75.5	70.9	80.0
No	1.7			0.9	2.2	14.2	1.8	9.1	3.6
Don't know	21.7			27.1	16.9	18.2	20.0	18.2	13.6
No response	14.2			2.2	0.4	0.4	2.7	1.8	2.7
Whether the electorate were bribed	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Yes	25.8			10.7	15.6	10.7	22.7	30.0	42.7

No	25.8			52.4	58.7	55.6	19.1	20.0	12.7
Don't know	36.7			34.2	24.9	33.3	57.3	50.0	42.7
No response	11.7			2.6	0.9	0.4	0.9	–	1.8
Whether the electorate were permitted to vote for the contestants of their choices	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Yes	39.2			61.3	65.8	62.7	42.7	37.3	39.1
No	15.8			7.1	8.4	7.6	13.6	23.6	33.6
Don't know	30.0			29.8	24.4	29.3	40.9	37.3	26.4
No response	15.0			1.8	1.3	0.4	2.7	1.8	0.9
Whether the declared winners actually won	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Yes	31.7			63.6	68.4	67.1	37.3	28.2	13.6
No	15.0			4.9	7.1	5.3	15.5	30.0	40.9
Don't know	39.2			29.8	23.6	27.1	45.5	40.0	42.7
No response	14.2			1.8	0.9	0.4	1.8	1.8	2.7
Whether problems were encountered during the elections	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008	1999	2004	2008
Yes	20.8			2.7	4.0	2.2	9.1	17.3	29.1
No	40.8			68.4	73.3	77.3	44.5	29.1	20.9
Don't know	23.3			28.4	20.9	18.7	44.5	42.7	29.1
No response	15.0			0.4	1.8	1.7	1.8	10.9	20.9

With regards to whether the electorate was bribed in 2003, 30 per cent of Plateau State and 15.6 per cent of Lagos State respondents said yes. Furthermore, 23.6 per cent of Plateau State and 8.4 per cent Lagos State respondents said that voters were not allowed to cast votes for the parties of their choice. About 30.0 per cent of Plateau State and 7.1 per cent of Lagos State respondents reported that the declared winners did not actually win the elections.

The next LG elections did not hold in 2007 as planned. Lagos and Plateau States cast their votes in 2008 while in Anambra State, no LG council elections was held since that of 1999. Around 67.1 per cent of Lagos State and 80.0 per cent of Plateau State respondents declared that the turn out for voting was satisfactory. More than two-fifths of the Plateau State sample and one in ten respondents from Lagos State claimed that voters were offered bribes. There is no difference between 2003 and 2007/2008 proportions of the respondents who said that the chairmen and councillors did not win in Lagos State but in Plateau State, the proportion increased from 30.0 per cent to 40.9 per cent between the same periods under review.

The respondents were asked if they witnessed any problems during the polls. About 20.8 per cent of Anambra State respondents compared to 9.1 per cent of respondents of Plateau and 2.7 per cent of those of Lagos State reported that there were problems. By 2003 and 2008 the percentages of Plateau State respondents who said there were problems had increased from 9.1 per cent in 1999 to 17.3 per cent in 2003 and 29.1 per cent in 2008. There were reported cases of delay in the provision of electoral materials, snatching and stuffing of ballot boxes, rigging and violence.

The literature indicates that the local government elections of 2003/2004 were marred by violence and intimidation (Human Rights Watch 2004). Local government elections had originally been scheduled to take place in 2002, but were repeatedly postponed. The official reasons given for these postponements related mostly to logistical and administrative preparations. But many Nigerians speculated that the delays were more likely to have been motivated by political considerations. After the terms of local government councils expired in May 2002, state governors appointed local transition or 'caretaker' committees to take the place of elected local government councils. A federal government announcement in June 2003 that the system of local government administration would be subjected to a wide-ranging review meant that local government elections were, for a while, indefinitely suspended; in the meantime, local governments continued to be controlled by unelected individuals, picked by state governors. When the elections were eventually announced for March 2004, many of these individuals were reluctant to give up these lucrative positions. Human Rights Watch also documented several cases in which members of these transition committees were implicated in acts of violence against their perceived opponents during the 2003 elections (Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), (2004).

The 2003 elections had already demonstrated that the fiercest battles for political control were played out at the local level, and local disputes were the motivation behind many of the most serious incidents of violence. The 2004 local government elections confirmed this pattern. Violence broke out in many locations before, during and after polling day on March 27, leading to dozens of deaths. In addition to battles between supporters of different political parties, the period of the local government elections saw an intensification of internal fighting, in particular within the PDP, with different factions vying for control of local government positions. From February 2004 onwards, there were several incidents of apparently politically-motivated killings and attacks in different parts of the country. For example, on 6 February, Aminasoari Dikibo, National Vice-Chairman of the PDP for the South South Zone, was shot dead in Delta State. In Kogi State, the chairman of the State Independent Electoral Commission, Philip Olorunnipa, was killed on 7 March, and the PDP candidate for the chairmanship of Bassa local government, Luke Shigaba, was killed on 3 March. Also on 3 March,

a vehicle carrying the Benue State Governor, George Akume, was attacked; the Governor escaped unhurt, but a friend travelling with him, Andrew Agom (who, like the governor, was a PDP member), and a police officer were both killed. There has been speculation that some of these incidents may have been caused by infighting within the PDP.

Between January and April 2004, there was also an intensification of inter-communal violence in areas such as the Niger Delta and the central Plateau State. Not all these incidents were directly related to the elections, but some analysts argued that the climate of heightened political tension created by the prospect of elections contributed to the increase in violence, especially in Delta State.

On the actual election day of 27 March, numerous incidents of violence and intimidation and clashes between supporters of different parties and candidates were reported across the country. The geographical spread of locations from which electoral violence was reported during the local government elections might have been even greater than during the 2003 general elections. Whereas the worst violence in 2003 was concentrated in the south-south and southeast, violence around the 2004 local government elections erupted in multiple locations across the country. In an initial non-exhaustive count of incidents reported by the end of March 2004, Human Rights Watch noted at least 22 states (out of Nigeria's 36 states) in which killings and other types of violent clashes were recorded by election observers, journalists and other sources (Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), (2004). Between late March and early April, there were reports of further incidents, including killings, some of which might have been linked to the aftermath of the elections (*Daily Champion* 2004; Associated Press 2004)

In addition to the violence, election observers reported widespread rigging of election results. Elections did not take place at all in several locations, in some cases because state or local authorities had chosen alternative dates, and in other cases, such as in Warri in Delta State, because state governments feared that elections would aggravate ongoing violence. The cancellation or postponement of elections was in itself a source of further frustration and anger among some communities. Where elections did take place, there was a very low voter turnout; observers speculated that people had been discouraged from voting by a mixture of apathy, fear, and disillusion with the 2003 elections (The Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) 2004).

In other parts of the country that conducted their local government elections in 2007, violence, fraud and rigging were also experienced. In Plateau State, clashes between the Hausa-Fulani settlers and the indigenes of Jos and between the Muslims and Christians erupted in Jos after the local government elections in 2008, with at least 312 people killed and also the military and the police were alleged to be involved in extra-judicial killings (International Crisis Group, 2012). The Plateau State Independent Electoral Commission (PLASIEC), announced

the results of the 17 local government elections, which were won by the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). The Plateau State Independent Electoral Commission said the election was free, fair, credible and peaceful but the riots started when some Hausa-Fulani thought that the Plateau State Independent Electoral Commission (PLASIEC) attempted to alter the votes in favour of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) against their candidate of All-Nigerian People's Party (ANPP). They set a church on fire. It was reported that the trouble started when an agent of one of the political parties was killed at Kabong, where results for Jos North were being collated. The ANPP candidate was said to be leading by about 26,000 votes. The International Crisis Group (2012:12) reported that the central collation centre was changed at least three times and the final counting took place in a primary school situated in a different LGA. Yet, the Hausa-Fulani's attacks happened before the results were announced.

### **Assessment of Provisions of Social Services**

Local government is a grassroots government and one of the indices of governance is provision of social services. It became imperative to assess how the LGAs had affected the lives of their respective citizens. Between 1999 and 2004, construction of roads (42.5 per cent) was a prominent programme in Anambra State while in Lagos State – potable water (46.2 per cent), refuse disposal (25.3 per cent), street drainage (28.4 per cent), security (20.4 per cent), cleaning of markets (20.4 per cent), environmental sanitation – were provided by the local governments studied (Table 4.4). In Plateau State, the results showed that the LGAs were unpopular as very few respondents testified that social services were provided during the periods under review. With respect to citizens' participation in the provision of social services, 45.8 per cent of Anambra State respondents confirmed that the community members contributed to the provision of social services. In Lagos state, 30.2 per cent of the respondents were in the negative while 39.6 per cent were not sure whether people participated or not.

Between 2004 and 2008, 26.7 per cent and 26.2 per cent of Anambra and Lagos State respondents said that roads were constructed. Similarly, in Lagos State, street drainages were constructed and provision of potable water (36.4 per cent). About 22.7 per cent of respondents from Lagos State affirmed that security was provided (23.6 per cent), cleaning of markets and environmental sanitation (31.1 per cent) between 2004 and 2008. Around 28.3 per cent of Anambra State respondents claimed that people participated in the construction of roads in the state. Although Plateau State respondents could not testify to the provision of social services, they were able to report that their people participated in the provision of social services. For instance, 23.6 per cent, 22.7 per cent and 26.4 per cent of the respondents were certain that their community members took part in the provision of services during the periods under study.

Despite the fact that no LG elections were held in 2004 and 2008 in Anambra state, from 2008 till date of the study showed that social services were provided. For instance, between 2004 and 2008, 26.7 per cent of the respondents said that roads were constructed, 15.8 per cent said health centres were built, 9.7 per cent said classrooms were constructed, refuse disposal was certified by 5.8 per cent, provision of security (5.0 per cent), construction of markets (4.2 per cent), and environmental sanitation (3.3 per cent). There were caretaker committees appointed in each LGA. In Lagos, 26.2 per cent of the respondents mentioned road construction, 38.7 per cent refuse disposal, street drainages (39.6 per cent), potable water (36.4 per cent), 22.7 per cent security, 23.6 per cent cleaning of markets and environmental sanitation (31.1 per cent). For Plateau State, the proportions of the respondents who testified that social services were provided were lower than those found in Anambra and Lagos States e.g while 26.7 per cent and 26.2 per cent of Anambra and Lagos State respondents claimed that their LGAs provided roads for them only 10 per cent of the Plateau State respondents could account for that in their LGAs. Others were health centres (16.4 per cent), building of classrooms (10.9 per cent), refuse disposal (10.0 per cent), street drainages (19.1 per cent), potable water (6.4 per cent), security (5.5 per cent), cleaning of markets (3.6 per cent), and electricity (4.5 per cent).

People's participation in the provision of social services empowers them to be effectively involved in creating the structures and designing policies and programmes that serve the interests of all and effectively contribute to the development process and share equitably in its benefits. In this wise the respondents' level of participation was assessed. With regards to people's participation in the provision of social services between 2004 and 2008, 8.3 per cent, 34.7 per cent and 19.1 per cent of the respondents from Anambra, Lagos and Plateau States respectively reported that their communities did not participate in the provisions of the services mentioned above.

**Table 4.4:** Assessment of Provisions of Social Services

	Anambra (Yes)			Lagos (Yes)			Plateau (Yes)		
	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date
Construction of roads	42.5	26.7	25.0	19.6	26.2	8.9	14.5	–	11.8
Health centres	15.0	15.8	12.5	5.8	2.7	1.3	11.8	16.4	9.1
Classrooms	11.7	9.2	5.0	2.7	3.6	3.6	12.7	10.9	3.6
Refuse disposal	8.3	5.8	5.0	25.3	38.7	51.6	10.9	10.0	9.1
Street drainages	4.2	0.8	0.8	28.4	39.6	50.2	12.7	19.1	7.3
Potable water	15.0	1.7	2.5	46.2	36.4	26.2	7.3	5.4	8.2

Security	11.7	5.0	3.3	20.4	22.7	22.2	3.6	5.5	6.4
Cleaning markets	9.2	1.7	4.2	20.4	23.6	26.2	3.6	3.6	5.5
Cleaning environment	10.0	3.3	5.0	27.1	31.1	40.0	4.5	5.5	12.7
Your community took part	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date
Yes	45.8	28.3	26.7	12.4	6.9	5.8	23.6	22.7	26.4
No	14.2	8.3	8.3	30.2	34.7	38.2	19.1	19.1	23.6
Don't know	34.2	30.8	31.7	39.6	38.7	44.0	45.5	42.7	33.6
No response	5.8	32.5	33.3	17.7	17.7	12.0	11.8	15.5	16.4

From 2008 till date of the study, the following were identified by respondents to have been provided in Anambra: road construction (25 per cent), health centres (12.5 per cent), classroom (5.0 per cent), refuse disposal (5.0 per cent), building of markets (5.8 per cent), cleaning of markets and environmental sanitation (5.0 per cent) each. In Lagos state, respondents testified that the following services were rendered: classroom construction (3.6 per cent), security (22.2 per cent), cleaning of markets (26.2 per cent) and environmental sanitation (40.0 per cent). Plateau State respondents indicated that they had these services provided for them: road construction (11.8 per cent), health centres (9.1 per cent), classrooms (3.6 per cent), refuse disposal (1.1 per cent), street drainage (7.3 per cent), potable water (8.2 per cent), security (6.4 per cent), building of markets (5.5 per cent), cleaning of markets (4.2 per cent) and environmental sanitation (12.7 per cent). About 26.7 per cent of Anambra State and 26.4 per cent of Plateau State respondents admitted that their communities participated in the provision of social services.

### Chairmen's Performance Evaluation

The councillors do not involve the people in the provision of social services. This is demonstrated in Table 4.5. Between 1999 and 2004, half of the respondents in Anambra State, more than three-fifths in Lagos State and over two-fifths of Plateau State respondents declared that the councillors never invited them to discuss issues that concerned them. Similar patterns were observed between 2004 and 2008 and from 2008 to date.

Evaluation of the councillors by the respondents was not favourable in all the periods under review. The respondents said the LG Chairmen did not fulfil their campaign promises after getting into offices. For example, between 1999 and 2004, 49.2 per cent of Anambra State respondents, 57.3 per cent of Lagos State and 54.5 per cent of Plateau State respondents testified that the LG Chairmen did not do all they promised during the campaign periods. This pattern was almost similar in the other two eras under review.

Despite all the aforementioned, the Chairmen were rated fairly well by the respondents in all the periods under review except in Anambra State where there were no chairmen but caretaker committees. Be that as it may, the Sole Administrators were not favourably rated.

**Table 4.5:** Evaluation of Performance of the Chairmen

Your councillor invited you	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date
Yes	8.3	4.2	5.0	5.8	4.4	3.1	7.3	13.6	13.6
No	57.5	41.7	38.3	65.8	72.4	74.7	48.2	42.7	47.3
Don't know	28.3	21.7	21.7	28.4	21.8	21.8	42.7	40.9	36.4
No response	5.8	32.5	35.0	–	1.3	0.4	1.8	2.7	2.7
Fulfilled his campaign promises	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date
Yes	6.7	2.5	1.7	5.3	6.2	4.9	4.5	9.1	7.3
No	49.2	48.3	45.8	57.3	62.2	61.3	54.5	55.5	49.1
Don't know	11.7	13.3	8.3	24.9	17.8	18.7	37.3	26.4	20.0
No response	32.5	35.8	44.1	12.4	13.8	15.1	3.6	9.1	23.6
Appraisal of the LG Chairmen's performance	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date	1999-2004	2003-2008	2008 to date
Excellent	1.7	0.8	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.9	–	0.9	–
Very good	5.8	3.3	4.2	0.9	3.1	3.1	0.9	–	3.6
Good	25.8	10.0	10.8	36.4	38.7	42.7	17.3	17.3	19.1
Fair	25.8	19.2	14.2	34.2	32.9	35.6	38.2	51.8	37.3
Poor	10.0	10.0	10.0	12.4	14.2	12.4	25.5	19.1	24.5
Very poor	11.7	10.8	10.0	4.9	4.9	3.1	9.1	5.5	5.5
Unbearable	5.8	5.8	7.5	0.9	0.9	0.4	6.4	5.5	8.2
Others	4.2	6.7	6.7	4.9	1.8	0.9	0.9	–	0.9
No response	9.2	33.3	35.8	4.9	3.1	0.8	1.8	–	–

## Recommendations

Based on the findings from the study, the following are recommended:

- The study revealed gross apathy among the respondents. A significant proportion of the respondents was unaware of the elections and did not

participate in the LG council elections. Concerted voter education should be conducted to improve voters' awareness about elections. Contestants should endeavour to have robust campaigns to sell their programmes to the electorate prior to every election. Secondly, Nigerian democracy is still evolving, therefore, to improve the electoral process and address the apathy among the citizens, citizens' votes must count and enlightenment exercise should be organised for the electorate. It is basically the legitimacy deficit of the government at different levels that gives rise to apathy. In addition, contestants should be clearly identified in the electoral process. And campaign debates to clarify parties' manifestos should be encouraged.

- Major challenges observed from the study were delay in the provision of electoral materials, snatching and stuffing of ballot boxes, rigging, use of financial incentives to sway voters, intimidation of voters and violence. Political parties and INEC should agree on a Code of Conduct and ethics for the elections. Agreement on a Code of Conduct and campaign ethics would send a major signal to the population that the political leadership of the country is committed to the evolution of modern democratic practices.
- In as much as the respondents mentioned construction of roads, refuse disposal, street drainages, potable water, security, cleaning of markets, environmental sanitation as services that were provided by the Chairmen, a lot still has to be done. In fact, in Anambra State, the only visible service is road construction. The Chairmen need to be educated on their duties as soon as they assume office. There is no doubt that the social contract has not been consummated in states like Anambra from the study carried out. Raising the political consciousness of the people, as well as check-mating the elite through civil society action are important ways of ensuring that the people have capacity to demand for and get the type of governance they want.
- It was revealed in this study that the citizens were not involved in the provision of social services, however, it was confirmed that community members contributed to the provision of the social services. The councillors did not consult the people before providing any social services. Here again, education of the elected chairmen and councillors is necessary.

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