

THE MEDIA AND DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE IN NIGERIA: A DISCOURSE ON THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

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ABSTRACT

One of the central and invaluable roles of the media is that of promoting democracy. This is because democracy can only thrive and develop when information management and dissemination is also democratized and made free from undue control by government. The Nigerian media has over the years been reacting optimally to the unfolding political, economic and social issues. In Nigerian democratic struggle, journalist were in many times regarded as enemies of government. This is why they are often muzzled, terrorized and incarcerated. Using documentary sources of data, this paper x-rays the relevance of the media in Nigeria's democratic practice and development. The paper is situated within the Libertarian, Communist and Social Responsibility Theories. The choice of these theories is deliberate as one theory cannot independently address the issues under examination hence the need to employ more than one theory. The paper argues that the major impediments militating against the efforts of the media to play an effective role in Nigeria's democratic practice are problems associated with the full application and enforcement of the freedom of the press, non-compliance to Freedom of Information (FoI) Act, the welfare and wellbeing of the journalists, Proprietorial influences as well as assumption of some politicians and political office holders the media is their enemy as it exposes and spreads their activities while in government. This article recommends that, governments at all level should develop a culture of restraint towards the press, as this will help in promoting and safe guarding freedom of expression and the press. And where the press is free from government interference there will be accountability and responsiveness in governance as the media will always checkmate the activities of government. This will help to deepen and consolidate democratic practice and development in Nigeria.

Key Words: Media, Press, Journalism, Democracy, Election, Democratization, Development

Introduction

One of the world wide instruments for gauging the level of democratic practice in a country is the extent to which the independence of the media is safeguarded. This is necessary because the media is regarded as one of the most essential tools for educating and informing citizens on democratic processes and governance. It should be emphasized that the media performs both traditional and constitutional responsibilities to serve as watchdog of the three institutions of

government. This is to ensure a better democratic practice characterized by transparency, accountability, probity and responsiveness in governance (Zainawa, 2018, p45).

It is only when the citizens are adequately informed and educated that they can comprehend government plans, actions and inactions about democratic practices and governance. In fact, the media serves as a link between the government and the governed, thereby playing the role of an intermediary tool through which information is disseminated between the two divides. For example, while government's decisions, policies and actions on critical national issues are transmitted to the citizens through the media, the media in turn informs the authorities about people's perceptions and responses to such decisions, policies and actions (Ojo, 2005, p2). Similarly, the media sets agenda for the discussion for critical national issues, collate the views and opinions of the people on the issues and convey to the authorities concerned the approval or otherwise of such issues. In the same vein, investigative journalism through the use of the media can uncover and expose scandals and scams, waste, corruption, inefficiency, antisocial activities and negligence on the part of authorities especially under a democratic setting (Sawanti, 2000). It is imperative to emphasize again that the media in a democratic and civilized society play three fundamental roles which are; informing citizens on matters pertaining to public policy and politics by representing and debating alternatives; acting as a watchdog by uncovering political, economic and corporate corruption as well as other forms of abuse of power or inept policies and helping to make citizens aware of civic and political rights and how to exercise these rights. Thus, the media helps to build and sustain transparent, participatory and accountable governance under democratic practice (Tell Magazine, 2004:47).

It is important to note that the history of journalism in Nigeria has been a challenging one. This is because over the years and especially during the military rule, journalist were facing lots of intimidation and harassment which are in form of arrest, detention and seizure of their tools. For instance, the Decree 35 of 1993 which empowered the government to confiscate and prohibit the circulation of any publication that undermined security damaged the press and prevented it from performing its function adequately. The Public Prohibition Decree 48 of 1993, which proscribed all publications in the Concord Press, in addition to the Newspaper Registration Decree No. 43 of 1993 cancelled the previous regulations and introduced new and stringent requirements, had made it almost impossible for the press to operate. While the Treason and Treasonable Offences Decree made it an offence to reproduce or publish any information that was deemed treasonable. The police and other security agencies had at different times apprehended and detained journalists without trials while some hundred thousand copies of Newspapers and Magazines were confiscated by agents of governments (Zainawa, 2018:46). Hence, the history of the media struggle for democratization and democratic practice is full of stories of courageous journalists and social critics who have preferred going to jail in order to ensure democratic practice and good governance rather the accepting undemocratic dictatorial governments. This patriotic attitude contributed immensely to democratic practice and good governance in the country. The main objective of this paper therefore is to find out the relationship between the media and democratic practices with a view to highlights challenges of media in deepening democratic ideals in Nigeria.

Conceptual and Theoretical Discourse on Media and Democratic Practice

In discussing the symbiotic relationship that exists between the media and democratic practice, it is imperative to look at the philosophical and political rationales that undergird media and politics in general.

The media is conventionally been understood to refer to the printed press as well as radio and television broadcasts. In recent years however, the definition has become broader and more encompassing including new media, online journalism or social media. The media

has been variously defined by scholars. It is defined as a collective means of communication by which general public or populace is kept informed and educated about happenings in government especially under democratic practice as well as the happenings in the society. The media is also said to be an aggregation of all communication channels that use techniques of making a lot of direct personal communication between the communicator and the public. The media is also conceptualized as the totality of organizations and agencies that provide information for the generality of the public. Thus, the role of the media in democratic setting lies in making information a common knowledge or facilitating effective communication between the government and the governed (Udeala, 2020, p342).

The working definition of the media adopted in this does not include what is popularly called the 'Social Media'. Whenever the term media is mentioned, what really comes to the mind is information dissemination. This is so because one of the most important functions of the media is its information carrying functions. The Nigerian media has largely lived up to its expectation in spreading useful information to the society. Indeed, the performance of the media in the democratic process and practice in Nigeria at various phases of the country's political development has been well documented. Arguably, the media has remained in the forefront for the struggle to promote the rights of the people though credible democratic practice. As a matter of fact, the media itself finds it difficult to operate in undemocratic environment. However, this is not to say that the media has been perfect in all circumstance as in some instances been severely criticized for complicity in truncating and subverting the democratic process at various times (Pate, 2012). Similarly, the framers of The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in recognition of the sacred role of the media not only in democratic practice but also in the overall development of the country as enshrined in Section 22, of the constitution which stipulates that: 'The Press, Radio, Television and other agencies of the media shall at all times be free to uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people'. Thus, the media and democratic practice go hand in hand as it remains the fourth estate of the realm, the watchdog and the conscience of the nation. In this regard, the obligation of the media as indicated in Section 22 of the 1999 Constitution equally endows it with the duty not only to discharge its normal watchdog role in all aspects of governance and in guarding and advancing the frontiers of the people's liberties and freedoms but also the obligation to regard itself as the policing institution over the fundamental objectives and direct principles of state policy as well as the citizen's Fundamental Rights. The fact that the constitution imposes a duty on media to monitor governance implies that it should undertake vigilance over the relationship between the government and the people under democratic practice to ensure transparency, accountability, probity, fairness as well as responsiveness (Udeala, 2020, p.343-344).

There are a number of theories that explain the philosophical and analytical bases for understanding the roles of the media in society. Although, the theories refer explicitly to the Press it is important to point out that they mean the media in generic term. The first is the Authoritarian Theory. In the words of Siebert et al (1956, p.42), "truth was conceived to be not the product of the great mass of people but of few wise men that were in a position to guide and direct their fellows". Thus, the truth was thought to be centred close to the centre of power. The press therefore functioned for a long period of time to inform people what the rulers thought should know as well as the policies the rulers thought they should support. With this theory, the government of the monarch was vested with the power to control and ownership and manipulates the content and use the press for mass communication. Besides, no press dared criticize the monarch, governmental official or the political machinery as they existed fundamentally to support and advance the policies of the monarch and by extension, the government.

The second theory that explains freedom of the press is the Libertarian Theory. Proponents of this theory argued that man is thinking, independent and rational being that is capable of making a choice between good and bad. Siebert et al (1956) argued that man is no longer conceived as a dependent being “to be led and directed but rather as a rational being able to discern between better and worse alternatives when faced with conflicting evidence and alternative choices”. Truth is no longer conceived of as the property of power, rather the right to search truth is one of the inalienable rights of man and the press is conceived of as a partner in search for truth. In a perspective work, Oloyede (1996:3 - 4) identified three major ingredients of press freedom under libertarianism. One is the assumption of the presence of multiplicity of voices on public issues at all times. The second component is the absence of state control in the operations of the press in line with the Laissez Faire private enterprise doctrine or philosophical foundation of capitalism while the third is the financial independence of the press. The major feature of press freedom under the libertarian theory is summed up by McQuail (1987:115 - 116 cited in Sadeeq, 1993). These are:

Publications should be free from any prior censorship by any third party; the act of publication and distribution should be open to a person or group without permit or license; attack on any government official or political part (as distinct from attacks on private individuals or treasons and breaches of security) should not be publishable, even after the event; there should be no compulsion to publish anything. Publication of ‘error’ is protected equally with that of truth in matters of opinion and belief; no restriction should be placed on the collection by the legal means of information for publication; there should be no restriction on export or import of sending or receiving ‘messages’ across nation frontiers; journalist should be able to claim a considerable degree of professional autonomy within their organization (McQuail, 1987 cited in Sadeeq, 1993 p.103).

The third theory is the Soviet Communist Theory of the press. Branded as Marxist Determinism and in the harsh political necessity of maintaining the ascendancy of a party, which represents less than ten percent of the people of the country, the soviet press operated as an instrument of the ruling power just as the authoritarian theory. But, unlike the older pattern it is state – owned rather than privately owned. However, in spite of the fact that the Soviet Press was being highly controlled, Soviet spokesmen considered their press as free because it is free to say the ‘truth’. The Soviets argued that the American Press is not free because it is business-controlled and therefore not free to speak the Marxist truth. Thus, the two systems are diametrically opposite to each other in their basic tenets although both use terms such as ‘freedom’ and ‘responsibility’ to describe what they are doing. The major attributes of press freedom under the Soviet Communist Theory of the press are that; the press is used instrumentally, that is, as an instrument of the state and party; the media are closely integrated with other instruments of state power and party influence; they are used as instruments of unity within the state and the party; they are used almost exclusively as instruments of propaganda and agitation (Ravitch, 2015).

The fourth theory is the Social Responsibility Theory which was developed out of the fact that the libertarian theory at a point could not guarantee freedom of the press and that of expression. This was because after the collapse of the authoritarian system, the media especially in the United States of America fell into the hands of powerful few. No longer was it therefore easy for the press be the free marketplace of ideas. Media owners and managers assumed the responsibility of determining which person, which fact and which version of the facts the public should be fed with. It was this situation that gave rise to the development of the Social Responsibility Theory. This theory holds that the press must assume the role of serving the political system, enlighten the public, safeguarding the liberty of individuals,

servicing the economic system and providing entertainment without necessarily harming the democratic process and development. The power and near monopolistic position of the media according to the theory imposes on them an obligation to be socially responsible to see that all sides are fairly presented and that the public has enough information to decide upon; and that if the media do not take upon its self such responsibility it may be necessary for some other agencies of the public such as government and the audience to enforce it. The theory is of the belief that freedom carries concomitant obligation and that the press which enjoys a privileged position is obliged to be responsible to the society in carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication (Ojo, 2006, p.76 – 80).

The Media and Electoral Politics in Nigeria

The centrality of elections and electoral process where parties and candidates compete for elective positions in a democratic practice cannot be overemphasized. And that the media is essential for informing and educating the citizenry on all democratic processes especially those concerned with electoral politics and conduct of democratic elections. Indeed, a credible election is not only about the right to vote and the knowledge of how to cast a vote but also about a participatory process where candidates and voters engage in public debate and citizens have adequate information about parties, candidates, and their plans as well as the electoral process itself in order to make informed choices. The media is very helpful to Nigerian electorate to have an insight in to the personalities of the political office seekers and their manifestoes or their plans. The media makes effort to ensure that there is electoral integrity in the democratic elections as without it leaders and officials would lack public confidence, legitimacy and support. In fact, a media coverage of elections and electoral process is the right of electorate to full and accurate information and their right to partake in debate and dialogue on policy issues and with politicians. Inherent to this task is the right of candidates and parties to use the media as a platform for interaction with the public. Similarly, the Election Management Body (EMB) has a need to disseminate information to the electorate as well as other groups such as political parties and candidates.

In contemporary politics and society in general, the media is indispensable to safeguard transparency of democratic process in Nigeria which is often called ‘watchdog’ role: openness, transparency and fairness are required at all democratic processes and activities including public debates by candidates, political parties or supporters. Transparency is required for access to information means that an electorate is provided with required and comprehensive information so as to make informed choices as well as be able to hold officials and institutions accountable. This includes access to legal and operational proceedings as well as information about officials and institutions. Media acts as mechanism for the prevention and investigation of allegations of violations or malpractices. This watchdog role extends from accountability of officials and their actions while in office to the entire process of governance. For instance, the presence of media at voting and counting of election results is central in mitigating electoral fraud given that it is free to act impartially and independently (Udeala, 2020:357-358). The Nigerian media in their agenda setting role helped Nigerian electorate in the past to have insight in to the personalities of the political office holders and their plans. During the transition from military rule to democratic civilian administration from 1998-1999, the media lived up to its expectations in keeping members of the general public abreast of happenings in the political space of Nigeria. In essence, the development of democratic practice is closely linked to activities of the media. It will be difficult to have a healthy democracy without a supportive media system or to have a blossoming mass media system without the provision of positive facilitation by the democratic system. Boyd-Barret (2001), observed that a responsible democratic system requires a media which is conterminous and which can generate discussion on issues of public concern in a way which does not favour partisan interests such as interests

of political parties or media proprietors and professionals. This implies that in its relationship the media should possess democratic values or spirit of democracy in such a way that discussion on public interest issues are not just prioritized but also treated with objectivity, professionalism and independence. It has also been argued by Soola (2009) that a functioning media system requires an enabling environment provided by democracy and shaped in legal and ideological framework, political system and structures, the economic system and social arrangements, the pattern of the media ownership and control as well as the standard of professionalism of media practitioners. Indeed, Ansah (1988) vividly captured the central thrust of the foregoing when he wrote that:

.....the media should act as a watchdog and protector of democratic process where actions of the government which is only a trustee of the collective will and power of the people are expected to be regulated by the force of public opinion, and the media is the most appropriate medium for gauging and reflecting public opinion. In the absence of any such mechanism for regularly monitoring and evaluating the performance of government before the bar of public opinion, there is great likelihood of the government falling in to complacency, irresponsiveness and irresponsibility (Anasah, 1988:13).

Although, much has been said on the relevance and indispensability of the media in democratic process and democratic processes in Nigeria, however it must be recognized that the media face several dilemmas while trying to play its role in Nigerian political space. Proprietorial influences constitute a big impediment on the media. The vested interests of owners have great deal of influence on media content. What the reporters gather from the field is shaped in the context of owners' interest which applies to both public and private media. Economy is also another challenge. Media organizations want to make profit. It is not uncommon for content that will contribute to strengthening of democratic practice to be kept to make way for advertisements or other contents that would bring in funds. The welfare of the journalist is another as many media organizations do not pay regular salaries while some are owed salaries for months or the whole year and thus quality output cannot be guaranteed. The environment in which media operates is another challenge. Many laws which constrict journalism are still in the books and some like the Sedition Law which has been pronounced dead by the court are still used against journalists. In addition, more than nine years after a Freedom of Information (FoI) Law was passed, many agencies of government including the National Assembly that passed it are still foot-dragging on compliance. Thus, it is often difficult for the media to inform, educate, advocate and watch-dog for the society on the activities of governments at all levels if it cannot get unfettered access to information (Pate and Akingbulu, 2020:329-339).

The Nigerian Media and Democratic Practice in the Fourth Republic

The media in Nigeria plays a critical role in the democratic practice of the country's Fourth Republic. First, the media plays the role of the informer. The media plays this role of informer by providing factual information originating from home and abroad to citizens of Nigeria. Hence, according to a wire-service reporter, 'the reporter is the ears and eyes of the public and if he cannot translate what he sees and finds out in popular terms then the whole purpose of reportorial process is lost' (Cohen, 1963). The media provides factual information on democratic practices to citizens so that they can make their own judgments on issues of public interest thereby ensuring popular based public policies, programmes and decisions. Emphasizing the importance of the media in providing information to the people, a United States publication asserted the role of the media in informing the world transcendently important and that every media is an encyclopedia of local history of the world and knowledge on democracy and democratic practice (Rucker and Williams, 1965). Thus, adequate

information is needed for popular participation and involvement in initiating and implementing the policies and programmes in a democratic setting.

Secondly, the media serves as a representative of the Nigerian people. There is no doubt that it helps to influence public opinion. In Newspapers, Magazines, Radio and Television people are invited to express themselves on matters of public interest. At the same time, the media helps to guard people's interests and government officials or policy makers do realize that without favourable public opinions they are greatly handicapped in carrying their policies. The media is the voice of the people in a democratic setting. It represents them by asking government officials the kind of questions that hold them to account for the exercise of their public trust. Hence, the media is representative in fighting the battle to protect democracy (Ibgboli, 1994). In fact, most political office holders are concerned with what they read in Newspapers and Magazines, hear from the Radio and watch from the television as those constitute some of the most vital elements of public opinions (Siebert, 1956). In essence, the media is itself public opinion and thus represents it.

Thirdly, the media in a democratic setting serves as a critic of the government in power. It provides the checks needed on government that no other institution does. Few journalists try to maintain a rigid distinction between News and Views. They argued mechanically that criticisms should come on editorial pages and not in the news columns. Others argued that a reporter can interpret his critical responsibility directly so that critique is by definition news. In a nut shell, one of the fundamental role of the media in a democratic society like Nigeria is to serve as check on the operations of government and report its findings as objectively and fairly as possible (Okpoko, 2003).

Lastly, the media plays the role of an advocate of policy. Policy Advocacy is a recognized and accepted function of the press. The central locus of this is the editorial page and when most reporters talk explicitly about advocacy as a Newspaper's function rather than as something they themselves engage in, they assign it to the editorial page. For some people advocacy is the leading function of the Newspapers through the editorial page. The experiences of the abrogation of the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact in the First Republic and that of Pro and Anti-Sharia sentiments in the Fourth Republic have demonstrated that Policy Advocacy or Crusading Journalism has had a pride of place among the media right from the period of agitation for independence in Nigeria (Okpoko, 2003).

The return to democracy on May 29, 1999 brought a relief to the media in Nigeria. As no longer a target of official repression and harassment, the spirit of vibrancy in the media is rekindled. Prior to the Fourth Republic the media as stressed in the preceding section of this article, had suffered from the act of arbitrary use of power especially under military dictatorship. In the years before 1999, it had a common foe, the military. Thus, in an attempt to dislodge the military, several unprofessional strategies were adopted. It is therefore certain that if the media must play its ethical role in sustaining democratic governance under the Fourth Republic, it must divest itself of sensationalism and manipulation of facts. This formed the advocacy by the Newswatch magazine in its June 7, 1999 editorial, which argued the media to jettison sensationalism and allow maturity and sober judgment to inform its reports on national issues (James, 2017).

Despite the challenges, the media in Nigeria has been performing a significant role for the practice and development of democracy in the country's Fourth Republic. But, one of the greatest threats to the operation and freedom of the media in Nigeria today is the poor state of the economy, which has left many media organizations perpetually penurious. This has on the other hand led to the abandonment of ethics by some media practitioners who devise corrupt means to augment their poor and irregular pays. At the corporate level, media houses have also become subservient to business and political interests that bring in funds through advertisements. Often, these interests insist on determining the editorial policy of the media.

Sadly enough, even though many practitioners would not openly admit that much of what is aired or published in the media (or what is not reported) reflects what some shrewd advertisers want to see or hear, the fact is that such is the prevailing situation. In addition, it publicizes, the outcome of elections when ever conducted. The Obasanjo's government for instance was largely satisfied with the conduct of Nigerian media during the 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections. Rather than rocking the boat of democracy through emphasizing the negative aspects of elections, the media generally urged caution so that democratic practice could thrive in the country (Harald, 2015).

In fact, the media championed the course of democratic practice in Nigeria. Indeed, the nation has a vibrant media that has been acting as the vanguard of democracy. Its role in the democratic enthronement and sustenance since 1999 is a testimony of the media been a bastion of democracy. The challenges posed by the return of democracy have been how to ensure good governance and sustain democratic ideals. The media practitioners are conscious of the limitations imposed by the political climate. They have initiated series of measures to energize the media in contributing effectively towards sustaining democratic practice. The Nigerian media has indeed made some useful initiatives towards improving political communication during elections and most parties and candidates were able to present their views to the electorate. However, for the media to live up to its constitutional role of promoting and sustaining democratic practice, there is need for the journalists to promote ethics, respect alternative viewpoints, ensure the democratization of information flow and ensure that public interest serves the guiding principle in all media coverage and publications. There is also the need to check the alleged increasing rate of corruption in the media by resisting all temptations that could make journalists compromise their professional ethics. Media proprietors are also enjoined to pay adequate attention to the welfare of journalists so that they would not be susceptible to corruption. This is to ensure independent, neutral and unbiased media that will contribute significantly to democratic practice and development in Nigeria (Omula and Johnson, 2016).

Conclusion

The media constitute an essential institution in the democratic process and practice in Nigeria. Indeed, it is difficult to have democratic governance without the instrumentality of the media. The media is seen as being Nigerian in its orientation and operations. It reflects the nature of Nigeria as a democratizing country with all the weaknesses and imperfections associated with a growing democracy. Certainly, the possibility of the media to advance the course of democracy and democratic practice is never in doubt. Even with the problems of ownership constraint and other extraneous influences we have seen that the plurality of the media does not allow monolithic interpretation of issues and events on democracy and governance. The media is ever conscious in its role of sustaining the nation's democratic practice. Although, at a point the media supports the status quo but as the struggle for democratic practice expands and involves more people, its momentum gives confidence to dare the status quo and take sides with the democratic forces and demands of the society. In a nut shell, the media plays an invaluable role in Nigeria's democratic practice. This is clear in the area of educating, informing and enlightening citizens on how to go about doing their political activities such as voter registration as well as election. Thus, democracy hardly prosper when citizens are not informed and educated about the need to participate actively in political activities as well as exercise of civil rights and liberties as these constitute part of the democratic process and practice. In essence, the existence of a media is fundamental to the enthronement and consolidation of credible democratic practice.

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AN APPRAISAL OF THE IMPACT OF ANTI-CORRUPTION AGENCIES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY

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Abstract

The shortcomings in the efforts at curbing corruption in Nigeria had been prevalent. The record of success at various levels of government had fallen short of expectations, considering the proportions of funds the country loose to swindlers, contract scams and money laundering. These huge funds ordinarily if channelled adequately and managed accordingly in the absence of corruption were to stimulate the economic development of the Nigerian environment. However, the reverse is the case as corruption has come to be a part of the Nigerian process while threatening and retarding the economic development of the nation, despite the presence of notable anti-corruption agencies like the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). The journey 'so far' of the above mentioned anti-corruption agencies (i.e. ICPC and EFCC) in curbing the menace of corruption and ensuring the growth and development of the Nigerian economy is the central focus of this study. The study employs a systematic qualitative content analysis of secondary materials such as textbooks, internet materials, reports, newspapers and magazines, journal articles etc. The findings from the study revealed that the fight against corruption via the anti-graft agencies can only be won if the government decides to objectively allow the agencies to carry out their duties and responsibilities independently without interference. This is the most crucial way that the government can show its seriousness in

winning the war on corruption through these anti-graft agencies. By so doing, the devastating effect of this evil called corruption would be minimised and the economy no doubt will witness positive changes and improvements to indicate the presence of economic development.

Keywords: Anti-Corruption Agencies, Corruption, ICPC, EFCC, Development

1.0 Introduction

The importance of development in the economic climate of any country in the contemporary world cannot be overemphasized. Development is relevant and needed in all aspects of the activities of all territories or entities existing as countries in the world of today. If development is really important as stated above, then what does it really mean? Development has been described simply by Encarta Encyclopaedia (2010) as the process of changing and becoming larger, stronger or more impressive, successful, or advanced or the act of causing somebody or something to change in the ways described above. In this regard, it is pertinent to highlight the fact that just like the family of a new born would desire to watch the infant grow and develop into an adult, the case is not different with a country or nation. This is because all well-meaning citizens and individuals in the country would desire to watch and see a nation grow and develop into something better.

Nigeria is one of the most blessed nations on earth, bestowed with vast human and natural resources. These resources if properly harnessed would have developed the country and Nigeria will rank among the top most developed nations of the world. Ironically, despite these abundant resources, Nigeria is still considered among the comity of nations tagged as underdeveloped or sometimes described as developing. Consequently, life expectancy and other indicators of development and wellbeing are not encouraging as opposed to what obtains in the developed countries. Many analysts have tried to investigate the factors responsible for this sorry state of the Nigerian economy. Among the different factors exposed or revealed by analysts are bad governance, mismanagement of funds, misplacement of priorities and above all is the chief culprit; corruption. Corruption has been described as a social malaise that militates against good governance and it uses government expenditure (most times) as the channel or means to retard economic progress and development.

It is however pertinent to highlight the fact that corruption itself is as old as mankind and is not only peculiar to the Nigerian environment. The emergence and development of corruption can be traced back to the first man created to live on earth, Adam. Biblical accounts in Genesis 3, verse 1 to 12 has it that Adam and Eve had an interaction with the Serpent and the aftermath was having to go into hiding by Adam and Eve when God came calling (Ogundiya, 2009). The inference from the account is that Adam and Eve felt the need which should be satisfied not minding God's instruction against unequal yokes with deceptions.

Following the assertion that corruption is not only peculiar to the Nigerian environment, it is then important to highlight the fact that the magnitude of the 'evil' called corruption in the Nigerian economy is on the high side when compared with other countries of the world. It would be right to record that corruption is at its top in Nigeria because most Nigerians measure good life by flamboyant affluence and conspicuous consumption pattern. An individual in Nigeria whose age ranges between 18 and 45 years and yet has no house(s) and car(s) (exotic and sleeky) of his own is rather perceived as cursed and doomed for life. An attempt to proof to the world that one is not cursed and or doomed accounts for why many Nigerians indulge in dubious activities to cut corners to affluence.

Ogbeidi (2012) examined political leadership and corruption in Nigeria since 1960. He opined that that it is an incontrovertible fact that corruption has been the bane of Nigeria's development. Thus, without mincing words, the phenomenon has ravaged the country and destroyed most of what is held as cherished national values. Unfortunately, the political class saddled with the responsibility of directing the affairs of the country have been the major culprit

in perpetrating the act. Also, Usman (1980) stated that pervasive corruption has remained a serious obstacle to economic development in Nigeria. Corruption inhibits human and social development as public institutions in Nigeria are only public in name, because they are run, in fact for the purpose of private accumulation of wealth.

Due to the effect of this evil called corruption, several administrations have at one time or the other put in place different anti-corruption or anti-graft agencies to curb or fight this social malaise. The institutional model for these anti-corruption agencies started in 1977 by the Jaji declaration by President Olusegun Obasanjo; the ethical revolution of Shagari in 1981; war against indiscipline by Buhari in 1984; National Orientation Movement by Babangida in 1987; war against indiscipline and corruption in 1996 by Abacha to the Independent corrupt practices and (other related offences) commission by Obasanjo in 2000 and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission in 2002 by Obasanjo (Gashinbaki, 2004). The institutional strategic model is therefore fathomed on the wisdom that anti-corruption institutions/agencies were established in Nigeria to perform the roles of 'deterrence, prevention and public sector reforms'. The journey 'so far' of the above mentioned anti-corruption agencies (particularly the ICPC and EFCC) in curbing the menace and ensuring the growth and development of the Nigerian economy is the central focus of this paper. The paper employs a systematic qualitative content analysis of secondary materials such as textbooks, internet materials, newspapers and magazines, journal articles etc

2.0 Conceptual Clarifications

This section provides the operational clarification of the key concepts namely; 'Anti-corruption Agencies' and 'Development'.

2.1 Anti-corruption Agencies

The word 'corruption' refers to an unethical behaviour which runs counter to the accepted social norms and moral values. It could also be described as an act involving dishonesty, illegality and non-conformity with accepted standard of behaviour. And such an act or behaviour has its main aim; the return for financial or material benefit, either for the person committing the act or on behalf of any other person (Igbaekemen et al, 2014).

The word 'anti' implies or basically means 'opposed to'. 'Agency' on the other hand refers to an administrative department or division (of mostly government) that is responsible for a particular function. Bringing the meaning of these three words together, anti-corruption agencies could be described as the division or administrative departments of government that is opposed to unruly or unethical behaviours/acts that are perpetrated by individuals/persons for selfish reasons.

2.2 Development

The Merriam Webster dictionary describes 'development' as the act of growing or causing something (especially a country) to grow and become larger or more advanced in its activities. In the field of Economics, development is described as the process by which the economic well-being and quality of life of a nation, region, local community, or an individual are improved according to targeted goals and objectives (Todaro and Smith, 2011). "Modernization", "Westernization", and especially "industrialization" are other terms often used while discussing economic development. Historically, economic development policies focused on industrialization and infrastructure, but since the 1960s, it has increasingly focused on poverty reduction.

Amartya Sen (1983) (An Economist) describes Economic development as any policy intervention that aims to improve the well-being of people, stimulate economic growth, increase market productivity and Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

It is important to note that there is no precise definition of development. While economists in the 20th century viewed development primarily in terms of economic growth, sociologists instead emphasized broader processes of change and modernization. In the context of politics and political economy, development and political economy scholar; Karl Seidman summarizes economic development as "a process of creating and utilizing natural, physical, human, financial, and social assets to generate improved and broadly shared economic well-being and quality of life for a community or region" (Todaro and Smith, 2011). This definition seems to be more encompassing in the context of this study, and thus is adopted as the operational meaning of development.

3.0 Genesis of Anti-corruption Agencies in Nigeria

Ever since Nigeria's First Republic collapsed in July 1966 amid allegations of massive corruption, the fight against corruption has developed into an important public policy issue. But current steps taken towards a corruption-free society in Nigeria are mainly a result of the efforts of the Obasanjo regime, which for eight years erected it as a major policy priority. The elevation of corruption to an urgent national issue by Obasanjo was itself motivated by a combination of some domestic and global developments. At the domestic level, Obasanjo's anticorruption drive was propelled by an unprecedented disclosure of evidences of corruption perpetrated by his immediate predecessors, especially the late General Sani Abacha, who ruled Nigeria from 1993 to 1998 (Enweremadu, 2010). After his death in 1998, his successor, General Abdusalami Abubakar, launched a probe into his financial dealings. These investigations uncovered large evidences showing that Abacha and his collaborators had diverted billions of dollars in public funds into several local and overseas bank accounts, while also corruptly acquiring choice properties in many locations within and outside the country.

At the global level, the war against corruption was motivated by a genuine desire to correct Nigeria's frequent appearance at the top of the table of the world's most corrupt nations. Between 1999 and 2003, Nigeria occupied either the 1st or 2nd position in Transparency International's survey of the most corrupt countries of the world (the *Corruption Perception Index*). This became not only a source of personal embarrassment to Nigerian officials travelling overseas, especially President Olusegun Obasanjo who was himself one of the founding members of Transparency International, but also an obstacle to the government's much desired goal of reconciling Nigeria with the international community, after many years of diplomatic isolation, of securing debt forgiveness, and much needed foreign investments.

President Obasanjo's anti-corruption strategy involved a wide variety of measures, prominent amongst them that saw the creation of the ICPC, EFCC, and the NFIU. Other anti-graft agencies include the Code of Conduct Bureau and the Code of Conduct Tribunal. Below is a brief explanation of the roles and mandate of these anti-corruption agencies

3.1 The Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC)

On 13 July 1999, President Olusegun Obasanjo submitted an executive bill titled Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Bill to the National Assembly for passage into law. This was barely six weeks after he was sworn into office. The bill aimed to outlaw all forms of corruption in the public sector and give legal backing for the creation of the ICPC to coordinate the war against corruption in Nigeria. Although, both the upper and lower legislative chambers as well as the state governments initially refused to recognise and approve the mandate of the ICPC as an anti-corruption agency for reasons best known to them, the Supreme Court on 7 June 2002 in a highly celebrated and landmark ruling, delivered its verdict in favour of the ICPC, thereby ensuring that the commission made a triumphant exit from the legal shackles which were threatening to paralyse the war against corruption.

3.2 The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)

The EFCC was first proposed by a 2002 law, the Economic and Financial Crimes Act 2002, but came into existence only on 11 April 2003. Unlike the ICPC, the birth of the EFCC witnessed little or no controversy. Although its enabling Act contained far more ‘draconian’ powers than those of the ICPC, its passage in the National Assembly still proceeded almost without any political challenge. There are two explanations for this paradoxical situation. Firstly, being legislation that was more or less imposed by powerful international interests, it could not have faced the same kind of political opposition or legislative scrutiny which the ICPC Act attracted. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the EFCC bill was not considered a threat by Nigeria’s political class, who erroneously interpreted it as a weapon against fraudsters in the banking industry or individuals specialising in advance-fee fraud (commonly known as “419” in Nigeria).

3.3 Code of Conduct Tribunal

The powers of the tribunal to impose punishment includes but not limited to;

- If the Tribunal finds a public officer guilty of contravening any of the provisions of this Act, It shall impose upon that officer any of the punishments specified under subsection (2) of this section.
- The punishment which the Tribunal may impose shall include any of the following:
 - (a) Vacation of office from any elective or nominated office, as the case may be;
 - (b) Disqualification from holding any public office (whether elective or not) for a period not exceeding ten years; and
 - (c) Seizure and forfeiture to the State of any property acquired in abuse or corruption of office.
- The punishments mentioned in subsection (2) of this section shall be without prejudice to the penalties that may be imposed by any law where the breach of conduct is also a criminal offence under the Criminal Code or any other enactment or law.
- Where the Tribunal gives a decision as to whether or not a person is guilty of a contravention of any of the provisions of this Act, an appeal shall lie as of right from such decision or from any punishment imposed on such person to the Court of Appeal at the instance of any party to the proceedings.

3.4 Code of Conduct Bureau

The mandate is to “establish and maintain a high standard of morality in the conduct of government business and to ensure that the actions and behaviour of public officers conform to the highest standards of public morality and accountability”.

To implement this mandate, Section 3, part 1 of the Third Schedule of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic gives it the powers to:

- receive declarations by public officers made under paragraph 11 of part 1 of the Fifth schedule of the 1999 Constitution;
- examine the declarations in accordance with the requirements of the Code of Conduct or any law;
- Retain custody of such declarations and make them available for inspection by any citizen of Nigeria on such terms and conditions as the National Assembly may prescribe.
- Ensure compliance with and, where appropriate, enforce the provisions of the Code of Conduct or any law relating thereto;

- Receive complaints about non-compliance with or breach of the provisions of the Code of Conduct or any law in relation thereto, investigate the complaint and, where appropriate, refer such matters to the Code of Conduct Tribunal;
- Appoint, promote, dismiss and exercise disciplinary control over the staff of the Code of Conduct Bureau in accordance with the provisions of an Act of the National Assembly enacted in that behalf; and
- Carry out such other functions as may be conferred upon it by the National Assembly.

3.5 The Nigerian Financial Intelligent Unit (NFIU)

This body is the Nigerian arm of the Global Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU). It is domiciled within the EFCC as an autonomous unit set up as part of the federal government effort in fighting money laundering and the financing of terrorist activities in Nigeria. The objectives of establishing the NFIU includes but not limited to:

- To enhance effectiveness and capacity in the detection and prevention of financial crimes
- To enhance and supplement financial sector supervision
- To facilitate the implementation of monetary policies by discouraging the development of an underground economy
- To promote Know Your Customer (KYC and know your customer's business (KYC/B) in other to enhance due diligence culture in financial and designated non-financial institutions.

It is pertinent however to state that this study will focus only on ICPC and EFCC since they are presumably the most active and popular in the anti-corruption fight in the country.

4.0 The efforts of ICPC and the war against corruption

Before the establishment of the ICPC in September 2000, Nigeria had not convicted anybody for corruption in a regular court. The inauguration of the ICPC, with unprecedented powers and promise of support from the highest level, therefore raised hopes of a new dawn. As Table 1 shows, within its first year, covering October 2000 to September 2001, four cases were brought before the courts for various corruption offences. This figure rose to 10 at the end of the ICPC's second year in September 2002, before peaking at 14 at the close of its third year in September 2003 (Awopeju 2015, and Igbinovia 2020). These stemmed from a total of 800 petitions submitted to the ICPC by different individuals and groups in conformity with the 2000 ICPC Act. At the end of the day, the ICPC could not secure convictions in these cases or many more that followed. The consequence was that by 2007, after more than seven years in existence, it had become more synonymous merely with its anti-corruption jingles advertised repeatedly on local television stations and with the term "toothless bulldog" (Enweremadu, 2012). Indeed, the ICPC could only secure one conviction involving two relatively minor individuals (the medical director of the famous Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital and his finance director). The limits imposed by its own legislation, poor investigative skills and its own mishandling of investigations, insufficient human and financial resources, its management style, an inefficient judicial system, and constant attacks from politicians, especially federal legislators, all combined to create the basis for poor results and progressive loss of credibility.

Table 1: Index of performance by ICPC (The ICPC Scorecard)

Year	No. of Cases brought to the Commission	No. of Cases filed in court	No of Cases concluded	Convictions	Cash Recoveries
2001	44	4	11	0	N/A
2002	339	10	19	0	N/A

2003	295	14	17	2	N/A
2004	415	13	16	0	N/A
2005	570	11	17	0	N/A
2006	777	42	279	7	N56MM
2007	752	50	152	4	N382MM
2008	998	43	121	6	N42MM
2009	1008	24	117	7	N95MM
2010	1117	41	172	9	N91MM
2011	1017	23	117	4	N276MM
2012	708	21	60	5	N1.1BN
2013	1023	53	176	8	N709MM
2014	803	46	126	6	N590MM
2015	1107	47	142	8	N200MM
2016	1234	51	102	9	N670MM
2017	1204	42	132	8	N820MM
2018	1106	48	196	9	N950MM
2019	1246	50	201	11	N1.6BN

Source: Awopeju, 2015 & Igbinoia, 2020.

Table 1 shows that the total number of cases brought to the Commission were 15,763. The highest numbers of cases brought to the Commission were 1246 in 2019 while the least number of cases were 44 in 2001. These represented 7.9% and 0.28% respectively. The reason why 2001 cases were low was because of the fact people were yet to know the activities of the institution. The analysis further revealed that the highest number of cases filed in court was in the year 2013 with 53 cases. This represented 8.37% of the total number of cases filed in court while the year 2001 had the lowest number of cases filed in court with 4 cases; this represented 0.63%. The total number of 633 cases was filed in court from 2001 to 2019. Also, the total number of cases concluded under period of study was 1884. The year 2006 was the year the Commission concluded highest number of cases. The highest of number of cases the Commission concluded were 279 cases. This represented 14.8%. 2001 was also the year the Commission concluded the least number of cases. The total number of cases was 11 which represented 0.58%.

In order to measure the performance of this agency/institution, conviction is a good parameter. One needs to examine the number of conviction secured relative to the number of cases filed in court. From 2001 to 2019, the total number of conviction secured was 103. The number of cases filed in court was 633. The convictions secured (103) were small compared to (633) cases filed in court. The percentage of convictions secured compared to the number of cases filed in court was 16.3% (Total number of conviction secured divided total number of cases filed in court multiply by 100). This is far below average. This shows that the ICPC is ineffective in fighting corruption in Nigeria.

Besides, Human Rights Watch (2011) argues that the most important measure of Nigeria's anticorruption record is its success or failure in prosecuting corrupt nationally prominent political figures. The scorecard of the ICPC showed that its convictions were 52. Only 1 high level case led to conviction out of a number of prominent political figures such as Ghali Umar Na'Abba, the former Speaker of the House of Representatives (2002), Fabian Osuji, Head of the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Education (2006), Cornelius Adebayo, Head of the Federal Ministry of Communication and Transport (2007), Vincent Ogbulafor, PDP National Chairman (2010) etc that were accused of corruption. This was just meagre percentage

of all the convictions made and it further revealed how ineffective the ICPC has been in fighting corruption in Nigeria.

5.0 The EFCC and its efforts in the anti-corruption crusade

On 11 April 2003, President Obasanjo inaugurated a second anti-corruption agency, known as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). According to information posted on its official website, the EFCC was created to “curb the menace of corruption that constitutes the cog in the wheel of progress; protect national and foreign investments in the country; imbibe the spirit of hard work in the citizenry and discourage ill-gotten wealth; identify illegally acquired wealth and confiscate it; build an upright workforce in both the private and public sectors of the economy and; contribute to the global war against financial crimes”. In other words, the EFCC was created to fight corruption, among other crimes.

The establishment of yet another anti-corruption commission can easily lead to the conclusion that Nigeria’s problem of corruption and financial crimes can best be overcome by the creation of more anti-corruption institutions rather than the strengthening of existing ones. The table below shows a list of some prominent cases handled by the EFCC from 2003 to 2020

Table 2: Some Top EFCC Profile Cases (2003 – 2020)

S/No	Name of Suspect(s)	Case Status	Amount involved	Status of suspect(s)
1	Ayo Fayose (former Governor of Ekiti State)	Arraigned on 51 counts	N1.2 billion	Case pending, granted bail
2	Adenike Grange (former Minister of Health)	Arraigned on 56 counts	N300 million	Discharged and acquitted
3	Joshua Dariye (former Governor of Plateau state)	Arraigned on 23 counts	N700 million	Currently in jail
4	Saminu Turaki (former Governor of Jigawa state)	Arraigned on 32 counts	N36 billion	Case pending, Granted bail
5	Oji Uzor Kalu (former Governor of Abia state)	Arraigned on 107 state counts	N5 billion	Jailed and subsequently released
6	James Ibori (former Governor of Delta state)	Arraigned on 170 counts	N9.2 billion	Served Jailed sentence
7	Iyabo Obasanjo (former Senator)	Arraigned on 56 state counts	N10 million	Case pending, Granted bail
8	Lucky Igbinedion (former Governor of Edo state)	Arraigned on 191 state counts	N4.3 billion	Case determined, ordered to pay \$25 million as fine
9	Gabriel Aduku (former Minister of State for Health)	Arraigned on 56 state counts	N300 million	Discharged and acquitted

10	Jolly Nyame (former Governor of Taraba State)	Arraigned on 41 state counts	N1.3 billion	Currently in jail
11	Chimaroke Nnamani (former Governor of Enugu state)	Arraigned on 105 state counts	N5.3 billion	Case pending, Granted
12	Michael Botmang (former Governor of Plateau state)	Arraigned on 31 state counts	N1.5 billion	Case pending, Granted bail
13	Roland Iyayi (former MD of FAAN)	Arraigned on 11 state counts	N5.6 billion	Case pending, Granted bail
14	Prof. Babalola Borishade (former Minister of Aviation)	Arraigned on 11 state counts	N5.6 billion	Case pending, Granted bail
15	Boni Haruna (former Governor of Adamawa state)	Arraigned on 28 state counts	N254 million	Case pending, Granted bail
16	Femi Fani kayode (former Minister of Aviation)	Arraigned on 47 state counts	N250 million	Case pending, Granted bail
17	Bode George (PDP Chieftain and former MD of NPA)	Arraigned on 68 state counts	N100 billion	Served Jailed sentence
18	Rasheed Ladoja (former Governor of Oyo state)	Arraigned on 33 state counts	N6 billion	Case pending, Granted bail
19	Senator Nichola Ugbane; Hon. Elumelu and others (Former National Assembly Members)	Arraigned on 158 state counts	N5.2 billion	Case pending, Granted bail
20	Hamman Bello Hammed (Ex CG Customs)	Arraigned on 46 state counts	N2.5 billion	Case pending, Granted bail
21	Adamu Abdullahi (former Governor of Nasarawa state)	Arraigned on 149 count charge	N15 billion	Discharged and Acquitted
22	Attahiru Bafarawa (former Governor of Sokoto state)	Arraigned on 47 count charge	N15 billion	Case pending, Granted bail by court
23	Hassan Lawal (former Minister of Works)	Arraigned on 37 count charge	N75 billion	Case pending, Granted bail by court
24	Kenny Martins (Police Equipment Fund)	28 count charge	N7.7 billion	Case pending, Granted bail
25	Esai Dangabar, Atiku Abubakar Kigo, Ahmed Inuwa Wada,	16 count charge	N32.8 billion	Case pending, Granted bail by court

	John Yakubu Yusufu, (Police Pension Scam)			
26	Col Sambo Dasuki (Retd) (Former National Security Adviser)	18 Count Charge	\$2.1BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
27	Olisah Metuh (Former PDP National Chairman)	6 count charge	N400MM	Served Jail sentence
28	Gabriel Suswam (Former Governor of Benue State)	32 count charge	N9.79BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
29	Ikedi Ohakim (Former Governor of Imo State)	3 count charge	N270MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending
30	Dele Belgore (Former PDP Chieftain, Kwara State)	9 count charge	N450MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending
31	Ibrahim Shekarau (Former Governor of Kano State)	6 count Charge	N950MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending
32	Adesola Amosu (Former Chief of Defence Staff)	13 count charge	N21BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
33	Sunday Ehindero (Former IG of Police)	10 count charge	N16.4MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending
34	Farouk Lawan (Former Reps Member, Kano State)	3 count charge	\$500,000	Granted Bail, Case Pending
35	Jonah Jang (Former Governor of Plateau State)	17 count charge	N6.3BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
36	Danjuma Goje (Former Governor of Gombe State)	2 count charge	N25BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
37	Adamu Aliero (Former Governor of Kebbi State)	3 count charge	N10.2BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
38	Babangida Aliyu (Former Governor of Niger State)	8 count charge	N1.9BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
39	Gbenga Daniel (Former Governor of Ogun State)	12 count charge	N211MM	Discharged and acquitted
40	Mukhtar Shagari (Former Minister of Water Resources)	4 count charge	N500MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending

41	Sen Godswill Akpabio (Former Governor of A/Ibom State)	8 count charge	N108BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
42	Diezani Alison Madueke (Former Minister of Petroleum)	24 count charge	\$20BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
43	Dr Peter Odili (Former Governor of Rivers State)	220 count charge	N100BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
44	Adamu Muazu (Former Governor of Bauchi State)	12 count charge	N9.8BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
45	Tafa Balogun (Former IG of Police)	8 count charge	N13BN	Served Jail Sentence
46	Aliyu Wamako (Former Governor of Sokoto State)	9 count charge	N13BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
47	Ali Modu Sheriff (Former Governor of Borno State)	6 count charge	N300BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
48	Alao Akala (Former Governor of Oyo State)	11 count charge	N11.5BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
49	Sule Lamido (Former Governor of Jigawa State)	43 count charge	N1.3BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
50	Musuliu Obanikoro (Former Minister of State for Defence)	13 Count charge	N4.7BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
51	Kayode Fayemi (Current Governor of Ekiti State)	6 Count charge	N2BN	Investigation yet to commence
52	Jumoke Akinjide (Former Minister of FCT)	24 count charge	N650MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending
53	Ibrahim Shehu Shema (Former Governor of Katsina State)	24 count charge	N16.7BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
54	Usman Saidu Dakingari (Former Governor of Kebbi State)	15 count charge	N700MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending
55	Bukola Saraki (Former Senate President)	13 count charge	NI.3BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
56	Sen Stella Oduah (Former Minister of Aviation)	8 count charge	N9.8BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending

57	Sen Theodore Orji (Former Governor of Abia State)	12 count charge	N7.6BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
58	Mrs Patience Jonathan (Former First Lady of the Federation)	15 count charge	\$15MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending
59	Mr Andrew Yakubu (Former GMD of NNPC)	12 count charge	\$9.8MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending
60	Isah Yuguda (Former Governor of Bauchi State)	15 count charge	N21BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
61	Abdulasheed Maina (Former DG, National Pension Commission)	25 count charge	N2.1BN	Sentenced to Jail
62	Babachir David Lawal (Former Secretary to the government of the Federation)	12 count charge	N544MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending
63	Mr Mohammed Adoke (Former AGF of the Federation)	14 count charge	\$1.1BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
64	Mr Jonah Otunla (Former Accountant General of the Federation)	15 count charge	N6.3BN	Granted Bail, Case Pending
65	Abubakar Mallami (Current AGN of the Federation)	4 count charge	Illegal discontinuation of N25BN charge against Sen Danjuma Goje	Investigations yet to commence
66	Doyin Okupe (Special Adviser to former President Obasanjo)	5 count charge	N702MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending
67	Winifred Eyo-Ita (Former Head of Service of the Federation)	18 count charge	N570MM	Granted Bail, Case Pending

Source: HEDA Resource Centre, 2020

It should be noted that in all these cases none of the culprits was detained or served jail term apart from Chief James Ibori, Joshua Dariye, Bode George, Jolly Nyame, Orji Uzor Kalu and Tafa Balogun. Giving this scenario where these offenders are allowed to go scot free in what is presently referred to in Nigeria as ‘plea bargaining’, corruption therefore is a lucrative business in the country. Also, in a situation where people steal billions of naira and after their arrest and prosecutions such persons are only jailed for three or six months make corruption in Nigeria the most lucrative business in the world and further confirms that the EFCC is far from its goal of fighting corruption in Nigeria.

6.0 Comparing the efforts of the ICPC versus the EFCC

By all standards, the performance of the EFCC under Obasanjo was unprecedented in the history of anti-corruption institutions in Nigeria. In many areas that can be considered as central to financial crime – investigation, prosecution, conviction and recovery of illegally acquired assets – the EFCC can be argued to have recorded relatively significant successes. For instance, between the time of its creation in April 2003 and October 2005, it received a total of 3,758 petitions, out of which 526 were investigated (*The Punch*, 23 October 2005). By 2 June 2006, the number of petitions received had reached 5,400, while the number of cases under investigation and Prosecution was put at 2,103 and 550, respectively (*The Guardian*, 2 June 2006). The agency also recorded similar success in the area of loot recovery (cash from banks, buildings and other landed properties within and outside the country, vehicles, ships, aircraft, company stocks, etc.). The total value of what was recovered stood at \$5 billion in June 2006. The proceeds are usually returned to the victims, such as individuals who had been victims of 419, the well-known Nigerian scam. In other cases, funds were paid back to the public treasury, especially those seized from former and serving government officials, or those recovered from private companies which had defrauded the government.

In the area of arrest and prosecution, more than 3,000 persons were arrested and interrogated between April 2003 and June 2006. Furthermore, by 2 June 2006 there were at least 550 on-going criminal prosecutions (*Vanguard*, 2 June 2006).

But despite this level of achievement, the EFCC was widely criticised, even much more so than the relatively underperforming ICPC. The major source of criticisms was;

Firstly, that the agency was selective in its fight against corruption in the public sector, in the sense of going after only those that were perceived as not being in the good books of the powers that be.

Secondly, the EFCC was also harshly criticised for its tendency to violate fundamental human rights. This second criticism became much more pronounced when information emerged that one of its high-profile detainees, Maurice Ibekwe, a member of the Federal House of Representatives, had died in its custody (*This Day*, 23 March 2004).

Thirdly, and perhaps more disturbingly, critical review of the list of convictions secured by the EFCC shows that the agency had very little success in prosecuting senior public officials, the brains behind much of the Nigerian corruption story. Most of those convicted were non-public officials. But while the EFCC was successfully prosecuting high-profile private individuals on fraud-related charges, it consistently failed to do so with members of the political class, whether appointed or elected. What explains this discrepancy? Does this mean that it has been too afraid to take on the ‘big political fish’? Or was it a deliberate strategy? The problem, however, was that taking on members of the political class required not only substantial institutional capacity but also a considerable amount of political support. Just as in the case of the ICPC, this support was largely non-existent.

Table 3: Comparing the performance of the Anti-corruption Agencies

Agency	Legal Instrument	Mandate/function	Focus/Target	Scorecard
ICPC	Established in 2000; Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act 2000; Sections 12-22	Has mandate to combat corruption, including bribery, fraud and other related offences. The nomenclature delimits and defines its mandate	Directed at a battery of offenders: Public and Private	Very Negative (-)
EFCC	Established in 2002. Act	Focuses on economic and	Directed at a battery of	Negative (-)

	Amended 2004. The EFCC Act of 2004. Part IV, section 14-18	financial crimes such as advanced fee fraud, money laundering, counterfeiting and other forms of fraud, graft and corruption. The nomenclature delimits and defines its mandate	offenders; Public and Private	
CCB	Established in 1989. Styled itself “Nigeria’s First Anticorruption Agency.” 1999 Constitution: section 2 (a) of the third schedule; section 18 of Fifth schedule; Paragraph 12 of Part I of the Fifth Schedule.	Charged with enforcing the Code of Conduct for Public Officers and Assets Declaration Regime. To ensure Public Officers conform to the highest standards of public morality and accountability, including corruption. The nomenclature delimits and defines its mandates	Directed at all Public Officers	Very Negative (-)

Source: HEDA Resource Centre, 2020.

Table 3 shows the assessment of the ICPC by the stakeholders, newspapers, perception of Nigerians was very negative (-) in relations with the mandate and it focus/target. The question one needs to ask is; why is it that the ICPC is ineffective in fighting corruption in Nigeria? According to Ademola (2011), “political interference remains a major set-back to the anticorruption war.” Igbinovia (2020) corroborates this when he posits that the inability of anti-corruption agencies to perform effectively is vitiated by political interference. For instance, there are incessant withdrawals of cases by then Attorney General of Federation (AGF). Mr Muhammed Bello Adoke (AGF) who withdrew about 25 high profile cases eliciting criticism from the human rights community (Adewale, 2011). In his letter dated 28th of January, 2011 to the Acting Chairman of ICPC calling for the withdrawal of Minister of State for Health, Mr. Suleiman Bello’s case file who was alleged to have received ₦11.2 billion from Governor Murtala Nyako as “hardship allowance” when he was the Resident Electoral Commissioner in Adamawa state. Although, the AGF has power to withdraw a criminal charge against any person under section 174(1&2) of the 1999 Constitution, but the Constitution under sub section 3, says it must be exercised in the public interest and to prevent the abuse of legal powers. In case of publicly withdrawing of criminal charge against any person, especially corruption cases, this will serve as a great obstacle to the activities of the ICPC in its fight against corruption (Adewale, 2011).

Furthermore, slow judicial process also affects anti-graft war of the ICPC greatly. An ICPC official interviewed posited that “...our legal system, we have cases not really move on. If we

say we are having challenges that show we are not getting enough results.” Another official interviewed also testified to the fact that the Commission is having a challenge of judicial process. He asserted that “the slow pace of movement of cases in the Nigerian judiciary as well as slow movement of all the ICPC cases that are being investigated by the police has tended to portray the ICPC as a non-performer to the society.”

Also, underfunding by government is also a factor that accounts for the institution’s failure. Poor funding has become an obstacle to the successful prosecution of corruption cases. Most of the innovative education and public enlightenment programmes designed by the Commission to improve public perception of corruption are not being executed for lack of funds. Apart from this, the Commission’s capacity to investigate petitions has not grown due to poor funding. According to former ICPC Chairman, Justice Ayoola;

“Poor funding has become a menace to the successful prosecution of the fight against corrupt practices. As in some of the other agencies of government, insufficient funding is slowing down the war on corruption... Thus, clearly, the ICPC would require money to recruit more personnel in all departments, and expand its operations nationwide. By the ICPC Act, the Commission is expected to have offices in all the 36 states of the federation and Abuja. But it currently has offices in only 14 states due to inadequate funding. The result is that available staff are overworked” (Alemika, 2012).

Apart from poor funding, lack of personnel accounts for institution’s failure to fight corruption. One of the ICPC officials interviewed stated that:

The ICPC started with poor investigation and prosecution capacities because the petitions were not coming. So, the Commission had to strategically embark on mobilization, education and enlightenment of the people. Now the petitions come in a deluge! We are happy that the petitions are coming but unfortunately the petitions won’t investigate themselves. We have huge petitions, but where are the personnel? We have doubled our programmes, we have tripled our activities, but the personnel that we have remain the same.

According to the interviews conducted with the ICPC officials at one of the state offices; it shows that the ICPC has less than 800 personnel in all its 14 states and its headquarters in Abuja.

...when you look at the ICPC with less than 800 personnel to deal with corruption cases, mind you, you cannot successfully deal with a corruption in two days, you will take the personnel to court, you have not finished another person is committing another. 800 personnel are too limited to number of cases we received. Mind you, out of that less than 800, less than 200 personnel are in Investigation Department, the other Department let say legal, so that people got to conduct the cases in court while the others are supporting staff in order to make the system works. How many investigators I have here? Only two, the work is really telling much on them.

The above assertion indicates that the personnel of the ICPC are inadequate. The complexity of Nigerian state with about 170 million people requires lots and qualified personnel to fight corruption. In every single minute, a case of corruption is reported. Everywhere in Nigeria there is corruption and the war against corruption can be won if there is adequate manpower to fight the scourge.

7.0 The efforts of Anti-Corruption agencies versus Economic Development in Nigeria

There is no doubt that the balance of the consequences of corruption is largely on the negative side. Corruption widens inequality, aggravates mass poverty, militates against efficient resource planning and allocation, undermines economic growth by discouraging investment; compromises economic efficiency; results in high governmental expenditures as a result of inflation of contracts and cost supplies. Corruption is poisonous to long term development and democracy (Alemika, 2012). The Nigeria’s 2011 Corruption Index by the EFCC maintains that

Nigeria is certainly not immune to corruption. The damage of the scourge to the economy and the fabric of the society are seen in the schools that are not built, the hospitals without medicines, the roads that are not passable and the failure of the citizens to be inspired.

In Nigeria today, the greatest threat to corruption is impunity. Because of its sheer scale and level, corruption is no longer a secret, it is celebrated. According to Alemika (2012), corruption in Nigeria has endangered social, economic and political problems among others.

In this study, descriptive analysis using tabular presentation and qualitative trend analysis are used to expose the nexus between the performance of anti-corruption agencies and development in the Nigerian economy. The variables considered are the GDP per capita (GDP per cap) in dollar denomination, the Human Development Index (HDI) of the Nigerian economy and the Corruption Perception Index (CPI). Both the GDP Per Cap and the HDI are used to proxy or represent Economic Development while CPI; which is an invention of Transparency International will represent the effort of the anti-corruption agencies in fighting corruption. The period of analysis covers 1999 – 2020, thereby providing an up to date analysis for the period in which the anti-corruption agencies came into operation

Table 4: Figures for GDP per Capita (\$), Corruption Perception Index (CPI) and Human Development Index (HDI)

Year	GDP Per Cap	CPI	HDI
1999	537.63	1.6	0.46
2000	552.19	1.2	0.46
2001	562.23	1	0.46
2002	568.97	1.6	0.44
2003	612.13	1.4	0.44
2004	797.88	1.6	0.46
2005	804.5	1.9	0.47
2006	847.54	2.2	0.48
2007	881.59	2.2	0.48
2008	911.96	2.7	0.48
2009	949.01	2.5	0.49
2010	995.68	2.4	0.48
2011	1015.82	2.4	0.49
2012	1030.17	2.7	0.51
2013	1055.84	2.5	0.52
2014	1091.64	2.7	0.52
2015	1125.43	2.8	0.53
2016	1145.32	2.7	0.53
2017	1162.34	2.7	0.53
2018	1173.76	2.8	0.51
2019	1182.67	2.6	0.52
2020	1182.97	2.6	0.51

Source: Tradingeconomics.com, Transparencyinitiative.org & UNDP.com

The relationship between the effort of the anti-corruption agencies and economic development in Nigeria can be better understood by examining and analysing the variables in Table 4. While it may be difficult to measure the effort of the anticorruption agencies in curbing

corruption directly, objectively and quantitatively, an indirect measure of that uses corruption perceptions index (CPI) is relied upon in this study. The corruption perceptions index ranks countries and territories based on how corrupt their public sector is perceived to be. A country or territory's score indicates the perceived level of public sector corruption on a scale of 0 - 10, where 0 means that the country is perceived as highly corrupt and 10 means it is perceived as very clean.

From table 4, it could be observed that the higher the CPI, the higher the GDP per capita and the HDI respectively. However it could be pertinent to highlight the fact that a higher CPI implies a lower level of corruption and a lower CPI implies a higher level of corruption. Consequently, it will suffice to say that the tabular presentation suggests a negative relationship between the fight against corruption (i.e. CPI) and economic development (i.e. GDP per capita & HDI) in the Nigerian economy.

Above all, the corruption perception index (CPI) scores for Nigeria for the period under review are among the lowest (when compared with other countries) making Nigeria to be ranked among the top ten of highly corrupt countries of the world between 1999 and 2005. However, beginning from 2006 up to 2012 there was slight improvement in the CPI scores removing Nigeria out of the top ten of highly corrupt countries of the World. This perhaps may be attributed to the level of democratization currently in place in Nigeria and the establishment of anti-graft agencies like the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). Other recent researches have shown that the level of democratization of a country influences corruption perception index among other factors. Such that the more democracy grows, the more a country is perceived clean and vice versa. Given this scenario, the slight improvement in the CPI scores should be interpreted with caution since corruption perception index reflects perceived corruption rather than actual corruption. Perception may not necessarily match reality. Again, the fact that Nigeria that parades itself as the giant of Africa but has CPI scores of less than 3 out of 10 between 1999 and 2020, thus implies that Nigeria is far from being perceived clean.

Similarly, even though the country's HDI has been rising, Nigeria's infant mortality rate has been estimated to be currently 99 per 1000 births, which implies that Nigeria has the thirteenth highest infant mortality rate in the world (CIA Factbook, 2018). The infant mortality of children under the age of 5 was 189 per 1000 births in 2007. These high mortality rates are mostly due to mothers not having enough money to take care of their children. Many mothers are also ignorant of some preventive measures such as immunizations and vaccines. Many children in Nigeria die as a result of malaria, diarrhoea, tetanus and other similar diseases. Most of these are preventable and curable diseases, but due to inadequate health care facilities and lack of money, far too many children die off from them. The inadequate facilities and money to attain a minimum living standard are offshoots of one political corrupt practice or the other on the part of government and public officers.

Also, many graduates in Nigeria wander the streets without anything reasonable to do for a living. The government is capable but unwilling to provide jobs for them. Employment in Nigeria is usually not based on merit but depends on how connected you are with people that have power. This leaves many highly qualified people in poverty as seemingly no one cares to know what they are capable of achieving. These people are missing out on the income they would have gotten if they were employed. The number of quality jobs in the economy is low and many government resources are misallocated thereby aggravating the level of corruption in the economy.

The following are some of the ways that failure of the anti-corruption agencies to fight corruption has threatened sustainable economic development in the Nigerian economy.

- i. Non-institutionalisation of democracy, rule of law, human rights and economic development
- ii. High incidence of conflict, violence, crime, insecurity and instability due to antagonistic competition, inequality, poverty and lack of access to basic necessities of life.
- iii. Erosion of values of hard work and integrity
- iv. Lack of access to productive opportunities and diverting energies of youth to crime, deviance, violence and sundry forms of anti-social behaviour
- v. Low foreign investment because of corruption induced bureaucracies and other obstacles
- vi. Lack of investment in the real sector by both foreign and domestic investors because of high profitability of contracts in service and supplies motivated by corruption.
- vii. Dependence on foreign sources for goods and services resulting in under development of indigenous technological and productive capabilities
- viii. Leakages of national assets to foreign countries through money laundering and conspicuous consumption
- ix. Misallocation of resources towards programmes and projects amenable to corrupt practices
- x. Perpetuation of patron – client relationships that undermine democracy, efficiency in public and private sectors
- xi. High cost of doing business and low investment in productive sectors resulting to widespread poverty and unemployment, high prices of goods, low purchasing power resulting in low capacity utilization by producers and manufacturers which in turn result to retrenchment of workers
- xii. Political ethno-religious and communal conflicts and violence as different groups in the society struggle to control state power as avenue for corrupt enrichment and ability to disperse patronages to their cronies, relatives and associates
- xiii. Loss of public trust and legitimacy by the government
- xiv. Poor social welfare conditions as indicated in table 4 above

8.0 Conclusion and Recommendation

The shortcomings in the efforts at curbing corruption had been prevalent. The record of success at various levels of government including states and local government had been short of expectations, considering the proportions of funds the country lost to swindlers, contract scams and money laundering. The Acts establishing the Anti-Corruption Agencies (ACAs) had been weak and ineffective. The agencies had been poorly funded and there were evidences of lack of political will by the crusaders to actualize an objective anti-corruption campaign and apart from this, the fight has been one-sided, vindictive, selective, and biased. The efforts have not yielded the desired results. Rather than abating it, it is festering uncontrollably. The campaign has been the instrument of the Presidency and his cohort ‘deal’ with opposition in order to serve as a deterrent to others who may want to go against the will of the state (the men in power). The point here is that this double standard; these warped treatments are in themselves acts of corruption.

Another fact is that the anti-corruption agencies are not independent of the government who funds and appoints its leaders. With the power to hire and fire being vested in the government of the day, the Commissions could hardly perform their duties without fear or favour. The present Buhari/Osinbajo administration did not only inherit corruption from the previous administration, they also inherited the weak and ineffective anti-graft agencies. From the foregoing, it will suffice to say that the Anti-Corruption Agencies (ACAs) were and have been unable to perform their noble duties.

From the foregoing, the following recommendations have been highlighted;

- i. The fight against corruption via the anti-graft agencies can only be won if the government decides to objectively allow the agencies to carry out their duties and responsibilities independently without interference.
- ii. By allowing the anti-graft agencies to work independently without interference, the government would have indicated or showed its seriousness in winning the war on corruption through the anti-graft agencies.
- iii. Other issues that may be addressed includes increasing the funding to these agencies and also sanitizing the judicial processes and mechanisms to stimulate judgements.
- iv. When all these are further complemented with the right developmental policies and implementations, the Nigerian environment no doubt will blossom with economic development.

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NIGERIAN FEDERALISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria is the most populous black nation that got her political independence from colonial grip in 1960. The journey to her independence was tortuous and rancorous among the defunct North, West and East. It was not quite far from its nationhood that democratic journey was interrupted by the military junta. The 1979 and 1999 constitutions adopted the American presidential system of government where powers are shared between the central and other layers of government as evidently practiced in the second, aborted third and fourth republics. It is hoped that Federal constitutions is better for Nigeria giving its plurality and heterogeneity. On the contrary, peace and security continue to evade Nigeria. It is on this note, that this paper interrogates the implications of the adoption of the presidential system of democracy on national security in the Nigeria's fourth republic. The paper uses secondary sources of information and in-depth analysis. It adopts the Frustration-Aggression theory as a framework of analysis. The research concludes that fissiparous tendency, banditry and other forms of insecurity that ravage the country are evil manifestations of and radical reaction to political brigandage, unrestrained struggle to access and retain power by desperate political forces. It, thus, recommends financial autonomy/fiscal federalism, delisting of items from constitutional exclusive list and rotational presidency among others. These will stabilise the polity and make competition for presidential seat less attractive and fascinating.

Key words: democracy, presidentialism, security, separatism and banditry.

Introduction

The problem of Africa could be traced to its diversity. Incidence of state collapse in the continent is related to poor management of diversity and the plurality of the competing ethnic identities. That is, failure to evolve appropriate political frameworks and arrangements for these diversities graduated to political tension and contradictions, which undermined the nation-state project (Gana and Egwu, 2003). The evidence across the continent provides indications of the debilitating impact of the exploitation of these diversities by political elites and ethnic entrepreneurs as clearly seen in Liberia, Somalia and Sudan (Nosiri, 2018).

Historically, Nigeria's federal foundation is a nationalists and colonialists' consensus that marked the evolution of its statehood in the year 1954. In the euphoria of the moment, little attention was paid to the dynamics of inter-ethnic fierce competition for scarce resources (Gana, 2003). This decision was informed by the sociological complexity and realities of Nigeria. Nigerian federalism, however, can be traced beyond 1954 to 1914 when northern and southern protectorates were unified to form one single entity called Nigeria. Egwu (1993) in (Gana, 2003) establishes that communal identity remains a potent instrument for material advancement in Nigeria as suggested by Ojukwu, the Biafran warlord, on the eve of the outbreak of the civil war "it is better we move slightly apart and survive (in a confederation, perhaps); it is much worse that we move closer and perish in the collision" (Krik-Greene, 1971 in Gana, 2003). The author comments that this might be an unfortunate course to take, but considering the dimension of the crisis, the options are increasingly becoming fewer. Enloe (1973: 12) affirms this in his statement – "there is nothing sacrosanct about the nation-state, only social scientists make it look so".

Nigeria is the ready-made example in Africa where the idea of federal polity is adopted to manage its multiculturalism as reflected in the 1979 Constitution. In dealing with the management of diversity through federalist principle, Wole Soyinka contends that the matter is beyond the problem of ideology; it is a choice between centralization on one hand, and decentralization on the other hand. The former, as typified by the Nigerian federalism, allows for resources to flow only in the direction of the centre. The agitation for a resource control and the creation of economically unviable states are evidences of the "cracked model" represented by Nigeria's federal arrangement (Gana & Egwu, 2003). Non-viable states have been created which underlines the contradictions inherent within a so-called federal system; they are kept alive only by sporadic blood infusions from the centre; the states were never meant to be self-sufficient entities, and do not exist beyond the establishment of another bottomless pit of a parasitic bureaucracy (Soyinka; 2003, 6).

The perennial demand by ethno-political groups for a re-negotiation of the basic agreements of the federal union is taken in a radical dimension. Ethno-nationalism has reached a crescendo of militancy and anarchism marked by destructive alacrity (Anam-Ndu, 2003). In recent time, these agitations have assumed horrible dimension that threatens the survival of Nigeria as a sovereign nation. Thus, this paper attempts to examine Nigerian federalism and national security in the Fourth Republic.

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopts the Frustration-Aggression theory. Theory is the guiding tool of analysis. Application of theory to a study enables us to understand a particular social phenomenon from broader perspective. Frustration-Aggression theory was proposed by Dollard Doob, Miller Mower and Sears (1939). It attempts to give an explanation for the cause of violence and crimes. That is, it explains the outbreak of crime, armed conflict, and act of aggression or terrorism as the function of neglect, deprivation and frustration. The theory cites aggression as the outcome of frustration, and that in a situation where the desires of an individual or group

are denied either directly or by the indirect consequence of the way the society is structured, the feeling of disappointment may lead such a person or group of persons to express anger through violence (Leonard, 1969). Frustration-Aggression theory assumes that individual believes the display of aggression will remove the barrier that is causing the frustration itself; and when individuals experience frustration they experience a drive to be aggressive towards the object of their frustrations. However, this is not always possible or appropriate resulting in the aggression being inhibited. Dullard et al proposed in such cases aggression is displaced from the source on to something else and he referred to this as “kicking the dog” effect.

This theory is criticized for gender bias as it fails to offer explanation on why men are more aggressive than women; and psychopathic killers whose aggression are not driven by frustration; and not every one that is frustrated is aggressive. Despite these weaknesses, the theory is ranked among most seminal theories in research on aggression as it establishes empirical evidence between frustration and aggression. Hence, it is still adequate and relevant in the explanation of socio-political and economic realities of Nigerian state.

Conceptual clarification

Federalism

Federalism lacks universally acceptable conception. It is as fluid as other concepts in social sciences and humanity. It has attracted varieties of meanings and definitions without losing its essential characteristics (Obianyo, 2005). Federalism (from the latin *foedus*, meaning treaty) is the principle of sharing sovereignty between central and state (or provincial) governments (Hague & Harrop, 2010). Wheare (1963), a classical writer on this concept conceives federalism as the method of dividing powers so that general and component governments are coordinated and independent of each other (Anam-Ndu, 2003). According to Wheare, this principle comprises certain uncompromising features:

- i- The division of powers among levels of government;
- ii- Written constitution showing this division;
- iii- Co-ordinate supremacy of the two levels of government with regards to their respective functions;
- iv- The powers to amend the constitution to be exercised by both levels of government acting in cooperation;
- v- Existence of an independent judiciary or body to adjudicate dispute arising from clas of powers between the federal and state governments; and
- vi- Financial independence of both levels of government as ‘financial subordination makes an end of federalism.

Wheare’s definition is criticized for being pro-American model and excessively legalistic by ignoring the dynamism in federal practice by different nations of the world. However, his conception serves as a beacon to the understanding of federalism.

The major appeal of federalism is that it places emphasis on pluralism and seeks constitutional recognition for the rights of the component units. Federalism is generally accepted as the best form of government for large and culturally variegated societies. It is a moderation between two extreme forms of politico-administrative arrangement – confederalism and unitarism (Nnadozie, 2005). He explains further that federalism is a form of government in which constituent units have consented to stay together under a central authority but allowed to control and manage their own affairs and by so doing share the powers of the union. Power sharing and financial independence are common to Wheare and Nnadozie’s perspectives on federalism. Anam-Ndu (2003) affirms that the nature, extent and deep of diversity influence federal practice globally. It determines whether or not the centre should carry the bulk of legislative and development burden or, whether such burdens be dispersed to the federating units. These questions account divergent federal arrangements. This first

constitution-making after Nigerian Civil War was in 1979. The Constitution deliberately made federating units very weak with more power concentrated at the centre. Equally, the 1999 Constitution is a blue print of 'unitarism'; it has 68 items on the Exclusive list and 30 minor ones on the Concurrent list. Paradoxically, Nigeria is a country of federal union of states. Federalism is a process of constant search for equilibrium between the poles of unity and diversity (Maddex, 1941 in Ibrahim, 2003).

Power sharing arrangement differs from one political organization to another. Constitutions of sovereign states determine whether to distribute it among the component parts of government relatively equal or to concentrate it at the centre (Nosiri, 2018). Hague and Harrop (2010) view federalism as a multi-level governance which shares sovereignty and power between governments within a single state. King (cited in Nosiri, 2018) defines federalism as "an institutional arrangement, taking form of a sovereign state and distinguished from other such states solely on the fact that is the central government incorporates regional units in its decision procedures on some constitutionally entrenched basis".

Federalism, therefore, offers practical arrangements for organizing large states. It provides checks and balances on a territorial basis, makes government functions closer to the people and allows for democratic inclusion.

Nigerian Federation

In the late 1950s, there were euphoric hopes for Grand African Federalism. However, the federal idea has since been systematically dismissed as a serious solution to African problems. This is based on the empirical evidences that federalism does not work in Africa. There are evidences that confirm failure of federalism in Africa (Ibrahim, 2003). The character of Nigerian federalism has been molded by some factors; the class character, configuration of class forces of the Nigerian state, dominant capitalist mode of production and multi-national, multi-religious and multi-ethnic nature of the society (Alli, 2003).

Sustenance of federal practice is dependent on evolving efficient ways of conflict accommodation. Scholars of federalism have identified three trends in any existing federation; centralization, decentralization and de-concentration. Centralization is about expanding policy responsibility of the central government as against the contracting policy responsibility of the component units of the federation. Decentralization is the tendency toward assigning increased responsibility to the constituent units of the federation. This occurs through a formal constitutional amendment or fiscal decentralization. De-concentration is seen as a process of interaction between the federal and state levels of government in a way that the centre brings the units to participate in the decision-making process without the prerogative of the former being eroded. Here, the central government maintains its authority intact. Decentralization, however, involves formal transfer of authority to subordinate administrative units (Rocher and Rouillard, 1997). The original federal system, from 1945-1966 consisted of a tricolor regional system with asymmetrical domination by the defunct northern region; provision of competitive politics based on parliamentary democratic model and revenue distribution based on derivation principle. Subsequently, successive federal military governments re-divided the polity into many states and local governments. These began precisely with the creation of 12 states by 1967, 19 by 1976, 21 by 1987, 30 by 1991 and 36 states plus FCT, Abuja by 1992. Correspondingly, there were 301 local government by 1976, 450 by 1988; 587 by 1991 and 774 by 1992 (Onimode, 2003).

A study revealed that among the federations currently exist in the world, Nigeria is one of the worst models of political accommodation of diversity as well as power and resources sharing (Jega, 2021). Nigeria battles to consolidate as a nation since its colonial era and height days of nationalism. Those who fought for her independence did not represent a united Nigeria but represented ethnic and regional interests. The Premier of defunct Western Region and Yoruba leader succinctly said Nigeria is not a nation. It is a mere geographical expression.

There are no Nigerians in the same sense as there are “English” “Welsh” or “French”. The word Nigeria is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live in the territory of Nigeria and those who do not (Awolowo, 1947).

“Peace and unity”, the last two words in the Nigerian national anthem are chanted daily at different occasions. In reality, peace and unity elude us as a nation. There was never a time Nigeria is united. Immediately after the exit of British overlord, the political atmosphere became heated with ethnic nationalism that led to military coup and counter-coup as well as civil war and its vestiges that produced Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB). On the other hand, Yoruba ethnic group clamors for the creation of Odu’a Republic while the Boko Haram is pushing for Islamic Caliphate in the North.

What is prominent in the Nigerian federal system is the effort of the central government to clip the wings of the states from flying at all form for them to be consumed by the flaming powers of the centre. The confusion surroundings the character of federation in Nigeria has posed a question mark on ‘true nature’ of Nigerian’s federal practice (Ayode, 1996). Nnadozie (2005) asserts that social groups and nationalities in the country want to be part of the Nigeria project, it is only when any of them feels persistently marginalized or threatened that they demand to opt out of the union or take up arm against the state, as evidence in the case of Igbo, the Tiv and Rivers revolts under Joseph Tarka and Isaac Boro respectively. Therefore, the crux of the matter is mechanism and acceptable tool to be used in order to achieve and sustain unity in diversity.

Security

Freedom from poverty, illiteracy, hunger, environmental degradation, and arbitrary governance constitute individual insecurity (Kufour, 2010) in (Bello-Imam, 2004). “The meaning of security is beyond Westphalia conceptualization in terms of external attack to encompass security of individuals and their property; respect for basic human needs – access to education, potable water, decent housing, healthy environment among others” (Dunmoye, 2021: 9). Nwolise (2006) averred that for a nation to be really secured, it must have a strong military force; strong and buoyant economy; a contented and happy people; and a good government is ran by a patriotic and democratic leadership. Security has to do with freedom from danger or with threats to a nation’s ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interests and enhance the wellbeing of its people. Thus, internal security could be seen as the freedom from or the absence of those tendencies which could undermine internal cohesion and the cooperate existence of the nation and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values and socio-political and economic objectives, as well as meet the legitimate aspirations of the people. Internal security also implies freedom from danger to life and prosperity” (Imobighe cited in Oche 2001:76-77).

National Security

Initially, the concept emphasized the freedom from military threat and political coercion to later increase in sophistication and include other forms of non-military security as suited the circumstances of the time (Yusuf, 2014). National Defence College, India defines National Security as “an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources and finally the military might” (Yusuf; 2014; 52). Ali (2013) views national security as a state where the unity, value, well-being, democratic process, mechanism of governance, welfare of the nations is perpetually improved and secured. Yusuf (2014) and Dunmoye (2021) identified the following elements of national security:

Political Security: This entails defense against all forms of political oppression and guarantee of basic human rights and citizens’ freedoms.

Economic Security: It is a positive situation of stable income and job security that enable good standard of living now and in the foreseeable future

Military Security: Ability of a nation to defend its territory and citizens from internal and external aggressions. This is the traditional conception of national security.

Environmental Security: This consists of environmental issues that pose threat to the national health and survival. indiscriminate refuse disposal, desert encroachment, hazardous industrial activities and loss of biodiversity among others are threat to national survival hence, they are aspects of national security.

Food Security: It is the ability of a nation to feed itself without or with minimal importation of food items from other countries. It has to do with availability of food, access to food and food use. Food availability is about its abundant supply; food access is having sufficient resources to obtain appropriate food for a nutritional diet while food use entails appropriate use based on knowledge of basic nutrition and care.

Health Security: This guarantees citizens protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyle. Health security improves the life expectancy of citizens and guard them from epidemic and endemic diseases as well as nutritional diseases. Suleiman(2014) agrees with this perspective of national security by saying, national security encompasses protection of national interest which includes; political, economic, social and environmental objectives. National security implies the absences of threat to life, property, socio-political and economic well-being of the entire citizens.

National security covers the sum of what a nation does in order to safeguard itself as a sovereign entity. To achieve this, nations established armed forces, police and other Para-military forces (Jatau, 2014). According to Schuman in Nwolise (2006), since survival is the first law of life, the first duty of diplomats is the promotion of national security. Simeon (2018) explains that the concept of national security presupposes that a government should protect the state and its citizen against all kinds of crises through a variety of power projections such as political power, diplomacy, economic power and military might.

Presidential System

Presidential system of government, an American model of democracy, has gained global prominence and recognition. America remains the prototype of presidential government. In this arrangement, there is a “unicephalous” executive, where elected president is the head of state and head of government, hence executive power is concentrated in one person (Oruebor, 2018). In this system, the whole country is the constituency of the president who is the symbol of unity and chief administrator of the country. USA, Nigeria, Kenya, Malaw, among others, practice this system (Alonge, 2011). The essence of the presidential system is to bring various ethnic groups together to maintain political stability. The United States of America (USA) got political independence in 1776 in the aftermath of the revolutionary war. There are features that make adoption of this system appealing to some sovereign nations as mentioned above. Chief among these are; separation of power, executive president, tenure of head of government, veto power, individual ministerial responsibility and appointment of cabinet ministers at the prerogative of the president (Alonge, 2011). Separation of powers is the hallmark of presidential system and is typically reinforced by a separation of personnel. That is, members of the executive are different from members of the legislature and judiciary (Hague & Harrop, 2010). The following are strengths of presidential rule as identified by Hague & Harrop (2010):

- Fixed term of office provides continuity in the executive, avoiding the collapse of governing coalitions to which parliamentary governments are prone;
- Winning a presidential election requires candidates to develop broad support across the country;

- Election by the country at large, the president rises above the squabbles between local interests represented in the assembly;
- A president provides natural symbol of national unity.
- Limited government and protection of liberty.

National Security and Politics in Nigerian ‘Presidentialism’

Power is central to politics; the political elites do everything possible within their means to gain access to or consolidate power of the state. The challenges of balancing the interests of the state with the desires of the individual political elites often characterize the exercise of legislative power to control the executive branch of government in a developing democracy like Nigeria is often met with stiff opposition. As avers by Easton (1953) in Johari (1989), politics is authoritative allocation of values for a society. In Nigeria’s democratic experience, personalization of public value is a prevalent culture. Political elites circumvent constitutional provisions for the promotion of their selfish objectives. Power is hotly contested for among the characters that dominate political space.

It is instructive to note that, Nigeria is a plural society bind together by the same geographical entity but different geopolitical zones. The north-east geopolitical zone of Nigeria comprises six states, with over 40 ethnic groups, the states and some ethnic groups are as follows: Gombe, Taraba, Yobe, Borno, Adamawa and Bauchi. The south-south geopolitical zone comprises six states and over 40 ethnic groups in Nigeria. The states are as follow: Rivers, Delta, Cross River, Edo, Akwa Ibom, and Bayelsa (Asanebi, Theo-Iruo and Odoh, 2021). South-west comprises Oyo, Ekiti, Osun, Ogun, Lagos, and Ondo. South-east consists of Enugu, Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, and Imo States. North-western states are: Kaduna, Kano, Jigawa, Kebbi, Sokoto Zamfara and Katsina while North-central comprises Niger, Nasarawa, Plateau, Benue, Kwara, Kogi and FCT, Abuja. There is a concentration of power at the centre. Office of the president wields enormous power; the centre controls national resources. Thus, these geopolitical zones engage in political rat-race to clinch power and grip on it at whatever cost. Johari (1989) succinctly puts it that it is the factor of power that makes state different from other forms of organization; it is the power that alternates from one party to another in the battle of the ballot box; it is power that enhances or reduces status of a state.

National security has been challenged and weakened by incessant conflicts, crimes and insecurity in north-east and south-south region of Nigeria. In both regions, the continuous threat to national security and harmonious living of the citizenry is real as these sad situations have triggered international community to declared Nigeria a failed state on several circles as well as in policy papers. For instance, the fund for Peace (FFP) 2012 report, ranked Nigeria as one of the top 10 failed states in Africa and 14th growing wave of insecurity and endemic violence. Evidence that gives credence to the fact that security situation is nose-diving in Nigeria can be found in the 2010 survey report published by the Business Environment in Nigeria. It is argued that the 2017 survey rated national security in Nigeria (02.69%) as against 49.49% in 2010 report. This represents a significant fall in national security. It is common knowledge that major causes of internal insecurity in Nigeria are: bad governance, corruption, poverty, inequality, mass unemployment, etc (Alhassan and Akindapo, 2019).

Asanebi, Theo-Iruo and Odoh (2021) observe that the north-east and south-south regions of Nigeria have continued to witness Mephistophelean conflicts that have threatened and challenged the national security of the Nigerian State. Some of these conflicts and crimes are: politically motivated ‘thuggery’, armed banditry, political assassination, herdsmen and farmers’ crisis, boko haram crisis, Niger Delta crisis and sea piracy, amongst others. It can be deduced from the above concepts that a secured state is the one where the aggregate of people organized under it have a consciousness of belonging to a common sovereign political community, enjoy equal political freedom, human rights, economic opportunities, and when

the state itself is able to ensure independence in its development and foreign policy. Asanebi and Otoo (2018) noted that since the inception of democratic governance in 1999, the federal government of Nigeria has done little, if not nothing, to improve on human right and protection of its citizens' life and property as one of their cordial responsibilities

The increasing wave of crimes and insecurity in the north-east and south-south regions since the fourth republic of Nigeria has challenged the national security of the Nigerian State. These regions hold more than 75% of Nigeria wealth as a nation, therefore losing her will be too sad for the nation (Asanebi, Theo-Iruo and Odoh, 2021). Recently, violence against the state has escalated to the entire North-west and North-central. Banditry has shaken the foundation of the Nigerian State. People are killed, displaced and kidnapped on daily basis. Properties are destroyed; villages are sacked; farm crops are set ablaze and infrastructures are vandalized. In the South-east radical separatism gains momentum by the day; government institutions and security agents are targeted by the group. Generally, there is fissiparous voices continue to rise.

At this point, it could be seen that there are sovereign nations that adopted the American model of democracy and federal constitution where power is shared among three components and each component has financial autonomy. Each moves and develops at its pace. In Nigeria's experience, power is concentrated at the centre, revenue is centrally pooled and share based on controversial formulae. The centre created state and local tiers; as such they look unto it for sustenance and survival. This type of arrangement is peculiar to Nigeria. This nature of Nigerian political economy – revenue pool - was created by the British colonialists and consolidated by the post-colonial comprador elites. Quest for fiscal federalism and financial autonomy is one the lingering national question in Nigeria. The oil-rich states felt short-changed thus, continuously agitate for financial autonomy. Again, Asymmetric distribution of population avails greater political strength to a particular region (the North) who has dominated the Nigerian politics since independence. This further manifested in the distribution of values and national resources among the component regions. The implication of this is mutual distrust and cry of marginalization by disaffected groups as well as unhealthy competition for the presidency. The hotly contested 2011 general election and post-election violence that greeted the announcement of Goodluck Jonathan are evidences how Nigerian federal structure ignites tense competition for power among the constituent nationalities. This is more evident in 2015 presidential election. The resultant effects are conflict, fissiparous tendency and instability. These divisive cleavages and centrifugal elements are weaponised by the elites and politicians to advance their selfish motives. As 2023 election draws closer, North-South binary is at play to lay claim for presidency. Each of the three sub-regions in the South spares no effort to be the Nigerian President in the 2023 election.

Banditry in the north and separatism in the south are expression of anger and discontent, as advanced by the militant Fulani groups and the separatist group (IPOB), over the exclusive and brigandage nature of the Nigerian politics. The Frustration-Aggression theory captures how systemic injustice and any form of deprivation could lead to violent unconventional reaction by the oppressed. Raging insecurity and the Southern and Northern Nigeria is more or less an expression of anger by the frustrated groups in Nigeria.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The paper concludes that Nigerian variant of federalism is a recipe for national insecurity and violent competition for the office of the President. The disaffected groups will always resort to violence in order to make their voices heard. To reverse this trend and make Nigeria positive model for other nations to follow, the following recommendations are made:

- There should be a constitutional amendment where items like defence should be removed from exclusive list to concurrent list for effective policing and security.

- Federal revenue pool should be undone by giving financial autonomy to each state in order to make office of the president less fascinating, and allay the tension associated with the contest for the office.
- States that are not economically viable should be merged with the relatively viable ones that have common ethno-religious identity.
- For the interest of national security and democratic stability, rotational presidency should be enshrined in the constitution in such in a way that it alternates among the six geo-political zones of the country. This will allay fear of political exclusion and economic marginalization.
- There should be effective policing and enforcement of laws in such a way that crimes are not committed with impunity. This will serve as deterrence to potential criminal activities.

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**GENDER POLICY AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN MALLAM
MADORI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF JIGAWA STATE: 2006-
2020**

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Abstract

This study examined women empowerment within the context of Jigawa State Gender Policy in Mallam Madori Local Government Area from 2006 to 2020. The policy was designed to build a just society devoid of discrimination by making women issues at the centre of

government policies, planning and programmes so that cultural barriers and identities that impede social inclusion of women will be addressed. The objective of this study therefore is to examine the various programmes designed to empower women and assess their impact on the living standard of women in the study area. Using survey research method and Gender and development theory as theoretical framework, the study established that, women empowerment programmes such as entrepreneurship skills, free female education, free maternal health care services, loan/micro credit schemes among other initiatives have impacted positively on the living standard of women in the area under study. The study concluded that although political consideration in the process of selecting beneficiaries play a vital role in given women limited access to existing opportunities, the Jigawa State Gender Policy has helped in bringing into the fore, the neglected gender variable and create opportunities for women to be involved in the decision making processes. It is recommended that, monitoring and evaluation committee on women empowerment should be introduced and strengthened to always undertake a pilot study and identify the category of women in need of the empowerment programmes. The committee is to also ensure proper utilization of the empowerment programmes for future purposes.

Keywords: Gender, Gender Policy, Social Inclusion, Jigawa State, Women Empowerment

Introduction

Women constitute an indispensable group in the development of any nation. They form a significant part of the World population of about 50 percent (Bala-keffi, 2015). Apart from their numerical strength, they have potentials necessary to accelerate social, political and economic development. They are managers of home; they carry responsibility of household food security and most times work as family caretakers and producers of food.

Statistics in 2013 showed that women make up to 31-38 per cent of the world's workforce (Bala-keffi, 2015) and provide 60-80% of labour force (Lopez, Christiaensen, & Kilic, 2016). They spend close to USD20 trillion as global consumers. The figure was estimated to go up to USD28 trillion by 2014 (Bala-keffi, 2015). However, they form the category of the world poorest people due to marginalization and unequal opportunities. They are relegated to the background in almost every facet of life with fewer opportunities and lower participation in decision making processes which hindered them to benefit from political, social and economic development of the society.

Evidences abound that, among other factors: the principle of patriarchy, religion, cultural norms and wrong perception of the concept of gender by policy makers hindered the efforts of empowering women. Thus the need for a policy that will represent a paradigm shift from gender neutrality in public and private policies to a more gender sensitive one that will address the systematic inequality between women and men (National Gender Policy, NGP, 2006).

In this regard, global treaties and declarations like; the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), NEEDS/SEEDS, The African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR), the Women Right Protocol, the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), post 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1880 and 1890 etc. were implemented to bring into the fore, the neglected gender variable into development planning and implementation.

In Nigeria, aside other women empowerment policies, programmes and projects, the erstwhile National Policy on Women was replaced with National Gender Policy in 2006 with a view to ensure social inclusion and integration of gender variables in state policies (Jigawa State Gender Policy, JS GP, 2013). Bearing in mind the varying socio-economic and cultural backgrounds and development status of the 36 states of the federation, the Policy is to be domesticated in states to eliminate the persists discrimination in national and state statues, customary and religious laws, traditions,

customs, social roles and cultural prejudice that continue to militate against women (National Gender Policy, 2006). In line with the foregone, the Jigawa state government implemented its own state gender policy in 2013 so as to give direction on how to address women issues in the design and implementation of government policies and programmes. As the policy presents, it is a people-centered development strategy, which would ensure women's development with the aim of complimenting the family's source of income, thereby breaking the circle of poverty and building a virile and cohesive family as the building block of society and the nation (JSGP, 2013).

Against this backdrop, this study tends to investigate whether the implementation of women empowerment programmes as guided by the Jigawa State Gender Policy contributed in empowering women and make them to be part of the drivers of their societal fortune by improving their standard of living and engaging them to participate in the socio-economic and political development of Mallam Madori Local Government Area.

Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this study is to examine the impact of the Jigawa State Gender Policy on the living standard of women in Mallam Madori Local Government Area, Jigawa State (2006-2020). However, the specific objectives are:

- i. To examine the various programmes designed to empower women in Mallam Madori Local Government Area.
- ii. To assess the impact of the women empowerment programmes on the living standard of women in Mallam Madori Local Government Area
- iii. To ascertain if the women empowerment programmes as guided by the state gender policy increase women participation in the socio-economic development of Mallam Madori Local Government Area

Research Questions

The following research questions arose from the above mentioned objectives:

- i. What are the programmes designed to empower women in Mallam Madori Local Government Area?
- ii. What is the impact of the women empowerment programmes on the living standard of women in Mallam Madori Local Government Area?
- iii. Have the women empowerment programmes as guided by the state gender policy lead to an increase in women participation in socio-economic development of Mallam Madori Local Government Area?

Concept of Gender

Gender is part of the broader sociocultural context. Just like race, class and ethnic identities, it is an all-encompassing socio-cultural variable that defines and differentiates the roles, rights, responsibilities and obligations of women and men (Zobnina, 2009; Grown, Gupta, & Khan, 2003). By way of conceptualisation, Kemi & Jenyo (2016); Ogu, Ezeonwuka, & Sule, (2016) define gender as the set of rules, norms, customs and practices by which biological differences between males and females are translated into socially constructed differences between men and women and boys and girls. From the part of Ekpe, Omenka & Bisong (2016), gender has to do with the social roles allocated respectively to men and women in particular societies and at particular times. They further added that, such roles allocated based on the sex difference are conditioned by a variety of political, economic, ideological and cultural factors.

In view of the above, it can be deduced that, the social construction of the term gender is geared towards justifying men domination over women. Based on this reason, it can be argued that inequality between men

and women or boys and girls that continue to perpetuate our society is an invented phenomenon. This makes gender situation differ from place to place, from time to time, depending on how different societies define them. But, despite the variation across societies, gender system defines the standard of what is allowed and valued in a woman or man (John, 2011).

Although the forgone explanations differ in focus and wording, they all tend to emphasize that gender is a socially constructed concept that is complex, multi-dimensional and changes overtime.

Concept of Women Empowerment

The concept of women empowerment seems to have been used in the 1980s by third world feminists to address the issue of gender differences that exist in the control and distribution of resources (Egwurube, 2016). The term has commonly been used to describe the provision of adequate opportunities for women to develop their potentials and contribute to the development of the nation in particular and the world in general (Ovute, Dibia & Obasi, 2015). It is a process through which women gain the ability to take ownership and control of their lives. This can be facilitated through education, capacity building, training and other measures (Uzoamaka, Gerald & Eze, 2016).

From the standpoint Isah & Nafiu (2013), women empowerment is synonymous to gender empowerment which means giving total official authority or freedom or status that men folks enjoy to women in a manner that safeguard discrimination against them or their under-representation in all sectors of the economy. To achieve this in our society, Danjuma, Muhammad & Alkali (2013) stated that there is the need to develop the mental and physical capacity, power and skills in women for them to operate meaningfully in their social milieu, thereby experiencing a more favourable level of social recognition and subsequently enhance their status in the society. In this context, empowering women is conceived as awareness and capacity building and developing skills necessary to ensure that women effectively participate in present and future decision-making.

What runs through the foregone explanations is that, women empowerment has to do with ways women acquire new skills and the appropriate institutional/legal changes and supports put in place to transmute the economic, social, psychology, political and legal circumstances of women with a view to improve their access to education, landed property, political positions, involvement in money-making activities and decision-making processes.

Review of Empirical Studies

Studies have been conducted on policies of women empowerment and how they can lead to increase in women participation and improvement of standard of living.

A study by Waziri (2002) on the impact of the Beijing Conference on women emancipation in Nigeria found that there is an improvement in the way women enjoy their rights in the country. Adanu (2006) studied the Beijing Declaration and women political empowerment in Nigeria. It was established that, despite progress in women acquiring position in the country, Nigeria's societal values still hampers progress in women political empowerment. The argument supports the findings of Jina (2000). Jina studied the Beijing Agenda and women in Kaduna State. His findings show majority of women are yet to be impacted by the Beijing Agenda in the study area. Also, Kuvie (2007) assess the impact of the 1995 Beijing conference on gender equality from political point of view. The study revealed that Nigerian government has not performed its obligation after ratifying the Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discriminations Against Women (CEDAW) agreement. In a related development, Odeh (2014) studied the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and women empowerment in Nigeria and found that despite the huge resources put into the

implementation of the goals, the actual change in the status of women in the Nigerian society is far from the targeted standard.

However, CEDAW and Beijing Agenda from which most of the studies drew their conclusion placed more emphasis on women rights rather than real empowerment. Here arose the need for a research of this nature that studies women empowerment from the context of Jigawa State Gender Policy which centres more on women empowerment. Amadi (2017) make an appraisal on the implementation of National Gender Policy in relation to empowerment and gender equality programmes and projects in Rivers State from 2006-2015. His findings revealed that the focus on women over the years has not brought any significant change in their condition and position. In the same vein, Ekpe, Omenka & Bisong (2016) provided a critical analysis on the strategies for achieving National Gender Policy in Nigeria and found that the National Gender Policy has failed to challenge the structures which reproduce gender inequality and overall disempowerment of women hence; development opportunities continue to elude women. In a related study, Kura & Yero (2013) analyse continues gender inequality in relation to Nigeria's National Gender Policy and found that, the rights of women and girls are grossly violated and devalued in Nigeria. However, the foregone studies focused majorly on the impact of the gender policy at the national level. The implementation of the policy at the national level may not necessarily trickle down to state level because the approaches to address women issue differ across the federation. Hence, the need for a study of this nature that study women empowerment from the context of a policy that recognised the diverse nature of the Nigerian state in an attempt to proper a systematic explanation to the phenomenon of women empowerment that continue to draw global attention.

A study by Ejumudo (2013) on the desirability and inevitability of a pragmatic approach toward ensuring gender equality and women empowerment in Nigeria revealed that the problem of gender disparity in Nigeria is associated with the action dilemma by the Nigerian government. Fatile, Ejalaribu & Aliu (2017), investigated how women empowerment at the grass root level will be a panacea to end dependency culture in Nigeria and found that the challenges of women dependency is social and culturally constructed due to multiple roles assign to women by family and other cultural expectations. Egwurube (2016) studied the challenges facing women empowerment in contemporary Nigeria. Findings revealed that patriarchal nature of Nigerian society and mind resistant to changes as main challenges against women empowerment. In a related development, Ogu, Ezeonwuka & Sule (2016) studied gender equality and poverty reduction in the post 2015 agenda as the foundation for sustainable development in Nigeria. Their findings revealed that realising the human rights, dignity and capabilities of women is a central requirement in the fight against a just and sustainable world. In addition, Alonge (2014) corroborate this finding. In his study on the determinant of women empowerment among the Ijesa of South Western Nigeria, he found that husband income, professional occupations and higher education among women as some of the factors enhancing women empowerment among the Ijesa of South Western Nigeria.

From the above studies, it can be deduced that, for women to be part of the drivers of their societal fortune, they need to be empowered. Their empowerment will reduce subordination, poverty level and improvement of standard of living. It is in line with these perspectives that this study investigates the phenomenon of women empowerment within the context of Jigawa State Gender Policy in Mallam Madori Local Government Area with a view to ascertain whether the impact of the policy will improve the living standard of women and open doors for their participation in the socio-economic development of the study area.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored around Gender and Development Theory (GAD). The theory emerged in the 1970s through the writings of academic scholars such as Oakley (1972), Rubin (1975), Moser (1993) and Shazavi & Miller (1995).

GAD theory focused primarily on the issue of inequality between men and women and advocates for empowerment of women as means to achieve equality (Moser, 1993). According to the theory, women are untapped resource who can provide contribution to development. Their neglect in development plans has left potentially large contribution (Moser, 1993). Therefore, development goals cannot be fully reached without their participation (Reddock, 2000). The theory also calls for the formulation of more gender-aware policies to address subordination in a society (Connelly et al., 2000).

In Nigeria, different roles, responsibilities, and activities are allocated to women and men according to what is considered appropriate to different gender as defined by the societal culture. According to GAD theory, this is referred to as “the gender division of labour” (Razavi & Muller, 1995). An examination of the gender division of labour in Nigeria usually shows that although both women and men work to maintain themselves and their household, there tend to be differences in the nature of their work. Small-scale trading is majorly dominated by women while men have access to better jobs. This situation create inequality and limit women’s access to social, economic and political benefits that led to the wide spread of poverty and low standard of living.

The theory advocates for the need to challenge the cultural values and social institutions that give men power over women through new legislation or the enforcement of existing once to ensure zero tolerance to women subordination (Connelly et al., 2000). In line with this, several national, state and international laws and policies were ratified like the CEDAW, African Women’s protocol, Beijing platform for Action, National Gender Policy, MDGs and SDGs among other gender specific programmes and initiatives aimed at challenging the encumbrances that militate against efforts toward women empowerment.

Methodology

The study employs survey research method. In collecting data for the research, both primary and secondary sources were utilised. The secondary sources comprise of journals, books, thesis/dissertations, government publications and reports. Internet was also extensively utilised. The primary sources used are questionnaire, interview and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Target population were the residents of Mallam Madori Local Government Area comprising of 164,791 populations (NPC, 2006). The sample size for the study is 400 which is considered to be representative enough of the entire population of the study area as it conforms to the Morgan and Kreiche’s criterion that a sample of 384 and above can represent the total population of 1,000, 000 (Morgan & Kreijcie, 1970). Based on the fact that population census was not counted and graded based on ward population (Omojorabi, 2016), the study makes use of polling units to determine the sample size of each of the selected ward. In other words, the number of polling units in each of the wards across the study area determines the number of questionnaires to be distributed in such area. Thus, to arrive at the sample size of each of the wards across the local government, the formula below is applied:

$$\text{Ward sample size} = \frac{\text{number of polling units}}{\text{total number of polling units}} \times \frac{400}{1}$$

Table 1: Distribution of the Selected Wards and their Sample Size

S/N	Wards	No. of Polling Units	Sample Size $\frac{N}{TN} \times \frac{400}{1}$
1.	Arki	10	34
2.	Dunari	14	47
3.	Fateka Akurya	12	40
4.	Garin Gabas	09	31
5.	MairakumiBara-Musa	10	34
6.	Makaddari	11	37
7.	Mallam Madori	16	54
8.	Shayya	09	31
9.	Tagwaro	10	34
10.	Tashena	07	24
11.	Tonikutara	10	34
	Total	118	400

Table 1 shows distribution of sample size across the eleven (11) wards in the study area. Individual respondents from each of the sample wards were selected using simple random sampling technique.

In the process of selecting informants for an interview, simple random sampling technique was also applied to select ten key stakeholders and beneficiaries of the policy who are willing to provide information by virtue of knowledge or experience. Additionally, sixteen women engaged in formal and informal sectors were also involved in Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Two groups were formed each comprising eight beneficiaries.

The data collected was analysed quantitatively using statistical method of data analysis. In other words, the data was presented in tabular form using simple percentage distribution and are immediately followed by interpretation and analysis of the tables. While the qualitative data that was generated through interviews and FGDs were recorded, transcribed and analysed thematically. Simply put, the study closely examined the data and identifies common themes in relation to the research objectives.

Presentation of Data and Discussion of Findings

A total of four hundred (400) questionnaires were administered to the respondents across the eleven wards in the study area. Three hundred and seventy three (373) were retrieved and only three hundred and sixty two (362) representing ninety one per cent (91%) were considered valid for the analysis as presented in the table below:

Table 2: Administration and Retrieval of Questionnaires

S/N	Sampled Wards	Questionnaires Administered	Questionnaires Retrieved	Valid Questionnaires
1	Arki	34	33	30
2	Dunari	47	44	44
3	Fateka	40	34	33
4	Garin Gabas	31	31	31
5	Mairakumi	34	31	31
6	Makkadari	37	36	34
7	M/Madori	54	51	51
8	Shayya	31	29	27
9	Tagwaro	34	33	30

10	Tashena	24	21	21
11	Tonikutara	34	30	30
	Total	400	373	362

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 3: Sex, Age and Occupational Distribution of Respondents

Sex	Frequency	%	Age	Frequency	%	Occupation	Frequency	%
Males	173	47.8	18 – 27	110	30.4	Civil Servants	88	24.3
Females	189	52.2	28 – 37	143	39.5	Business	56	15.5
			38 – 47	64	17.7	Students	63	17.4
			48 and above	45	12.4	Housewives	96	26.5
						Farmers	59	16.3
Total	362	100		362	100		362	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 3 indicates sex, age and occupational distribution of respondents. Out of the 362 respondents, 173 representing 47.8% are males while 189 representing 52.2% are females. Thus, the table is a clear indication that, in most of the sampled households, women filled the questionnaires more than their male counterpart.

In terms of age distribution of respondents, 110 of them representing 30.4% were between 18-27 years. 143 representing 39.5% of the respondents fall within the age bracket of 28-37. Only 64 of the respondents representing 17.7% were within the age limit of 38-47 while 45 of the respondent representing 12.4% were 48 years and above.

Going by the view of the respondents, 88 of them respondents representing 24.3% are civil servants. 56 of the respondent representing 15.5% are engaged in one business or the other. 63 of the respondents representing 17.4% claimed to be students. 96 of the respondents representing 26.5% said they are full housewives. Only 59 of the respondents representing 16.3% are farmers. This might be due to the fact that, women in the study area are majorly restricted to be household keepers while men engage in other activities that will earn the family a means of livelihood.

Table 4: Respondents response on the type of women empowerment programmes available in the study area

Empowerment Programmes	Frequency	Percentage
Entrepreneurship Skill	52	14.4
Free Female Education	119	32.9
Free Maternal Health Care	44	12.1
Loan/Micro Credit Scheme	65	18.0
Political Appointment	33	9.1
All of the above	36	9.9
None of the above	13	3.6
Total	362	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

As can be seen from table 4, out of the 362 respondents, 52 of them representing 14.4% are aware of the existence of entrepreneurship skill as an empowerment programme in the study area. 119 of the sampled population representing 32.9% are aware of the existence of free

female education program. 44 of the respondents representing 12.1% are aware of free maternal health care. 65 of the respondent representing 18.0% were aware of loan/micro credit scheme as an empowerment initiative. 33 of the respondents representing 9.1% are aware of appointment into political office as women empowerment programme in the area under study. Only 36 of the respondent representing 9.9% were aware of all the listed empowerment programmes while the remaining 13, representing 3.6% of the respondents are not aware of any of the women empowerment initiatives.

In view of the data presented, it can be deduced that, majority of the respondents (32.9%) are more familiar with free female education as an empowerment initiative in the area under study. As rightly captured by an informant; “in Jigawa state, when it comes to issue of free female education, there is high political commitment” (Interview, 2020). Another FGD respondent further reiterated that; of all the women empowerment programmes in the state... the mostly widely benefited programme is that of free female education (Respondent, FGD, 2020).

Table 5: Respondents’ view on whether the women empowerment programmes contributed to improvement on their standard of living

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	283	78.2
No	79	21.8
Total	362	100

Source: Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 5 shows that majority of the respondents representing 283 (78.2%) agreed that the women empowerment programmes implemented in the study area contributed to the improvement of their standard of living. While the remaining 79 (21.8%) of the respondents are of the opinion that the women empowerment programmes did not contributed to the improvement of standard of living of people in the area under study. A justification to these responses can be found in the position of an informant who argued that;

...from the inception of the policy to date, we trained women on businesses and skill acquisitions while others were given loan with which they sustain themselves and provide assistance to their family members (Interview, 2020).

This argument was justified by another informant who believed that;

...most of the women empowered are widows. They use the little they earn to sustain themselves and shoulder the responsibility of their children who are mostly orphans. For example, those who were empowered with poultry farming, they sell the eggs to provide for their daily needs (Interview, 2020).

In one of the FGDs, a member of the group narrated that; ...the tailoring skills I acquired after our training at the skill acquisition centre help me to earn a living...especially during *sallah* period, I save a lot of money for some of my needs after sewing cloth that are used for the festivities (Respondent, FGD, 2020). Another member stated that; I have capital with which I sell maggi, matches, detergent etc. and at the end of every week, I use to save five hundred naira (Respondent, FGD, 2020). To further corroborate this viewpoint, an interviewee explained that; “...the Life Skill Forum (LSF) programme initiated which teaches girl child on carrier development, has helped in boosting their desires to attend schools so as to realize their dreams (Interview, 2020)”. Additionally, the state team leader, Women for Health (W4H) reiterated that, “the Foundation Year Program (FYP) that was design to train the female child

to become skilled birth attendants, has helped in making the state to have its own midwives that work in various health centres across the state. This has helped in reducing maternal and child mortality rate (Interview, 2020)".

Table 6: Respondents' view on the likely factors that may hinder the effective implementation of women empowerment programme

Factors that may hinder empowerment	Frequency	Percentage
Religion	34	9.4
Societal values	11	3.0
Politicization of the program	186	51.4
Lack of proper involvement of beneficiaries	115	31.8
Lack of public awareness	16	4.4
Total	362	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 6 indicates that 34 (9.4%) of the respondents are of the opinion that, religion is a factor that will hinder the effective implementation of programmes that will empower women in the study area. 11 (3.0%) attributed the likely limitation of women empowerment to societal values. 16(4.4%) of the respondents agreed that lack of public awareness will hinder effective implementation of women empowerment programmes. While 186(51.4%) and 115(31.8%) of the respondents attributed the likely limitation of women empowerment to politicisation of the programs and lack of proper involvement of the beneficiaries respectively. Therefore, this is an indication that, the most likely handicap to women empowerment programmes in the study area is the politicisation of the programmes. As rightly argued by an interviewee;

Sometimes, we are not allowed to pick the right women to benefit from the programmes. Politicians use to influence the process of selecting the beneficiaries. They make sure that those who are to benefit from the programmes, are women who belong to their political fold (Interview 2020).

Another informant explained that; "Slots are allocated to lawmakers to provide women who will be included in most of the empowerment programmes (Interview, 2020)". In a related development, another further reiterated that;

The truth of the matter is that, there is political interest in empowerment programmes. If politicians are aware of an empowerment initiative, they present candidates who according to them, contribute to their success in the electioneering process as such, they must be compensated through the programme. (Interview, 2020)

This explanation is corroborated by an argument by a respondent in one of the FGDs; "... most times, they picked only those with whom they share the same political party (Respondent, FGD, 2020)". Another Respondent in the FGD also narrated that; "...if you have no link with the politicians, who will empower you? You only hear about it either from neighbours or radio stations (Respondent, FGD, 2020)".

Discussion of Major Findings

Three research questions and corresponding objective were proposed. They are to be verified in relation to the available findings of the study. In line with the first objective; to examine the various programmes designed to empower women in Mallam Madori Local Government Area. The findings of this study confirmed the existence of women empowerment programmes in the study area. Apart from the programmes listed in table 4, other programmes listed by an interviewee include: Goat breeding programme; poultry farming; wood and stone work;

training on entrepreneurship skills like tailoring, curry, spice, soap, pomade and detergent making; leather works, and the safe motherhood initiatives that gives free maternal health care services. Other initiatives have to do with financial supports ranging from ₦100,000 to ₦10,000 and cooking stoves given to women for business purposes (Interview, 2020).

The outcome of this study also seems to substantiate the second objective on whether the women empowerment programmes impacted on the living standard of women in the study area. This is represented in table 5 where majority of the respondent (78.2%) agreed that the women empowerment programmes improve their living standard. As argued by an informant, from the inception of the programmes to date, a lot of women especially widows who lack capital to engage in businesses were given loans to engage in income generating businesses that give them a monthly income that ranges from ₦5,000 to ₦20,000 (Interview, 2020). Others were trained on different entrepreneurship skills with which they earn a means of livelihood and sustain their lives and that of their family members (Interview, 2020). Also, the Foundation Year Programme (FYP) as women empowerment initiative has helped in improving the living standard of many women in the area under study. Women engaged in this programme have become skilled birth attendants with a monthly income ranging from ₦10,000 to ₦30,000 (interview, 2020).

The third objective of the study is to find out whether the women empowerment programmes as guided by the state gender policy increase women participation in socio-economic development of the study area. This objective was upheld to be evidently true as the programmes make women to be part of the drivers of the societal fortune. They engaged in businesses, participate in electioneering processes, attend schools to acquire formal education and participate in the decision making processes as career civil servants or political office holders. "... a woman was appointed as a supervisory councillor. Another was once appointed as a commissioner. Others were appointed as directors, principals, nurses and the number of women teachers is always on the increase (Interview, 2020).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Although factors like patriarchy, religion and societal norms play vital role in given women limited access to existing opportunities in Mallam Madori Local Government Area, the study established that political consideration in the selection of the beneficiaries of women empowerment initiatives create barriers in the selection of rightful beneficiaries. Nevertheless, the implementation of the Jigawa State Gender Policy open doors for the establishment of empowerment programmes that continue to bring the fore, the neglected gender variables in development planning and implementation. The empowerment programmes make women to be part of the drivers of the societal fortune. They engage in businesses, attend schools to acquire formal education and participate in decision making process as career civil servants and political office holders.

In the light of the above, it is recommended that:

1. Considering the role politics played in the process of selecting beneficiaries, the state gender policy should be backed up by legislation to become a law. This will help the legislative and judicial arm to be fully involved to apply the principle of checks and balances in the process of implementing women empowerment projects
2. Monitoring and evaluation committee on women empowerment should be introduced and strengthened to always undertake a pilot study and identify the category of women in need of the empowerment programmes. The committee should visit the beneficiaries of the empowerment programmes on quarterly basis to ensure that the knowledge, resources and skills acquired are properly utilized for future purposes

3. Women who are the direct beneficiaries should be directly involved in the design and implementation of empowerment projects. This will help in identifying the kind of women empowerment programme each category of women desires.

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