

1 The Nexus of Collaboration Among the Horizontal Organs of
2 Government in Nigeria: A Critical Analysis within the Context
3 of Effective Service Delivery and Politics of Hope for Nigeria and
4 Nigerians

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8 **Abstract**

9 This paper focuses on the nexus of collaboration among the horizontal organs of government
10 in Nigeria in the context of effective service delivery and politics of hope for the nation and its
11 citizens. While specifically examining the three organs of government and their institutional
12 mechanisms of separation of powers and checks and balances in the process, it elucidates the
13 concepts of politics, budgets, servant leadership and, governance. It dichotomizes the latter
14 into two (good and bad governance) with detailed analysis of the imperatives of both and,
15 their implications for the pursuit of effective service delivery for the citizenry in any nation
16 like Nigeria.

18

19 **Index terms**— Nexus, collaboration, dichotomizes.

20 **1 I. introduction**

21 cursory Internet search yields over 300 entries for "globalization". Yet, interdependence among individuals, among
22 groups, among nations, has always been a reality. Since the 14th century, global interdependence has been
23 increasing because of the constant reduction in economic distance—due to improvements in transport technology,
24 tariff cuts, creation of international institutions, telecommunications, etc. but the acceleration witnessed in the last
25 10-15 years is spectacular. Thus, "globalization is more than just a catchy term for an old phenomenon?". Gone,
26 too, are the days when central government administration had the virtual monopoly of state power. As economic
27 distance between any two areas is reduced, the "space" for the center naturally shrinks. Globally, the nation state
28 occupies the "center", and the reduction in economic distance has meant a loss in effective national administrative
29 autonomy (through the voluntary "uploading" of substantial powers)? But central governments have been squeezed
30 from below, as well (thus, bringing) a number of public activities within effective reach of local governments.

31 Combined with a stronger civil society and a more assertive population, these developments have led to
32 pressures on the center to "download" authority and resources.

33 As an overall trend, internal decentralization (that fosters collaboration) may be as unstoppable as globalization
34 [underlined emphases are mine] (Schiavo-Campo and Sundaram, 2001). This statement, which, to some extent,
35 shows both the genesis and the need for collaboration among units or agencies of government administration
36 at both national and international levels of political, administrative and governance processes or actions by the
37 relevant functionaries vis-à-vis the plights or fortunes or misfortunes of the citizenry, is deemed appropriate for
38 commencing the analysis of the subject matter of this topic, the essence of which is located within the contextual
39 purviews of governance and its goodness or otherwise. Governance itself, either good or bad, which forms the
40 barometer for analyzing the essence of this topic, as articulated in this opening sentence, is, in turn, predicated on
41 the wherewithal of politics as an art serving as a mechanism for the attainment and sustenance of human political
42 happiness or otherwise depending on its practice in any given political landscape within the global political space.

2 II. ONCEPT OF GOVERNANCE

43 Without any doubt, the architectural layout or topography of any nation's political practice has a lot of
44 implications and challenges for its service delivery and the expectant responsiveness of services so delivered
45 particularly in the context of its practical politicking and, its propensity or otherwise for the collaborative efforts
46 of its horizontal organs of government namely: the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary within the
47 purviews of its process of governance. In fact, the nature of the political space in terms of its propensity for good
48 governance, to a larger extent determines the point of location of the average citizenry along the continuum of
49 "politics of hope and politics of hopelessness".

50 In other words, the extent of collaboration or lack of it among the legislative, executive and judicial organs in
51 the context of effective public service delivery vis-à-vis the fortunes or misfortunes of the citizenry can only or
52 actually be measured in terms of the nature of the political system and its governance structure or process.

53 This being the case, we found it imperative within the context of this paper, to, following the introduction,
54 begin with the discourse of the concept of governance as a prelude to the explication of the three horizontal
55 organs of government whose collaboration or lack of it, will, to a significant extent, determine the nature of
56 the public service delivery and, the hopefulness or hopelessness of the political landscape for the nation and its
57 citizens particularly within a polity like Nigeria.

58 2 II. oncept of Governance

59 The issue of governance and its processes are deep-seated and, rooted in the history of humanity. Thus, the
60 governing of human beings using the requisite techniques of governance is as old as the history of mankind itself
61 as it affects the totality of the universe or global political community. Thus, like most concepts of its kind,
62 the concept of governance, due to its complex weaving of "economic, political and social aspects of a nation"
63 (Shehu 1999), has not been amenable to easy or simplistic definition. In other words, the concept has not been
64 an exception to the volatility and eclecticism for which the disciplines in the Social Sciences have been globally
65 noted.

66 This explains Esman's (1997:1) claim that "no two political scientists would agree on what the concept of
67 governance is or what it means". In fact, as Hyden (1999) once noted, "only few authors (have) define(d) it (the
68 concept of governance) with a view to serving analytical purpose" hence, "governance as a concept has not been
69 extensively used (or defined) in the political literature until very recently when it gained currency" (Nkom and
70 Sorkaa, 1996).

71 This notwithstanding, as Hyden (1999:24) once argued, "the concept of governance has come to occupy a more
72 prominent position in the discourse of international development". If this is correct or, should be taken to be
73 correct, the question needs to be asked that: what exactly or actually is governance?

74 World Bank (1989) defines governance as "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a
75 country's economic and social resources for development". According to the World ??ank (1993), governance has
76 three dimensions. These dimensions which, Eyinla (1998) equally noted are: "the nature of political regimes;
77 the exercise of authority in the management of social and economic resources and, the capacity of government to
78 design and implement policy and to discharge its functions". These dimensions were specifically identified and
79 concretely elucidated by ??lowu and Erero (1997), who both conceptualized governance as relating to the "rule-
80 ruler-ruled relationship". Specifically, Olowu and Erero (Ibid) identified the three dimensions of governance in
81 the context of "rule-ruler-ruled relationship" as inclusive of "functionalism", "structuralism" and "normativism".
82 According to them, functionally, governance deals with "rule-making, legitimization, and enforcement" while it
83 structurally comprises three distinct institutions: the "ruler or the state", the "ruled or the society" and, the "rule
84 of law". In this regard, Olowu and Erero (ibid) viewed governance as the "relationship between state and society
85 institutions". In the same vein, they claimed that "normatively, this relationship highlights the values associated
86 with good governance". These values according to them include: "transparency, organizational effectiveness,
87 accountability, predictability, legitimacy, popular participation and plurality of policy choices".

88 Within the same context, Boeninger (1992) defines governance as the 'good government of society'. According
89 to this scholar, governance has three dimensions: political, technical and institutional. ??kom and Sorkaa (1996)
90 synopsized the interrelatedness of these dimensions thus:

91 The political revolves around the commitment to exercise authority or public control in a just, legitimate and
92 rule oriented fashion. The technical concerns issues of efficiency, competence or the capacity to manage public
93 affairs effectively to solve problems, and to produce good results in resource mobilization and public management.

94 The institutional involves options, choices and growthenhancing activities by the public while ensuring honest
95 or good conduct on the part of the public officials.

96 In the same vein, Landell-Mills and Serageldin (1992) argued that governance encompasses two interrelated
97 dimensions: political and technical both of which consist of the government's "will to govern well and the
98 capacity to efficiently and competently handle public management". Governance, according to Gould (1972)
99 refers to the act of exercising control over others, inducing others to behave in specified ways as required by law.
100 It is "policy making and policy execution regulated by systems of law and guidelines which are segregated into
101 specific operations to achieve specific national objectives (Shehu, 1999:1). To Brautigam (1991) and ??kpeze
102 (1999:73), governance connotes "the exercise of power and authority in both political and economic spheres".
103 Thus, as Ejituwu (1997), argued, "governance implies the exercise of power by a person or group of persons for
104 the benefit of the populace" because, as he equally later claimed, it is through governance, that "the government

105 in power dictates the form of relationship it establishes between it and the people as well as the goal of the state
106 in economic, political and social terms" (Ibid).

107 Implicit in the foregoing conceptual analysis of governance is the fact that, the latter connotes "the use of
108 political authority and exercise of control over a society and the management of resources" (Wai, 1995). Hence,
109 according to ??badan (1998:24), governance -(in this sense) -includes:

110 Institutional and structural arrangements, decisionmaking processes, policy formulation, implementation,
111 capacity development of personnel, information flows, and the nature and style of leadership within a political
112 system.

113 In his contribution to the conceptual discourse on governance, ??dowu (1998:74) had this to say: Governance
114 refers to the functions undertaken by a government maintaining a unified state, defending its territorial integrity
115 and running its economy? It (equally) means the effective and efficient functioning of government towards
116 securing the well-being of its citizens. ??ega (1999:101) analysed the concept of governance in relations to the
117 "person entrusted with political power and authority".

118 In this regard, governance according to him, involves the following:

119 For governance as the "duty of government to see to the orderly and stable management of the economy"
120 (Ukpong, 1999), to have the foregoing attributes and, be effective, efficient and beneficial for democratic political
121 arrangement, it has to be good. This is more so, since we can, as well, have bad governance.

122 **3 III. bad Governance**

123 The possibility of bad governance could be said to be what the World Bank had in mind in 1989, when it began
124 to dichotomize between good and bad governance by "advocating a political reform approach to government as
125 a way of ensuring positive economic growth" (World Bank, 1989, Idowu, 1998).

126 In fact, the World Bank (1992) identified the features of bad governance as follows:

127 This explains Obadan's (1998:25) characterization of bad governance as a system dominated by "ugly problems
128 like pervasive corruption, lack of public accountability and "capture" of public services by the elites among others".

129 **4 IV. good Governance**

130 It is decipherable from the chronology of the discussion in this paper so far on the concept of governance, that,
131 the issue of the latter (i.e. governance), its goodness and utility to mankind cannot be taken for granted without
132 severe consequences. This is particularly so, in that, as ??gunba (1997:1), once noted "the way a people are
133 governed is of paramount importance in determining the quality of life of the people". It is equally more so, if as
134 Esman (1997:1), opined, "governance is a process that requires a viable authority" through which "the leaders
135 are expected to exercise the power that resides with them in the interest of the state" ??Ejituwu, 1997 op cit:
136 37). The need for good governance is not far fetched looking at the fact that:

137 If governance is arbitrary, oppressive and capricious, the collective psyche of a people can be damaged and
138 individuals within the community can suffer various forms of disorientation. If, on the other hand, governance
139 is open, democratic and humanistic, a people can experience a sense of rejuvenation and fulfilment which can
140 lead to highly positive achievements (Ogunba 1997 op cit: 1). This explains ??badan's (1998:39) position that,
141 "it is the responsibility of citizens to demand good governance" because "it (i.e., good governance) may not be
142 forthcoming from the political leaders without prodding".

143 Commenting on good governance, Esman (1997:1) argued thus:

144 The Nexus of Collaborat?on Among the Hor?zontal Organs of Government in N?ger?a: A Cr?t?cal Analys?s
145 w?th?n the Context of Effect?ve Serv?ce Del?very and Pol?t?cs of Hope for N?ger?a and N?ger?ans -Responsibility
146 and responsiveness in leadership and in public service; -Accountability in the mobilization as well as in the
147 utilization of resources; -Discipline, effectiveness and efficiency in handling public (as well as personal) affairs;
148 -Selflessness and impartial service to the people; and -Popular participation and empowerment of the people in
149 the conduct and management of their common affairs (Ibid).

150 -Failure to make C before governance can be considered good, government has got to be effective. It must first
151 command the respect and allegiance of the people over whom it exercises governance and, must satisfy certain
152 basic collective needs.

153 He went further to identify some minimal elements and/or essentials of effective (good) governance as inclusive
154 of: "provision of security for the people", "defence of the territorial borders of the state", "protection of lives
155 and property", "enforcement of laws to enhance predictability" and, "economic development". According to this
156 scholar, "governance requires the ability to ensure the wherewithal of sustained government".

157 He equally asserted that "effective (good) governance requires that public authority be able to raise the
158 revenues necessary to pay for services that must be provided". The essence of this argument is that, "effective
159 governance must be able to make possible the performance by the state of certain basic services" -transportation,
160 communication, education and health services -"relatively cheaply and reliably" ??Erero, 1996, Esman Ibid).
161 This is more so, since effective governance means the capacity of the state, through its power of determinism or,
162 authoritative allocation of scarce critical societal resources -to deliver the basic necessities of life to the governed
163 and, equally "facilitate the process of economic development".

5 V. THE THREE ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT IN FOCUS

164 These lines of argument tally with those of ??badan (1998:25) and ??moako (1997:10), who have posited that:
165 good governance implies efficient and effective public administration, good policies and sound management of
166 natural resources. It calls for the ability of a state to anticipate challenges to its wellbeing, provide core services
167 with people and then argument these services, act as a catalyst of change, and guide the various forces in a society
168 toward harmony (and national development) devoid of ideological imperialism and multi-dimensional genocidal
169 tendencies) (Emphasis mine).

170 Pursuing the same line of argument, Obadan (Ibid), further claimed that: Good governance implies ruling on
171 the basis of equity and social justice, and an end to corruption, nepotism and political manipulation of public
172 institutions. Only when citizens have the belief that their government operates on their behalf, in an open and
173 accountable manner, will government be able to obtain their willing co-operation in, for example, mobilizing
174 resources for development.

175 Driving home this line of argument, Obadan (Ibid: 34), emphasized that, through good governance, a
176 government should be able to effectively perform, among others, the following tasks:

177 Other scholars have considered good governance vis-à-vis the *raison d'être* of statehood in this manner as well
178 (Kaufman, Kraay and Zoido-Lobaton, 1999; Corkery and Bossuyt, 1990; Healey and ??obinson, 1992, 1994; Bello
179 -Imam, 1997; ??wotokun, 1996, 1997; Nkom and Sorkaa, 1996; World Bank, 1989, 1992). These scholars' works on
180 the concept of good governance treat the latter as a system of rulership that is devoid of political expediency
181 and antidemocratic political ends. It is deducible from their works that, good governance stands for dignified
182 existence of all political animals in democratic political settings within the global political community. According
183 to ??badan (1998:24) "good governance consists of five fundamental elements". He listed them thus:

184 -Establishing a foundation of law; -Maintaining a non distortionary policy environment, including macro-
185 economic stability; -Investing in basic social services, infrastructure, -Protecting the vulnerable group in the
186 society; and -Protecting the environment.

187 -Accountability of government officials (political leaders and bureaucrats) for public funds and resources;
188 -Transparency in government procedures, processes, investment decisions, contracts and appointments.

189 Transparency is a means of preventing corruption and enhancing economic efficiency; -Predictability in
190 government behaviour. This is particularly critical to the carrying out of economic transactions between
191 individuals and in taking investment decisions: governments and public institutions should not be capricious
192 in their behaviour and actions; -Openness in government transactions and a reliable flow of the information
193 necessary for economic activity and development to take place. Without information, rules will not be known,
194 accountability is low, and risks and uncertainties are many. With these the cost of committing capital is also
195 huge. An open system should, thus, be encouraged to release information to stakeholders and promote dialogue
196 among the people as well as ensure their active participation in the socio-economic development of the country.
197 -Observance of the rule of law must be adhered to by government and its citizens; this means that governments
198 and institutions should be subject to rules and regulations which are understood by everyone in the society (Ibid).

199 The attainment and continuous sustenance of good governance as articulated above, and, the propensity of
200 same for effective public service delivery to the citizens and, creation of a worthy national road map to economic
201 development in any country and, particularly, in a country like Nigeria, require a frictionfree political landscape
202 the type of which can only be attained and nurtured to fruition through collaboration among the requisite units,
203 agencies or organs of government most especially the traditionally acclaimed organs of government-Legislature,
204 Executive and Judiciary the collaboration among which forms the nucleus of the subject matter of the topic of
205 this paper. Given this, the next section to which we now turn, synoptically though, concretely examines these
206 organs as mechanisms put in place to enable the government as the instrument of the state to make and enforce its
207 decisions as well as the catalyst-(doctrine of separation of powers)-for their existence and, mechanism-(doctrine
208 of checks and balances)-put in place to ensure the success of the existence.

209 5 V. the Three Organs of Government in Focus

210 The three organs of government are: the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.

211 The functions assigned to and performed by each of these organs vary from one political system to another
212 but, then each of them perform certain basic functions within virtually all political systems within the global
213 political community. The specificities of these functions on organ by organ basis are as follows:

214 a) The Legislature Law making is the primary function of this organ of government. Its other functions include
215 the following:

216 b) The Executive The powers of implementation of public policies; enforcement of laws passed by the legislature
217 or the parliament are vested on this organ of government which equally performs the functions of: appointing
218 government functionaries (e.g., judges, c) The Judiciary Interpretation of the laws of the land as passed by
219 the legislature is the principal function of this organ of government. It is equally the function of this organ of
220 government to ensure strict adherence to the principles of rule of law and sanctity of the constitution of the
221 nation. This organ equally performs the following functions:

222 The catalyst put in place for the independent but expected collaborative existence of these organs of government
223 is the doctrine of separation of powers. This is discussed below.

224 **6 VI. the Doctrine of Separation of**

225 **7 Powers**

226 This doctrine, according to which powers refer to the legislative, executive and judicial powers of the government,
227 happens to be an essential feature of constitutional government. It was first expounded by a French political
228 philosopher, Jean Bodin in the sixteenth century in his book entitled "The Republic" (Khan et al, 1972 Akindele
229 et al, 1998Akindele et al, , 2000)).

230 A variant of this doctrine was later in the seventeenth century expounded by the first English philosopher,
231 John Locke, who, at that time was concerned with making sure that only one power-the legislative power be
232 divided between the king and the parliament. Even, before John Locke, another seventeenth century political
233 theorist, James Harrington in his "Academia" (1634) had advocated a more abstract notion of a necessary balance
234 of power.

235 It was this doctrine of the separation of powers which created the incentive to diverge from the orthodox or
236 conventional method of combining monarchy, aristocracy and democracy which had been the practice or common
237 political thought since the times of Aristotle and Polybius. Moreover, this doctrine was actually and formally
238 propagated and popularized by Montesquieu in his eighteenth century "Esprit des Lois" (i.e., The Spirit of Laws)
239 (1748). Montesquieu drew a sharp and logical distinction between and among the legislative, executive and
240 judicial powers, and insisted that they should be

241 **8 C**

242 Following his propagation of this doctrine, it was given institutional expression in many constitutions. The
243 precursor in this area at that time was the United States of America. The United States' constitution of 1787
244 was a landmark in the practical adoption of the doctrine of separation of powers to governmental institutional
245 arrangement. But, it was most fully elaborated in the United States by John Adams who, in a refined manner,
246 adopted it through the flexible doctrine of checks and balances in the quest for much desired collaboration among
247 the three organs without any undue erosion of each other's powers or areas of relevance in the governance process.
248 Also the French constitution of the revolutionary era as well as various Monarchical constitutions of Western
249 Europe in post-Napoleonic period gave recognition to the doctrine of separation of powers.

250 The doctrine of the separation of powers rests on the notion that powers and functions of government may be
251 divided into three-(Legislative, Executive and Judicial)-in order to remove the possibility of a situation whereby
252 any of the organs will be too strong for the other in the execution or performance of their respective governmental
253 functions or duties. The rationale for this separation was predicated on the assumption that if the powers exercised
254 by each of these organs are concentrated in one hand, tyranny would be the result and this would jeopardize the
255 civil rights. Thus, the central core or idea of the doctrine of separation of powers has since being that the same
256 person or body should not make the laws, enforce them and pass judgment on violators.

257 The need to ensure the effectiveness and/or productive collaboration among these organs for effective public
258 service delivery and, without erosion of each other's relevance in the governance and service delivery processes
259 brought about the political mechanism of the doctrine of checks and balances.

260 **9 VII. The Doctrine of Checks and Balances**

261 This doctrine is a complement to the doctrine of separation of powers. How it became a complement of this
262 doctrine is traceable to the idea that each organ should and will be a check on the others. Thus the idea of
263 checks and balances became a provision of the means through which the different organs of government can check
264 the powers of one another and balance them in such a manner that tyranny, despotism, oppression, domination,
265 violation of fundamental human rights and civil liberties are not encouraged. Doctrine of checks and balances
266 usually exists between the Legislature and the Executive in the areas of legislative control of the Executive
267 namely: budget impeachment; accountability and transparency; refusal, delay or approval of measures proposed
268 by the Executive. Even though, the Executive cannot impose its views in most cases, on the Legislature, it
269 has some measures of control over the Legislature in the areas like the passage of bills into laws. In fact, the
270 Executive can always refuse its signature to a bill or any bill it considers to be unconstitutional or too harsh for
271 the citizens.

272 The Judiciary as the third organ can also check both the Executive and the Legislature if and whenever their
273 actions are deemed illegal. And the Judiciary is also vulnerable to both the executive and the legislative control
274 if not in all respects but, in the areas of appointment and promotions of Judges. The abuse of this control mostly
275 by the Executives in most developing polities, have brought about some further measures serving as inhibitors
276 to some extent to ensure that the Judiciary is clearly allowed to function as the last hope of the common people.
277 An example of such measures was the establishment in Nigeria of the National Judicial Commission which, has to
278 some extent, performed creditably to justify the confidence of Nigerians as far as the independence and fairness
279 of the judicial organ are concerned.

280 Put together, the idea behind the principles of checks and balances is the protection and safeguarding of
281 individual liberty and freedom through its discouragement of and prevention of nepotism, tyranny, despotism
282 and abuses of power. This doctrine was and still not meant for solving personal, ideological and political scores

9 VII. THE DOCTRINE OF CHECKS AND BALANCES

283 as most dead-wood and free-loading political actors may wish to believe in their quest for illicit and idiosyncratic
284 political ends.

285 The practical reality or utility of these mechanisms-(Doctrines of separation of powers and checks and balances)
286 in ensuring the true workability of the organs -(Legislative; Executive and Judicial) -of government in the quest
287 for effective public service delivery and politics of hope for the people varies from one political system to the
288 other depending on the nature and exigencies of each polity's practical politics and understanding of it as a
289 means for improving the lots of the citizenry rather than those of the political actors as it has being in most
290 developing polities Nigeria inclusive due to the dangerous adherence to apolitical understanding of politics or the
291 perception of the latter in the context of what it is not in spite of the need for the opposite. This is put into
292 perspective by the analysis of the subject matter of what is politics and what it is not politics in the immediate
293 section below. C academic, ideological to philosophical. Thus, one can argue that one of the multifaceted
294 problems often encountered is the lack of consensus regarding the actual conception of politics. This tendency
295 has generated different typifications of politics (as an art and one of the central concerns of political science).
296 These typifications range from "politics is a dirty game", "government by deceit' to its conception as the "process
297 at work everywhere". In short, the concept of politics and, its study (political science) have never been free from
298 both ignorant and intellectual disputations.

299 Generally, the historical development of politics as an art and as a discipline can be retrospectively traced to the
300 ancient Greek period of city-states during which Plato, Aristotle and some of their Greek contemporaries deemed
301 the affairs of the polis -(due to the then intricacies of human political relationship) -worthy of a master science
302 -(Political Science). During this classical period, Aristotle claimed that human Self realization is dependent on
303 political relationship. On the same token, he claimed that "man is a political animal" and that politics form
304 the bases of human Social existence because the interaction of two or more people is synonymous to Political
305 relationship.

306 Various scholars of international repute have equally addressed the issue of politics vis-à-vis human existence
307 in the Society.

308 In spite of these disputations, it is an empirical fact that politics (as an art) structures our lives, explains man's
309 existence as a member of organized human society", determines our socio-political, psycho-socioeconomic, geo-
310 political and ethno-cultural positions and dictates our options due to its embracing characteristics. This being
311 the case, it is the belief here that politics is very embracing and that it involves competition for public goods,
312 authoritative decisions, compliance and distribution and use of power over human activities in our societies.
313 Hence, as afore elucidated, many Scholars have defined politics (as an art and as a discipline) in the attempt to
314 provide understanding to our practical involvement in the art of governance and our regard for the institutional
315 paraphernalia of democracy. For an example, Williams Crane and Bernard Moses (1983) have analytically
316 and practically defined politics. To them, analytically, politics deals with the "State as an organism for the
317 concentration and distribution of political powers of the Nation" and, practically, it deals with the "form and
318 substance of actions".

319 On his own, Alfred de Grazia (1965), defined politics (as an art) as the events that happen around the decision-
320 making centre of government while the study of these connotes his (De Grazia) own definition of Politics as a
321 discipline. In addition to the foregoing, David ??aston (1957), defined politics (as an art) as the authoritative
322 allocations of scarce societal values for the society while Harold Lasswell (1958), defined it as the determination
323 of who gets what? When? Where? How? and Why? The materialists on the other hand viewed politics as the
324 struggle between social classes for the control of the state or institutions of the state. The structure within which
325 the struggle takes place is regarded as the political. This conception of politics tends to emphasize the role of
326 economic interest and class conflict in the practice of politics and in the actions of political actors.

327 Politics is empirical and it deals with the shaping and sharing of power hence, it is studied and analyzed by
328 political scientists.

329 Not minding the divergent views, politics is omnipresent and, it is actually the relationship between the "rulers
330 and the ruled" that ranges from conflict to compliance. It does not exist in a vacuum but within a political system.
331 It is on this basis that political life is taken to mean a system of activities ranging from support and demands or
332 feedback from the environment to policy outputs or governmental decisions. The concept of power is very crucial
333 to the ordering of priorities involved in politics. This explains why David Apter (1977), claimed that "politics
334 requires the learning of power because human lives take shape and meaning within authoritative boundaries.
335 This shows that politics includes "the procedures through which governments, groups and individuals decide how
336 to spend the money of the state and how behaviour will be limited (Danziger, 1994: 5). Generally, common
337 definitions of politics are:

338 ? Politics is the exercise of power ? Politics is the public allocation of things that are valued ? Politics is
339 the resolution of conflict ? Politics is the competition among individuals and groups pursuing their interests ?
340 Politics is the organizations and people who make and implement public policies ? Politics is the determination
341 of who gets what, when, how, (where, and why) (Ibid). These orthodox and universally acclaimed conceptions of
342 politics on both fronts, and, particularly on the practical front notwithstanding, its understanding and practice
343 in Nigeria had, and, continues to take disturbing exceptions. This assertion finds a deepseated solace in the past
344 and contemporary developments within the Nigerian body politic or political landscapes which had constantly,
345 in spite of its ruins, taken politics to be what it is not and what it can never be. These apolitical syndromes,

346 to some extent, were principally responsible for the cyclistic civil-military-civil rulership political developments
347 in Nigeria and the resultant periodic faulty planning transitions and, their accompanying heart aches, a major
348 example of which was the annulment of June 12, 1993 Presidential Election and its debilitating effects on Nigeria
349 and Nigerians which began to wane though, not at the expected speed, since the commencement of the Fourth
350 Republic in May, 1999.

351 A retrospective historical analysis of political events in Nigeria shows a disturbing picture in terms of the
352 poverty of political wisdom and constant disregard for the conventional mannerism of practical politicking.
353 Concretely, this analysis shows that ignorance, indifference, parochialism, conservatism, political brigandage,
354 blind ideological persuasion, intolerance, parasitic political philosophy, megalomania syndromes, treatment of
355 political opponents as nonentities, feelings of hereditary-political supremacy by some political actors, political
356 arrogance as a combination, had, and, continues to consistently dictate the character and pace of political
357 activities in Nigeria.

358 In Nigeria, the concept of government and opposition which has traditionally formed the core of practical
359 politics and, which has gained international or universal acclamation has been unrepentantly abused. Instead
360 of embracing this international or universal acceptance in Nigeria, it is tied to regionalism, ethnicity, cultural
361 heterogeneity, cultural polarization, ostracism and tribal loyalties.

362 The nation's politics and its accompanying activities have been characterized by political vendetta, corruption,
363 son of the soil philosophy, politics of expediency, enthronement of regional loyalties, conferment of pseudo-
364 legitimacy, institutionalized disrespect for economic and financial solvency of the nation, unprovoked liquidation
365 of human lives, political shenanigans, arson and wanton destruction of properties, contractor-controlled political
366 machinery, election rigging, annulment of election, unethical impeachment of elected political actors, stifling
367 of judicial independence and its accompanying cooptation of the judiciary, politics of hopelessness and many
368 other vices. These disturbing characteristics existed unabated during the first three democratic Republics in
369 Nigeria which were interrupted and dotted by military regimes and their aberrations. They even existed up to
370 the commencement of the fourth Republic in 1999 the fourth phase of which commenced on 29 May, 2011 with
371 the election of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and the inauguration of the 7 th National Assembly (Senate
372 and the House of Representatives) (Akindele and Adeyemi, 2011(a); Akindele and Adeyemi, 2011(b)). These
373 apolitical values are yet to be fully understood as inimical to the pursuit of politics of hope and creation of
374 a healthy road map for economic development in Nigeria by some of our political actors even, at this time of
375 the third phase of the fourth Republic in spite of the seeming good, patriotic and nationalistic intention and,
376 commitments of some of them to the need for servant leadership and its accompanying benefits.

377 These apolitical developments must be dealt with and taken care of for the Nigerian state to be amenable to
378 politics of hope and attainment of the requisite mechanisms for effective public service delivery to the Nigerian
379 people. This can be done through real commitment by the political actors and the Nigerian people who must
380 always insist on doing things through appropriate mechanisms and routes. What to do in this regard forms the
381 core of the discussion below.

382 IX. what to do to ensure politics of hope and effective public service delivery for Nigerians

383 The attainment and sustenance of politics of hope and its accompanying effective public service delivery for
384 the Nigerian people are contingent on the needed existence of certain variables and values which are germane to
385 the healthy authoritative allocation of scarce and critical societal values and resources. Certain things must be
386 done to put these variables and values in place for the betterment of the people. Such things include: existence of
387 good governance; budgetary sanity; professionalism of the public bureaucracies/administration and, collaboration
388 among the three organs of government among. These are respectively discussed below.

389 **10 X. existence of good governance**

390 The concept of governance and its goodness or otherwise have been fully discussed in section two of this paper
391 above hence, it is unnecessary to duplicate such analysis here. The points that need to be stressed here is that,
392 to avail the Nigerian nation and its people the indispensable values of politics of hope and effective public service
393 delivery, there must be a total commitment to good governance. With the pursuit of good governance in place,
394 every other thing will follow.

395 **11 XI.**

396 **12 Budgetary sanity**

397 The need for budgetary sanity in Nigeria and its relevance to the attainment and sustenance of politics of hope
398 and provision of effective public service delivery are compelled by the problems that have been associated with the
399 budgetary process in Nigeria as a result of the lackadaisical attitudes of our political actors to financial probity,
400 accountability and transparency visà-vis the fiscal policies of the Nigerian state.

401 This way of life as it relates to the budget as a whole is very disturbing. There is the need to respect the
402 budget as a tool of national fiscal control. It is our belief that, it is after the recognition of the budget as the only
403 translator of financial resources into human purposes that, its sectoral allocation could be specifically analyzed
404 in terms of adequacy or otherwise, because once the whole is disregarded as we are now used to in Nigeria, it
405 would be meaningless to dissipate energy on its components.

406 Our contention here, is grounded on the fact that, in Nigeria, emotional extra budgetary spending by Nigerian
407 leaders at national, state and local levels has made it impossible for the past budgets to perform their predictive
408 functions for the Nigerian economy despite their typifications as "budget of hope" "budget of reconstruction",
409 "budget of determination" and "budget of consolidation" among other euphemistic terminologies.

410 These problems, apart from those associated with the undemocratic nature of the military regimes when they
411 existed in Nigeria, are more pronounced during the democratic dispensations the nation has had so far due to
412 Executive-Legislative rifts which have disregarded the needed collaboration between them. This way of life is
413 greatly disturbing when viewed against the subject matter of the concept of budget within any given political
414 system (Akindele and Adeyemi, 2010). As a matter of fact, the ability of the Nigerian state to inculcate the
415 values of sane budgetary process and adopt the participatory budgetary method through political mechanism
416 explainable within the context of the functional relevance of the three organs of government is, in part, dependent
417 on the professionalism of the public bureaucracies and the practitioners within them. This is discussed below.

418 The Professionalism of Public Bureaucracies and Administration in Nigeria: Its nexus with effective public
419 service delivery and politics of hope.

420 To start with, it is our contention that the issue of professionalism of the public bureaucracies and
421 administration in Nigeria and, the determination of who is a professional public Administrator or Bureaucrat can
422 be addressed and/or done through the dichotomy of "self-seeking bureaucrats" and "dedicated civil Servants".

423 The former usually called "the empirebuilding bureaucrats", according to ??usgrave and Musgrave (1973:123)
424 "seek to maximize their power and/or income as determined by the size of their bureaus" while the latter "seek
425 to contribute to an efficient operation of the public sector and to the public",

426 The self-serving bureaucrats (i.e. non professional public administrators) will:

427 Conversely, the dedicated (professional) civil servants will provide technical expertise in the designing of
428 programs so as to enable decision -makers (elected government officials) to make intelligent choices, implement
429 and operate programmes once they are enacted, provide an element of continuity to the governmental process,
430 introduce a sense of rationality with the operation (of the governmental process). Given the foregoing, professional
431 public administrators and their development in a democratic culture like Nigeria cannot be taken for granted
432 without severe consequences for effective public service delivery and pursuit of politics of hope for the Nigerian
433 people.

434 13 XII.

435 need for Professionalism of Public Bureaucracies and Public Administrators in Nigeria

436 Gerth and Wright Mills (1972) once opined that the services of the "dedicated civil servants" or "civil service
437 perspective civil servants" are very crucial to the functioning of the modern state and, to the designing and
438 implementation of public policy". The need for the development of professional public Administrators in Nigeria
439 can be understood within the context of their instrumentality for the attainment of democratic benefits by ways
440 of policy orientation that can address the inadequacy of our current democratic dispensation.

441 Through the attainment of professionalism our public bureaucrats will clearly be aware of the constant basic
442 misconceptions of democracy, which may have hitherto, been negatively affecting the performance of their duties.
443 More important, the need for the professionalisation of our Public Administrators in today's democratic culture
444 can be appreciated within the context of a perturbed Nigerian's apprehension about what the civil servants
445 (whom he referred to as those who work government) have now become:

446 We grew up in the colonial days to know those who work for the government as servants of the public. On
447 considering the current attitudes and role of the bureaucracy, we now find to our regret that the traditional
448 but correct posture of government workers has disappeared. Within any known philosophy, bureaucracy exists
449 to provide the congenial atmosphere for the promotion and survival of economic activities. Let government
450 concentrate on the main business of running the government. Divest itself of over involvement in business
451 operation for which it is ill-equipped. Reach-out and take entrepreneurs into confidence in their formulation of
452 economic policies so that the views they formulate in their air conditioned rooms could be translated into reality
453 by the entrepreneurs who are the risk takers ??Oshobi, 2000:22).

454 Not only this, the need for the development of professional administrators or professionalisation of the civil
455 service at this time, can be further understood within ? Ask for more funds than needed to perform a given
456 function.

457 ? Overstate the benefits to be derived from a given level of services. ? Inflate the total budget in anticipation
458 of expected cutbacks (Ibid). C the parameters of the humiliation which the public administrators suffered in
459 1975 in the process of the government's deflation of its ascendancy as a potent social force whose perceptions,
460 interests and actions were determinant in shaping policies and strategies under military rule" ??Omoruyi, 1992:
461 10). This scholar's characterization of the civil service purge of 1975 gives credence to the detestation which the
462 military at that time, had for the public Administrators. This can be seen within the context of his claim that:

463 The 1975 purge of the Public Services gave a lie to the "commonality of characteristics and interests"
464 explanation of military-civil service coalition government. What perhaps was significant about the massive
465 purge of the Civil Service is the inference that the service was politically responsible for what General Murtala
466 Muhammed characterised as the 'drift and indecision' of the later years of the Gowon administration which led
467 to his overthrow. Put differently, the Civil Service was no longer considered neutral in political decision-making.

468 If political bosses fall, then, their civil service advisers must equally fall. In this regard, the requirement of the
469 civil service reforms that permanent secretaries should retire along with the regime which appointed them would
470 appear to have laid its precursor in raison d 'etre of the 1975 purge (Ibid: 10-11).

471 It can be reasonably, to some extent, deduced from the foregoing, that the issue of the development of
472 professional Public Administrators for coping with the values of good governance and/or democracy is not alien
473 to the Nigerian polity. Even though, its pedigree and, abrogation/deflation can hardly be examined in isolation
474 from the policy initiatives of the military Regime of General Yakubu Gowon's Udoji Commission Report/Civil
475 Service Reform of 1974 and Babangida's 1988 civil service reform, it held sway during the ill-fated third Republic
476 which was never a full fledged democratic Republic because of its subservience to the military oligarchy. It equally
477 almost came to fruition during the first two phases of this fourth Republic under the Obasanjo administration
478 if not for its dilly-dallying and lack of real and purposeful commitment to such reform. The reform was equally
479 abolished not minding its military pedigree by the same military though, under a different leader-General Sanni
480 Abacha in 1995 (Imhanlahimhim and Edosa, 1999:521).

481 The development of professional public Administrators for the new democratic culture or democratic culture
482 in Nigeria can only be understood and/or appraised within the context of the political character of the public
483 service progenized by the new thinking that "politics is synonymous with public administration" or "public
484 administration as politics". In other words, the challenges of this new thinking as earlier discussed in this paper
485 have to be understood in terms of the concrete dilemmas they have created for our Public Administrators.

486 Strangely, some of Public Administrators, ignorantly too, still cling to the outdated belief that they are neutral,
487 anonymous, and impartial and above all, apolitical in the conduct of their official duties as Public Servants. In
488 other words, the Political character of Public Administrators must not be taken for granted in the process of
489 striving to make them true professionals. This is particularly so in that as Musgrave and Musgrave (Op. Cit:
490 124) once articulated.

491 Civil servants not only are aids to elected representatives but they themselves affect the (policy outputs) and
492 outcomes. In the conduct of government, as anywhere else, knowledge is power. Public programmes are complex
493 and elected officials may have neither the time nor the expertise to analyse them. That branch of government
494 which is backed by technical experts is thus at a greater advantage. Moreover, in rendering advice, the technician
495 can hardly avoid (and may not wish to avoid introduction of his or her policy judgement. Similar considerations
496 apply when it comes to the role of the civil servants in implementing policies after their enactment. Legislation is
497 typically passed in more or less general terms and, its application to specific cases requires interpretation (usually
498 in most cases, done by the civil servants who can hardly avoid and, may not wish to avoid the introduction of
499 their values and personal policy judgement)

500 14 -(Emphasis mine)

501 There is no gainsaying the fact that Nigeria's public administration (or public Service) needs transformation
502 into one that will be most efficient and professional in the real sense of it. The need for this transformation is
503 decipherable from the standpoint of what ??lowu (1989:62) termed the general perspective on the public service
504 in Nigeria.

505 According to this perspective:

506 The public service of Nigeria will be transformed into one of the most efficient of its kind in the world. On the
507 other hand the general perspective is that the public service has not justified the huge resources made available
508 to it to transform the country. The poor performance of major public utilities, the failure of major government
509 projects and the poor maintenance of governmental institutions as well as the growing incidence or knowledge
510 of bureaucratic corruption have contributed to denude the public service of its grandeur. (ibid [62][63] This
511 perspective among other things, led to the depiction at one point in time of Nigeria's public service thus:

512 The Nexus of Collaborat?on Among the Hor?zontal Organs of Government in N?ger?a: A Cr?t?cal Analys?s
513 w?th?n the Context of Effect?ve Serv?ce Del?very and Pol?t?cs of Hope for N?ger?a and N?ger?ans

514 The civil service today is a battered institution which has virtually lost its vital attributes of anonymity,

515 15 Year

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518 C neutrality and security of tenure; an institution in which morale has reached its nadir, in which excessive
519 caution, undue bureaucratic practices and interminable delays have become the hallmarks of an institution
520 seemingly resistant to dynamic changes, an institution which has become the object of constant public criticism.
521 (ibid: 63).

522 The need to reverse the foregoing makes it mandatory for our Public Administrators of today to be professional
523 in all ramifications. The Public Administrators have to be professional in that, as Takaya (1985:151) once opined,
524 they possess the "instruments of Public Administration" which are "the main agents of change that preconceives,
525 designs, implements and coordinates the process of change in the society. Without doubt, they cannot but be
526 professional because they are involved in "social engineering" that deals with "the action part of government, the

16 XIII. ROFESSIONALISM OF PUBLIC BUREAUCRACIES AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS IN NIGERIA: THE REQUIREMENTS

527 means by which the purposes and goals of government are achieved. Not only this, they have to be professional
528 because the social engineering in which they are constantly involved deals with:

529 16 XIII. rofessionalism of Public Bureaucracies and Public 530 Administrators in Nigeria: The Requirements

531 The professionalization of the Public Bureaucracies and the Practitioners within them, demands that certain
532 requirements must be met and put in place. In other words, there are varieties of things to be done in this regard.
533 This is more so considering the fact that the core of the environmental expectations from the bureaucracies and
534 their functionaries occurs within the political space and, most especially in today's new democratic culture.
535 Thus, we would contend that the discussion of the expectations from the professional Public Bureaucracies and
536 the Bureaucrats within them rightly falls within the concept of democracy, its relevance and, indispensability in
537 today's world of public administration. Thus, in order to be professional, our Public Administrators must, to
538 begin with, understand what the challenges of democracy in the context of politics of hope and its propensity
539 for effective public to economic development are today in Africa and, indeed, in Nigeria. As Kaunda (2002:1, 2),
540 recently opined:

541 The challenges of democracy in Africa are great because of the nature of the continent, its people, and its
542 history. Africa is a complex continent requiring complex solutions in order to enable a democratic and fruitful
543 life for its citizens to develop. Africa is not only the big continent it is, but has diverse cultures and experiences.
544 At the same time, Africa has similarities Democracy and development are closely linked. We find that the ideal
545 components of democracy, development, and peace are common in all these terms. Indeed, one is in the other.
546 They are partial terms of the desired holistic state of human and world harmony.

547 Arguing further, Kaunda (ibid: 2) claimed that: Democracy is a living process. In general, all over the world,
548 democracy is enhanced or constrained by systems and practices found in a society. Ideally, for progress, these
549 systems and practices must also be working effectively, at all times, and in all areas of human endeavour.
550 Democratic systems and practices should involve all institutions and sectors of society. Included are the
551 legislature, the executive, judiciary, the media, business, and civil society. The more independent and thoughtful a
552 sector is the better for society. The quality of participation and enjoyment of human rights in a society is affected
553 by how integrated and active the members are with the systems and practices of that society. A measurement of
554 democracy is also how a society responds to the view of its members who are trying to be involved in deciding
555 the collective direction of their society at a critical point.

556 Our public Administrators must consider many factors to be able to meet the challenges of democracy. These
557 challenges according to Kaunda (ibid:3), include: "physical geography of the place", "population and density",
558 "ethnic diversity", "Religion and spirituality", "culture", "language", "colonial links", "economic situation",
559 "political system", and "people on the margins". The issue of the "people on the margins" which is one of the
560 factors identified in the immediate paragraph above is very important and relevant to the Nigerian political space
561 and its administrative landscape. Thus, our public Administrators to be truly professional must understand and
562 continue to strive to do so because:

563 Governance and democracy is affected by how many people on the margins become actively involved in society's
564 affairs. People on the margins have gone onto those areas because social and C governance systems have ejected
565 them,. They include women, the young the elderly and people from ethnic groups not favoured by others. The
566 situation varies from culture to culture and from place to place. As in other parts of the world people on the
567 margins are from various backgrounds, including those with disability and other special groups. Democratic
568 practice requires the active involvement of all members of society (ibid: 4).

569 The essence of this position is that our Public Administrators, to be called and regarded as real Professionals,
570 must, in the performance of their duties, recognize that democratic culture calls for the protection of the
571 minority rights. This is particularly so, in that as ??uendia (1994:373), once stated; "the outcome of economic
572 vulnerabilities, induced by global integration, (usually becomes) a local economic conflict with ethnic colour."
573 ??othari (1989:36) had once advanced the reasons for this thus: Developmentalism, as economism, has become a
574 source of new economic vulnerabilities, and new inequalities. In multi-ethnic societies, where overlap has existed
575 between religious and regional identities and economic functions, issues of economic insecurity and contradictions
576 are very conveniently transformed by the elite into issues of ethnic, caste and religious issues.

577 Given the foregoing, to be able to deal with this kind of issue, our Public Administrators (if they are
578 professional) must understand the asymmetrical aspirations of the people in the democratic environment. This
579 is particularly desirous of their understanding because: Evidently, it is not simply diversity which is responsible
580 for strife in view of the fact that divergent groups have existed, had lived for centuries but conflicts did not reach
581 the grandiose scale and intensity as it has attained in the age of post-industrialism. However, what is new in
582 the current era of post-modernism are the processes involved which made cultural identity incompatible with
583 diversity and made cultural identity a means to gain economic survival and power. Ostensibly, the sharpened
584 conflicts, not between classes as the Marxists expected but between ethnic groupingone who holds political and
585 economic power on one hand, and those marginalized who aspire to redeem their lost power on the other hand
586 -are reactions against the centralism of the state which tries to homogenize the entire polyethnic society under

587 a single dominant culture held by the power-wielders in order to effectively respond to the imperatives of world
588 capitalism (Buendia: op cit 373-374).

589 Kothari (op cit: 16) further puts this into perspective thus:

590 Ethnicity is a response -including reaction -to the excesses of the modern project of shaping the whole humanity
591 (and its natural resources base), around the three pivots of world capitalism, the State system and a 'world
592 culture' based on modern technology, a pervasive communications and information order and a 'universalising'
593 educational system. The project of modernity entails a new mode of homogenising and of straight jacketing the
594 whole world.

595 More important, our public Administrators, to be professional within our democratic culture must understand
596 that "the application of standards embodying the values of only one culture over the other cultures is indeed an
597 affront to the latter" (Buendia, op cit). Thus, they should have at the back of their minds, the need to redress
598 some of the pitfalls of the fundamental assumptions of democracy in the performance of their official duties
599 because, as Clark (1999:2) contends "democracies around the world are being swept by a new form of politics
600 guided more by issues than by traditional distinction between liberal and conservative positions". Concretely,
601 their own interpretation of democracy must understand the need, due to the increasing complexities of our
602 societies, to redefine the fundamental assumptions of mass democracy. They should and must understand that
603 democracy:

604 Must not only guarantee the democratic rights of the majority but assure the minority of their rights to differ
605 from the majority. These are without any obligation on the part of the former to yield their rights and abide
606 by the he erosion of identity and survival of ethnic groups. Otherwise, the minority would simply be persecuted
607 by the majority. The persistence of a mosaic of ethnic groups who operate in accordance with their own rules
608 and perseveres in their legitimate rights to selfgovernance either outside or within the realm of the State is
609 slowly giving rise to "mosaic democracy" as distinguished from mass democracy. Mosaic democracy appears to
610 correspond to the mosaics in the economy and diversified or "de-mystified" peoples needs and political demands.
611 (Ibid: 382).

612 To be professional, our Public Administrators today must fully imbibe the code of conduct of their professional
613 bodies (e.g. the Institute of Public Administration of Nigeria), set in line with the undercurrents and demands
614 of contemporary trends in public administration. By virtue of their training, they must continuously strive
615 to ensure public accountability as a sine-qua-non to their administrative behaviour. They must, and, should
616 not allow themselves to be captured by the temptations of the now obviously erroneous and deliberate view or
617 doctrine that they are apolitical and neutral tools of policy implementation for the ruling class (i.e. political
618 Actors) on behalf of the citizenry. Captivity by this belief would make them to unfortunately take for granted
619 the possibility of another tomorrow or post retirement problems that may arise should the need develop for the
620 public to revisit the balance sheet of their conducts while fully engaged. Our public Administrators, today, to be
621 professional in our democratic political culture must understand that, as Appleby (1952) articulated:

622 Personal Ethics in the public service is compounded of mental attitudes and moral qualities. Both ingredients
623 are essential, Virtue without understanding can be quite as disastrous as understanding without virtue. The three
624 essential mental attitudes are: (1) a recognition of the moral ambiguity of all men and of all public policies, (2)
625 a recognition of the contextual forces which condition moral priorities in the public service, and (3) a recognition
626 of the paradoxes of procedures. The essential moral qualities of the ethical public servant are: (1) optimism,
627 (2) courage, and (3) fairness tempered by charity. These mental and moral qualities are relevant to all public
628 servants in every branch and at every level of government. They are as germane to judges and legislators as they
629 are to executives and administrators. They are as essential to line officers as to staff officers. They apply to state
630 and local official as well as to national and international officials. They are needed in military, foreign, and other
631 specialized services quite as much as they are needed in the career civil service and among political executives.
632 They, of course, assume the virtue of probity and the institutional checks upon venality which Appleby has
633 so brilliantly elaborated. They are the generic attitudes and qualities without which big democracy cannot
634 meaningfully survive.

635 To be professional in the new democratic culture, our Public Administrators must, and, should do away with
636 corruption and proclivities for it which are closely linked with capital flight that is, an unethical leakage of
637 capital from one country to another (PA -Net, 2000). It is necessary for the m to do this, because, corruption is a
638 threat to democratic culture. As Kukah (1995:96) once argued "corruption remains the most invidious obstacle
639 to stability in Nigeria both under the military any civilians.

640 The attainment of professionalism within the landscapes of the institutional and practical public service in
641 Nigeria will definitely enhance effective public service delivery for the Nigerian people subject to the existence
642 of politics of hope within the Nation's political space. However, given the issues and/or factors that have been
643 variously identified and articulated in this paper, the attainment of the goals of effective service delivery; politics
644 of hope and, creation of a worthy road map to economic development within the Nigerian state is anchored on
645 the collaborative nature of the relationship among the relevant units or agencies of the state particularly the
646 three organs of government. Thus, it is our contention that collaboration among the three organs of government
647 in Nigeria is needed because it is very important and crucial to the attainment and sustenance of politics of hope
648 and effective public service delivery for the Nigerian people and, creation of useful economic road map for the
649 Nation.

16 XIII. ROFESSIONALISM OF PUBLIC BUREAUCRACIES AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS IN NIGERIA: THE REQUIREMENTS

650 There is no doubt that the ability of any nation to do this, and, get out of policy issues/problems can
651 hardly be explained or analyzed in isolation from administrative competence, and politically responsive policy
652 implementation in the fullest sense of democratic practice and process.

653 Holistically relevant and indispensable policies have been more often than not implemented by public
654 servant/Administrators in most polities of the (developed) world. Thus, Nigeria cannot and must not be an
655 exception or, remain behind. The ability of her public service to meet the challenges associated with the efforts
656 these duties often demand is a key to her existential relevance today and beyond. To be able to exist beyond
657 today, Nigeria's public service and its practitioners must hasten to grasp with the "most important feature of
658 contemporary public administration" which, as recently noted: "is the declining relationship between jurisdiction
659 and public management" ??Fredrickson, 1999:1). It has equally been further argued that:

660 "Jurisdictions of all types-nation-states, states, provinces, cities, counties, and special districtsare losing their
661 borders. Economic activity, which was once at least somewhat "local" in the sense of being contained within the
662 borders of a jurisdiction, is increasingly multi-jurisdictional or nonjurisdictional.

663 Investments, production, and consumption are seldom geographically contained, and this trend is destined to
664 increase. The new global economy is sometimes described as "the end of geography."

665 The revolution in telecommunications has forever altered the meaning of physical space and thereby forever
666 altered the importance of borders and boundaries, a primary element of the idea of jurisdiction. These changes in
667 economics and telecommunications have changed human social relationships, particularly relationships between
668 those who are educationally, economically, and politically significant, and their "residence" or their "citizenship."
669 These people are linked less and less to a single specific locale or jurisdiction and are C linked more and more
670 bicoastally, transnationally, and globally ??Frederickson, 1999 andStrange, 1996).

671 Not only this, "public administration is steadily moving away from theories (of clash of interests, of electoral and
672 interest group competition) toward (theories of) co-operation, networking, governance and institution building
673 and maintenance (Frederickson 1999). To some extent now, in the contemporary period, public administration is
674 referred to as public management with a broad based redefinition of "what it means to be public": In the history
675 of traditional public administration, the public was usually understood to mean "government."

676 Public management is now understood to include government but also all of those organizations and institutions
677 that contract with government to do governmental work, those institutions and organizations that are essentially
678 public serving—the so-called nongovernmental organizations—and the wide range of organizations and institutions
679 that are essentially quasi-governmental in their relationship with citizens—such as privately held utilities. The
680 distinctions between institutions that are essentially public in character and institutions that are private and profit
681 making are now fuzzy. Modern public management has developed a nuanced conception of institutions that are
682 governmental, nonprofit, and corporate, but also primarily public serving, on the one hand, and institutions that
683 are clearly profit making and in an identifiable market, on the other hand" (Frederickson, 1999).

684 There is no gainsaying the fact the foregoing issues have created "contours of modern management and a
685 specter of problems quite beyond the capacity of those (public servants) expected to cope with them. Nigeria's
686 public service to be relevant for today and survive for tomorrow and beyond must first of all be knowledgeable
687 about the problems and their linkage with the disarticulation of the state as already elucidated here-in. They
688 must be particularly abreast of "new institutionalism" "network theory" and "governance theory" as mechanisms
689 specifically designed to solve, ameliorate or "at least address the issues associated with the disarticulation of
690 the state, high jurisdictional and disciplinary fragmentation and diminished bureaucratic capacity" (Ibid: 4).
691 Generally and specifically, the public service in Nigeria at this time of the new millennium, must be knowledgeable
692 about the current trends and the position of Public Administration in the 21 st Century (Schiavo-Campo
693 and Sundaram, 2001) particularly within the context of globalization and its "impact on most dimensions of
694 government administration in most countries and constraints or the ability of national governments to act
695 independently", which, we have earlier highlighted in this paper. Above all, the future of the public service
696 in Nigeria, even though, specifically and concretely dependent to a significant extent, on compliance with the
697 dictates and complexities of the technologically based villagized world and its thesis and/or constitution, can
698 actually be guaranteed by the adherence of the practitioners (i.e., the Public Servants/Administrators) to the
699 ethical obligations and codes of conducts" which from our perspective remain the indispensable pillars of the
700 public service. These ethical obligations include the following (which are far from being exhaustive): loyalty,
701 accountability, courtesy and respect, discipline and integrity, honesty and impartiality and, confidentiality"
702 (Shellukindo and Baguma op cit: 26).

703 It is through respect for these obligations, that the degeneration and/or erosion of public service ethics which
704 has been variously contextualized in terms of the ascendancy of corruption and proclivities for Kleptocracy
705 by public officials in the course of performing their official duties can be reversed for the sustainability of the
706 Nation's public service for today and the future. The sustainability is equally dependent on the provision of
707 enabling environment by the State for the realization of what has been termed practical agenda for promoting
708 ethics and accountability in contemporary African public service ??Rasheed, 1993:289). These include: fostering
709 and promoting enabling conditions of service to enhance professional and ethical standards; advancing and
710 affirming sound policies on recruitment, training and public personnel management, encouraging public service
711 occupational associations to play a leading role in institutionalizing professional values and defending occupational
712 interests; promoting a psychology of service in political and public life; upholding the integrity and effectiveness

713 of public institutions of accountability; fostering popular participation to ensure the accountability of governance
714 (Ibid).

715 We found the provision of this enabling environment germane to the success and future of the Nigerian public
716 service because, as Ake (1993) once observed:

717 Our problem is not so much a problem of character defect or ethical failure as it is one of misunderstanding
718 arising from decontextualizing and dehistoricizing social phenomena. We are making judgments based on false
719 analogies and false comparisons on the separation of meaning from social context, behaviour from cultural milieu,
720 and action from social structures. Our judgments are based on representations especially the perception that the
721 Western State, and its correlates, market society and bureaucratic organization exist in Africa or ought to exist.
722 They are not based on the realities on the ground.

723 To our mind, the realities on ground do not exculpate the political angle of the policy process in our C
724 democratic culture where, polities according to Ake (Ibid: 15), is not a peaceful competition for the control and
725 exercise of state power ostensibly in the public interest but rather a bitter struggle among political factions for the
726 appropriation and privatization of state power". This type of bitter struggle and competition can be minimized if
727 not totally removed from the Nigerian political space or landscape through purposeful collaboration among the
728 organs of government that will not be an end in itself but a means to a people-oriented ends that will benefit all
729 and sundry and, which will create room for economic development. This collaboration which is needed among
730 the three organs of government in Nigeria for the betterment of the Nigerian people is the subject of analysis
731 below.

732 XIV. The Need for Collaboration Among the Three Organs -(Legislature, Executive and Judiciary) -of
733 Government in Nigeria

734 In order for Nigeria and Nigerians to attain and benefit from "politics of hope" and its usually accompanying
735 provision of "effective public service delivery" and, creation of workable road map to economic development there
736 must be unity of purpose among the nation's horizontal organs of government. This unity calls for collaboration
737 among them. This collaboration can be brought about through many means depending on the nature of the
738 political system and its exigencies from time to time. However, what we consider relevant for attaining this in
739 Nigeria forms the subject matter of discussion in this section.

740 The first thing to be done in this regard is to truly understand and embrace the need for collaboration and,
741 where relevant actors both at the governmental/political and citizenry levels stand in the scheme of things
742 within the landscape of the political system. This is more so because, the indispensability of the criteria of
743 "good governance", "good economics", "sane budgetary process", "participatory budgeting", "professionalism of
744 the public bureaucracies and the practitioners within them", "cordiality of political actors and actions among
745 the three organs of government", to the attainment and sustenance of "effective public service delivery" and
746 "politics of hope" for the Nigerian people compels the need for collaboration. This collaboration among various
747 administrative and governmental units is in line with the imperatives of today's existential globalism which clearly
748 constrains unproductive and arrogant independence, individualism or isolationism in preference for collaborative
749 efforts can only be taken for granted at any nation's perils.

750 This need is further compelled by the quest for efficient and effective public policies and the need to sustain
751 them for the benefits of the people in most polities of today's global village. In fact, the constant erosion of
752 the virtual monopoly of state powers and/or, the continuous shrinkage of such powers as a result of the thesis
753 of globalization and its subscription to public sector networks calls for collaboration that is geared towards
754 economic development and its mechanism of good governance which is clearly predicated on the four pillars of
755 "accountability"; "transparency"; "predictability" and; "participation".

756 Generally, the developments across international borders which are not without their impacts on individual
757 states' internal governmental structures and processes further compel the kind of collaboration under discussion
758 here. It is interesting to note that today, public administration in the modern form is a key element in the
759 effectiveness of government hence, the need for its professionalization in Nigeria as articulated above.

760 17 XV.

761 he ature or ype of ollaboration eeded Among the Three rgans of Government in Nigeria

762 The collaboration needed among the three organs of government in Nigeria is expected to be positive
763 particularly in the interest of the citizenry. In most developing countries Nigeria inclusive, collaboration among
764 these organs has, in most cases, been very disadvantageous to the people in terms of policy decision and outputs.

765 This has been largely due to corruption and the unrepentant proclivities for same.

766 Through such negative collaborations the hopes of the masses had often been dashed. None of the organs
767 could be excused from this in some of these polities in the past. In such situations which had existed with
768 arrogance in Nigeria to some extent, the Executive and Legislative arms have been known to have expediently
769 connived to the detriment of the citizenry while the Judicial arm had, in the process been co-opted to dash the
770 hope and aspirations of the people through deliberate misinterpretation(s) of the laws/constitution of the land
771 and questionable judicial decisions/pronouncements.

772 The reverse of this negative trend which existed in Nigeria even up to the first phase of the fourth Republic
773 is what is now required in today's Nigeria. And, to some extent, things appeared to have been moving in the
774 positive direction with the commencement of the second phase of the fourth Republic though, not without some

18 XVI. WHAT TO DO THROUGH COLLABORATION AMONG THE THREE ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA

775 apparent hiccups in the legislativeexecutive relations which have had their impacts on the policy processes and
776 their attendant outputs. More important, the judicial organ in Nigeria appeared to have clearly started the
777 process of emancipating itself from the manacle of executive strangulation towards the end of the second phase
778 of the fourth Republic. This is C exemplified by the landmark decisions or judgments particularly in the context
779 of the deliberate misunderstanding by the executive of the pendulum of power and, the struggle for its possession
780 within the executive arm (i.e., the Presidency) on the one hand and, in the context of the electoral process as it
781 affected the franchise or suffrage of Nigerians and the political actors or gladiators.

782 Succinctly put, a positive collaboration among these organs of government is what is expected and needed in
783 Nigeria. What to do in this regard to foster the attainment and sustenance of politics of hope, effective public
784 service delivery and economic development forms the core of the analysis in the next section below to which we
785 now turn.

786 18 XVI. What to do through collaboration among the three 787 organs of Government in Nigeria

788 In order for the Public Bureaucracies and the Practitioners within them to be relevant and provide the requisite
789 guidance and technocratic road map for the political actors in the quest for effective public service delivery and
790 politics of hope for Nigeria and the Nigerian people in the context of real economic development, the collaboration
791 in focus must encompass friction-free existence among the three organs of government and, particularly between
792 the Executive and the Legislative organs as it affects the fiscal policy and politics of the State.

793 To begin with, the Legislative and Executive organs of government as key decision makers on the budget
794 have not been really able to perform their respective functions in the budgetary process due to the unwarranted
795 problems of role and powers misconception and flexing of political muscles which has been to the disadvantage of
796 the citizenry over the years. In the process, the issues of funds, its allocation and control have been expediently
797 politicized.

798 It appears that both actors in the budgetary decision making at all levels of the nation's political landscape
799 (local, state and federal) do not really understand their roles, powers and, limitations. In most cases, these
800 political actors (the Legislators and the Presidency) had, in the past and, even at present abused the system of
801 democratic governance to the extent of using the mandate freely given to them by the citizens as a device for
802 settling expedient political differences between and among themselves. These political gladiators have in most
803 cases, abused the provisions of Chapter V Sections 80-89 (for the National Assembly) and Sections 120-129 (for
804 the States Assembly) and, Chapter VI Sections 162-168 (for the Federal Executive) of the 1999 constitution of
805 the Federal Republic of Nigeria as they affect the powers and control over public funds or public revenue.

806 These respective allocated constitutional powers have not been dispassionately used in most cases by the
807 affected organs of government. None of these organs can actually be exculpated from these abuses. In most
808 cases, the Executive arms at the National and state levels have been subjected to avoidable trauma by the
809 legislative arms. The Executive arms are sometimes asked to seek approval for projects in all ramifications even
810 when such projects have already been approved in the budget(s). This attitude is untenable in the sense that
811 such unrestricted policing may lead to redundancy and double approval for some programmes/projects.

812 Attachment of too much importance to words like "ratification", "authorization", "approving", "ensuring" etc
813 by the lawmakers in some cases without the expected understanding of the fact that these words are only meant
814 to provide for a balance of power in the nation's democratic landscape are contributory factors to these problems.

815 It is important to stress the fact that the lawmakers' ambiguous uses and interpretations of these words and
816 words like "vetting" and "monitoring" as synonyms for the word "approval" are parts of the causal factors of
817 these problems. The constancy of these problems within the Nigerian political space once led to an observation
818 that:

819 Monitoring is the appraisal of performance which takes place during various stages of execution?.the primary
820 motive of budget monitoring is to assess as the implementation progress, the degree of the achievement of original
821 objective with a view to correcting any negative variance (and, as such, it does not call for fresh or any approval)
822 (Adelowokan 1991).

823 In other words, the Legislative organ in Nigeria at the three-tier levels must be allowed to perform their
824 constitutional roles or functions as they affect the "power of the purse" which is "an incontestable fundamental put
825 in place to ensure that the revenue and spending measures it authorizes are fiscally sound" in terms of "matching
826 the needs of the population with the available resources" so as no to engage in "a total waste of time" (Nzehwu,
827 op cit). It must equally be allowed to perform its functions of checks and balances which "are necessary to ensure
828 good governance in budgeting in the medium to long term, which requires the answerability of the executive to
829 the legislative and, the ability of the latter to take appropriate actions in cases of poor performance" (Ibid.).
830 The Legislative organ should equally be allowed to play its role of openness and transparency, participation and
831 consensus building as well as that of budget policy impact.

832 These legislative roles call for Executive tolerance particularly on the required publicity of the drafting process
833 which has traditionally elicited hostilities of the executive organ towards the legislative organ. These roles
834 equally call for legislative organ's provision of suitable "platform for establishing broad based consensus" on
835 views and inputs into budget decisions "with regard to difficult budgetary trade offs". It should equally be

836 allowed to exercise a "significant influence on budget policy" instead of merely rubber stamping "executive draft
837 budgets without any changes" which even up till now has characterized "most state houses of assembly" in
838 Nigeria. If the Legislative organ in Nigeria is allowed to perform its roles and functions identified and analyzed
839 above, the factors (both internal and external) like "instability"; "deficiencies in the structures and processes
840 of legislative budgeting"; "inadequacy of technical advisory capacity"; "deficient legislative budget research
841 capacity"; "presidential arrogance/nature of the political system"; "over reliance of/on executive decisions";
842 "skewed electoral incentives"; "fragmented political party system/structure" fuzzy delineation of government-
843 party lines"; "defective legislative oversight and external auditing" (Ibid. Some of my own emphases are included)
844 would be minimized if not totally removed.

845 Generally, in the performance of their roles, the executive and the legislative organs must ensure that they strive
846 for the balancing of their struggles and/or, "impulses for independence with the need to be fiscally responsible".
847 The extent and nature of the executive-legislative relations is largely dependent on the nature of this balancing act
848 and its maintenance. The essence of this has been summed up thus: Strengthening parliaments' (legislatures')
849 fiscal capacities and budgetary responsibilities would certainly help parliaments (legislatures) enhance their role
850 and influence in the budgetary process in a fiscally responsible way, including streamlining legislative procedures,
851 reforming the committee system, strengthening party caucuses, or reinforcing advisory and research capacities
852 (Ibid. Emphases are mine).

853 As for the Judicial organ, both the Executive and Legislative organs should allow it to perform its
854 constitutional role without political arrogance or, stifling the organ with their constitutional leverage over it
855 in terms of appointments of the Judges, their remunerations, enactment of laws and, enforcement of judicial
856 decisions/judgments, most of which have happened and continued to happen and/or, take place on a daily basis
857 within the Nation's political landscape. More importantly, both the Executive and Legislative organs should and
858 must learn to abide by and obey all judicial decisions/judgment not only those that affect them positively or,
859 help them to do their apolitical bids either ethical or unethical within the Nation's political space.

860 **19 XVII. Conclusion**

861 We have examined the nexus of collaboration among the three organs of government with the provision of effective
862 public service delivery and politics of hope for Nigeria and the Nigerian people in this paper. In the process,
863 we elucidated the concept of governance and dichotomized it into two (good and bad governance) with detailed
864 analysis of the imperatives of both and, their implications for the citizenry in any nation like Nigeria.

865 We argued that good governance is central to the attainment of a healthy political system erected on positive
866 collaboration among the three organs of government in the quest for finding political fulfillment for the citizens
867 in any country like Nigeria. And, that for this fulfillment to be attained and sustainable there is need for
868 sane budgetary process and professionalization of the public bureaucracies and the practitioners within them in
869 addition to the existence of good governance.

870 The essence of these -(sane budgetary process and, professionalism of the public bureaucracies and the
871 bureaucrats within them) -for effective public service and, politics of hope was respectively analyzed.

872 Against this analytical background, it is our contention that, for effective public service delivery and politics of
873 hope to be attained in a polity like Nigeria, there is need for collaboration among the three organs of government.
874 This can only meaningfully come to fruition in the absence of political arrogance, arrogance of powers which
875 are backed or supported with commitment to a holistic pursuit of national aspirations and/or, agenda. In other
876 words, the attainment of effective public service delivery and politics of hope in Nigeria can be actually enhanced
877 through the catechism of servant leadership. The essence of this can be appreciated against the thesis of servant
878 leadership which has seen many organizations to greatness within many polities of the world which is synoptically
879 analyzed at this concluding part of the paper.

880 **20 XVIII. The thesis of Servant-Leadership**

881 The concept of servant leadership is not all that new in our organizational world or to the lexicon of organizational
882 discourses. As a matter of fact, its pedigree can be traced back to about four decades. Specifically, the concept
883 was developed in 1970 by Robert K. Greenleaf (www.greenleaf.org; www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership).
884 Servant leaders provide services -through committed stewardship spirit -to the people. They serve the people
885 they lead.

886 To a servant leader, employees/subordinates are an "end in themselves rather than a means to an organizational
887 purpose" (Ibid.). Specifically, servant leaders have been taken to mean people or leaders who:(D D D D)

888 C devote themselves to serving the needs of organization members, focus on meeting the needs those
889 they lead, develop employees to bring out the best in them, coach others and encourage their self ex-
890 pression, facilitate personal growth in all who work with them, listen and build a sense of community
891 (www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership).

892 According to ??reenleaf (1970, www.greenleaf.org):

893 The servant-leader is servant first? It begins with the natural feeling that one wants to serve, to serve first.
894 The conscious choice brings one to aspire to lead. That person is sharply different from one who is leader first,
895 perhaps because of the need to assuage an unusual power drive or to acquire material possessions? The leader-first

896 and the servant-first are two extreme types. Between them there are shadings and blends that are part of the
897 infinite variety of human nature. This scholar went further to identify the difference between the "servant-first
898 leaders" and "leader-first leaders" thus:

899 The difference manifests itself in the care taken by the servant-first to make sure that other people's highest
900 priority needs are being served. The best test, and difficult to administer, is: Do those served grow as persons?
901 Do they, while being served, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become
902 servants? And, what is the effect on the least privileged in society? Will they benefit or at least not be further
903 deprived (www.greenleaf.org; www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership).

904 Without doubt, looking at the thesis of servantleadership, it can be articulated to some extent that its
905 undercurrent philosophy is critically relevant to the attainment of organizational goal and; as a matter of
906 fact, the concept of servant-leadership has enhanced the ability of organizations to reach their full potential.
907 Through it "servant leaders" are felt to be effective because the needs of followers are so looked after that
908 they (often) reach their full potential". Even though, the concept of servant leadership has been criticized
909 through the assertion that "serving people's needs creates the image of being slavish or subservient" and/or
910 "that it is not a very positive image", the principles of servant leadership has been characterized admirable
911 (www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership).

912 The criticism of servant-leadership notwithstanding, it has become one of the operational cornerstones of most
913 organizations today. This has been largely so because servant-leaders "view others (subordinates) as friends not
914 as servants and, they interact with them in a spirit of openness, humility and vulnerability" ??YHDC, 2009).

915 The creed of servant leadership is that the size of true leadership is determined by how many persons he has
916 served and will be served contrary to the philosophy of other leadership styles whose measuringrod of size and
917 values of leadership is determined by the number of people serving the leader (Ibid.). The success or attractiveness
918 of servant leadership is further put into a clearer perspective by its "credo" which com/servantleadership),
919 articulated thus: This is my thesis: caring for persons, the more able and the less able serving each other,
920 is the rock upon which a good society is built. Whereas, until recently, caring was largely person to person, now
921 most of it is mediated through institutions -often large, complex, powerful, impersonal; not always competent;
922 sometimes corrupt. If a better society is to be built, one that is more just and more loving, one that provides
923 greater creative opportunity for its people, then the most often course is to raise both the capacity to serve and
924 the very performance as servant of existing major institutions by new regenerative forces operating within them.

925 It is clear from this "credo" that "the servant leader serves others, rather than others serving them" and
926 that "serving others comes by helping them to achieve and improve their conditions" (Ibid.). Thus; the basic
927 assumptions of servant leadership are that:

928 1. The leader has responsibility for the followers. 2. Leaders have responsibility towards so-
929 ciety and those who are disadvantaged and; 3. People who want to help others best do this by
930 (http://changingminds.org/disciplines/leadership/style/servant_leadership.htm).

931 As a concept developed and/or coined for the attainment of organizational goals and, accomplishment of
932 mission statement, servant-leadership has some principles oiling the wheels of its success. These principles are:

933 The Nexus of Collaborat?on Among the Hor?zontal Organs of Government in N?ger?a: A Cr?t?cal Analys?s
934 w?th?n the Context of Effect?ve Serv?ce Del?very and Pol?t?cs of Hope for N?ger?a and N?ger?ans 2 80

935 ? Transformation as a vehicle for personal and institutional growth. ? Personal growth as a route to better
936 serve others.

937 ? Enabling environments that empower and encourage service. ? Service as a fundamental goal.

938 ? Trusting relationships as a basic platform for collaboration and service. Given the immediate foregoing,
939 it is our conclusion therefore, that for Nigerians to be able to truly have a sense of belonging and, be seen
940 to be hopeful of having "politics of hope" within the Nigerian body politic, the indices of "true leadership";
941 "serving leadership"; "listening/performing leadership"; "peopleoriented leadership" must become the nucleus
942 of the practical political catechism in Nigeria. These indices must be fused to give birth to a true rather than
943 a "cosmetic servant leadership". That is, a leader that will not idiosyncratically/expediently take for granted
944 the always seeming gullibility and/or easily trusting predispositions of Nigerians on the issues of their political
945 and policy preferences and general governance. This is more so because there is no other way through which a
946 real and dedicated road to economic development can be realistically constructed at this point of the Nation's
947 existence. ^{1 2 3 4 5}

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Figure 1: The

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Figure 2:

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approval; appointments; declaration of wars; ratification

treaties, amendments to the constitution;

Figure 3:

VIII. the Concept of Politics: what it is
and what it is not
The concept of politics can be
multidimensionally analyzed. 2012

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Figure 4:

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Figure 5:

[Note: and work together.]

Figure 6:

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