

# LIBERATE

Delta People's  
Movement

## **Nigeria 2015 – 2019** What should a progressive government implement?

With contributions from Otive Igbuzor, Frank Ofili, Jaye Gaskia, Eddy Aghanenu, Daniel Amrohore, Elvis V Onovughe, Edward Ekemere, Greg Ekhator, Monday Agbonze, Adefolarin Olamilekan, Gradeone Henry, Tracy Adole, Joseph D Dafimu, Ufuoma Atsiangbe  
and Tony Osborg.

**June 2015**



# Nigeria 2015 – 2019



## What should a progressive government implement?

At the presidential elections of 2015, Nigeria elected a progressive government for the first time since 1993 following the annulment of the Moshood Abiola (Social Democratic Party) victory.

Following one of a most trying time for Nigeria and one of the most unpredictable elections in the history of Nigeria, a democratic handover is set to take place for the first time.

It will be a monumental task to set down clear priorities to begin the process of restoring pride and place of Nigeria and setting a new direction for progressive change in the country.

Numerous challenges face the nation, from security concerns, to corruption, inequality and abject poverty. We need to begin to identify not just immediate changes that can be achieved but more importantly, the long term path of progressive reforms.

This collection of essays captures the views of some of our key thinkers to bring together the priorities for achieving real progressive change across a range of policy areas. It is the start of what we believe will be the start of much needed conversation and debates across the country, aiding the government in the daunting task of beginning to shape the path to a more progressive Nigeria.

With contributions from Otive Igbuzor, Frank Ofili, Jaye Gaskia, Eddy Aghanenu, Daniel Amrohore, Elvis V Onovughe, Edward Ekemere, Greg Ekhaton, Monday Agbonze, Adefolarin Olamilekan, Gradeone Henry, Tracy Adole, Joseph D Dafimu, Ufuoma Atsiangbe and Tony Osborg.

**June 2015**

The views expressed in this paper do not represent the collective views of Liberate - Delta People's Movement (LDPM) but only the views of the authors. The responsibility of LDPM is limited to approving this publication as worthy of consideration by the Nigerian public.

## Editors



**Stephen K. Dieseruvwe, BSc, MA, ADI**

Stephen K. Dieseruvwe is a UK based Urban and Regional Planner; Development Practice Specialist; Monitoring and Evaluation Practitioner; and Driver Training and Road Safety Consultant. Stephen holds a Bachelor's Degree in Urban and Regional Planning from the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria where he graduated in with First Class Honours and a Master's Degree in Development Studies from the University of Leeds, United Kingdom, as a Guinness/Leeds University/Foreign and Commonwealth Office Scholarship fellow.

Stephen has conducted extensive research on rural development, community development, poverty, and sustainable city management. He also has vast working experience in master planning, regional planning, plan preparation, development planning, transport policy and planning, rural development, citizen participation and participatory development. Stephen is a member of International Development Evaluation Association (IDEAS), Nigerian Institute of Town Planners (NITP) and Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA).

**Contact:**

Email: [sdieseruvwe@liberatedelta.org](mailto:sdieseruvwe@liberatedelta.org)

Twitter: [@stevedieseruvwe](https://twitter.com/stevedieseruvwe)

Phone: +447709043425



**Nero Ughwujabo, MBA**

Nero is currently the Chief Executive of Croydon BME Forum, London United Kingdom; a specialist not-for-profit Organisation.

In recent years, he completed a Masters in Business Administration, specialising in voluntary sector development with a focus on capacity building, social enterprises and quality assurance. He Chair's an international arts organisation, Visiting Arts and a member of the Audit and General Purpose Committee at the London Borough of Croydon.

Nero works in the social policy and voluntary sector arenas; working across both the development and implementation of policies at local and national levels; enabling organisations and communities to engage more meaningfully in the wider policy and political arena, with particular reference to regeneration, public policy and strategic partnerships. He is a member of the Croydon Strategic Partnership and its Chief Executives Group. He was a Non-Executive Director of Croydon University Hospital NHS Trust and Croydon Business Venture .

**Contact:**

Email: [nero@liberatedelta.org](mailto:nero@liberatedelta.org)

Twitter: [@nerojabo](https://twitter.com/nerojabo)

Phone: +447957311668

## About Us:

LIBERATE—Delta People’s Movement was established in 2011 with the following declaration, “The people of Delta State hereby proclaim their right to freedom, security, justice and good governance. We proclaim our opposition to corruption, nepotism and autocracy. We have suffered enough. Delta must be FREE. We make a solemn commitment to prosperity for all - one Delta, one People, one Future. Arise!” The Liberate social media platform on Facebook now has more than 30,000 members and is one of the most vibrant and active social media platforms for discussion and debate on Nigeria: politics, governance and citizenship. It is fast developing into a notable Think Tank in the Nigerian policy arena.

Join Us – on Facebook: [LiBERATE - DELTA PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT](#)



## Contents

1. **Poverty Eradication In A Progressive Government In Nigeria** - Otive Igbuzor
2. **Building a Developmental and Welfare State** - Jaye Gaskia
3. **Meeting Nigeria’s Energy Needs Efficiently and Sustainably** – Tracy Adole
4. **Tackling Marginalisation and Regional Development:** Elvis V Onovughe
5. **Energy – Building a Sustainable Power Solution For Development** - Joseph Dafimu
6. **Corruption – Restoring Transparency, Responsibility And Accountability-** Tony Osborg
7. **Restoring The Judiciary And Access To Justice** – Edward Ekemere
8. **Investing In A Future For Young People** - Greg Ekhaton
9. **Restoring Power to the People:Electoral Reform** – Ufuoma Atsiangbe
10. **Investing In A Future For Young People** - Elvis V Onovughe
11. **A Plan For The Nigerian Economy** - Frank Ofili
12. **Education: Policies And Employment Creation** – Eddy Aghanenu
13. **Protecting Public Services: ‘Education’-** Daniel Amrohore
14. **Rebalancing the Cost of Governance** – Adefolarin Olamilekan
15. **Energy for Sustainable Development** – Gradeone Henry

## ERADICATING POVERTY



**Dr. Otive Igbuzor, PhD**  
Executive Director, African Centre for  
Leadership, Strategy & Development (Centre LSD)

*Dr. Igbuzor* is the immediate past International Head of Campaigns of ActionAid International and Country Director of ActionAid Nigeria. He was an honourable Commissioner in the Police Service Commission (PSC) from 2008-2013. He was a Programme Co-ordinator of Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD).

He holds a bachelors degree in Pharmacy, masters' degrees in Public Administration and International Relations and a doctorate degree in Public Administration specializing in Policy Analysis. He is a fellow of the Pharmaceutical Society of Nigeria (PSN) and Institute of Strategic Management, Nigeria. He is the immediate Past President of the Institute of Strategic Management, Nigeria and President of The Ejiro & Otive Igbuzor Foundation. He was appointed by the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Ban Ki Moon to the UN Network of Men Leaders.

He also served as the Secretary of Citizens' Forum for Constitutional Reform (CFCR), a coalition of over one hundred civil society organizations committed to a process led and participatory approach to constitutional reform in Nigeria. Previously, he was a lecturer at the Delta State University, Lagos Centre and has published many scholarly articles on democracy, gender, politics and development. He is the author of several books.

The world today is undergoing rapid and dynamic changes driven by globalization, ICT and innovation. The environment of the world has been described as dynamic, turbulent, uncertain, complex, pattern less and value sensitive. The development challenges facing the world are enormous. One of the greatest developmental challenges facing the world today is poverty. The past five decades have witnessed monumental changes in the world. Global economic wealth has increased sevenfold and average incomes have tripled. Yet, poverty has increased to record high levels. The major problem is that wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few people while majority of the people live in abject poverty. The UNDP in its 1998 report documented that the three richest people in the world have assets that exceed the combined Gross Domestic Product of the 48 least developed countries. In 2014, 85 richest people in the world had the same wealth as the poorest 50 percent (3.5 billion people). By 2015, only 80 richest people have the same wealth as the poorest 50 percent.

Several attempts have been made to address the challenges of poverty across the world. But the interventions have been informed by ideological and philosophical considerations. There are two major ideological divides in the world- capitalism and socialism; free market and state intervention; neo-liberalism and state intervention; conservatives and democrats; Tories and Labour.

We look at how a progressive government in Nigeria on the left side of the ideological divide can eradicate poverty.

The challenge of extreme poverty and hunger is probably the greatest development challenge of our time. We have argued elsewhere that the reality of the world today is that many countries are very poor and cannot meet their development needs. It has been documented that more than 1.2 billion people, one in every five on earth survive on less than US \$1 per day. Wealth is concentrated in the hand of a few people while the majority wallows in abject poverty. The UNDP in its 1998 report documented that the three richest people in the world have assets that exceed the combined Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the 48 least developed countries. Similarly, the 1000 richest people in the world have personal wealth greater than 500 million people in the least developed countries. Every minute of every day, somewhere in the developing world, a woman dies needlessly in childbirth or pregnancy, and 20 children are killed by avoidable diseases such as diarrhea or malaria. One in six African children will not live to see their fifth birthday and half a million women die each year from causes related to pregnancy or inadequate health care. In 2009, the number of people going to bed hungry every night reached the record high level of over one billion people.

A graphic example is the case of Nigeria, which was one of the richest 50 countries in the early 1970s and has retrogressed to become one of the 25 poorest countries at the threshold of the twenty first century. It is ironic that Nigeria is the sixth largest exporter of oil and at the same time host the third largest number of poor people after China and India. Statistics show that the incidence of poverty using the rate of US \$1 per day increased from 28.1 percent in 1980 to 46.3 percent in 1985 and declined to 42.7 percent in 1992 but increased again to 65.6 percent in 1996. The incidence increased to 69.2 percent in 1997. The 2004 report by the National Planning Commission indicates that poverty has decreased to 54.4 percent. By 2010, the poverty rate has increased to 69.1 percent.

Nigeria fares very poorly in all development indices. The average annual percentage growth of GDP in Nigeria from 1990 -2000 was 2.4. This is very poor when compared to Ghana (4.3) and Egypt (4.6). Poverty in Nigeria is in the midst of plenty. Although there has been steady economic growth from 2004-20014, the growth was without employment and the benefits have not been evenly distributed especially to the poor and excluded. Nigeria is among the 20 countries in the world with the widest gap between the rich and the poor. The Gini index measures the extent to which the distribution of income (or in some cases consumption expenditure) among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. A Gini index of zero represents perfect equality while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality. Nigeria has one of the highest Gini index in the world.

In order to address the problem of poverty and promote sustainable development, the United Nations Millennium Declaration was adopted in September 2000 at the largest ever gathering of heads of heads of States committing countries both rich and poor to do all they can to eradicate poverty, promote human dignity and equality and achieve peace, democracy and environmental stability. The goals include those dedicated to eradicating poverty, achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability and developing a global partnership for development. We have argued elsewhere that at present trends, Nigeria is unlikely to meet the Millennium Development Goals in 2015. Goal one is targeted at extreme poverty and hunger with the target of halving the proportion of people living on less than \$1 a day and those suffering from hunger.

It is important to point out at the outset that among the MDGs, the one related to hunger is the one that is moving in the opposite direction at the fastest pace. From 2005-2009, the gains of the previous two decades were wiped out by neo-liberalism, global economic crisis and the food crisis. The number of hungry people increased astronomically reaching the record level of over one billion, the first time since records began. It has been documented that since 2005, an extra 170 million people have been pushed into hunger-equivalent to the populations of Germany, France and Canada combined.

Extreme poverty and hunger can be eradicated with the application of correct theoretical construction and ideas backed with good strategies, leadership and accountable governance. We point out that the programmes put in place to address poverty and hunger are influenced by theoretical considerations. But first, we will discuss the situation of extreme poverty and hunger and examine some theories of poverty as well as analyse the Nigerian experience.

#### **ERADICATING POVERTY: NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE**

The debate about poverty reduction or eradication has manifested itself in the confusion and changing nomenclature of poverty policies and programmes in Nigeria. At a time, it was Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP). Then, it was changed to Poverty Eradication Programme (PEP). While implementing PEP, the government embraced the PRSP process. In any case, there has been serious debate as to whether PRSP by its design and framework can lead to poverty eradication or even reduction. AFRODAD has argued that PRSP cannot lead to poverty eradication:

PRSPs have sought to further liberalise markets, and especially the trade regime, promote market based land and other policies, cost recovery in the provision of social services and privatisation of state owned enterprises (SOEs). In this context, the private sector is seen as the engine of growth. Market driven policies avoid analysis of power relations, which ultimately determines inequality and poverty. The unequal access to resources, especially land and capital largely explains poverty and deprivation. Thus by focusing on markets, PRSPs have largely avoided remedies that call for a redistribution of resources. Without redistributing resources, it is impossible to address poverty in a sustainable manner.

In fact, it has been documented that in some African countries like Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, Mauritania and Burkina Faso, there were already national initiatives to eradicate poverty, which were undermined, and the focus changed to meet IMF/World Bank requirements with the imposition of the PRSP process.

Over the years, public policies have been designed to tackle the problem the problem of poverty and hunger in Nigeria. The crucial question is: why have these public policies failed? In our view, the greatest challenge is the neo-liberal theoretical underpinnings which has manifested in at least five reasons why public policies in Nigeria have failed to stem the rising tide of poverty in the country. First, there is confusion among policy makers on the approach to deal with the poverty situation in Nigeria. At different points in time, various programmes were conceptualized and implemented with the hope that they will impact on poverty in the country. The programmes include the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFFRI), the National Directorate of Employment (NDE), the Better Life Programme (BLP), the Family Support Programme (FSP), Agricultural Development Programme (ADP), the People's bank of Nigeria (PBN) etc. At another time, the Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP) was launched. Then, it was change to Poverty Eradication Programme (PEP). While implementing PEP, the Federal Government of Nigeria embraced the Poverty Reduction Strategy Process (PRSP) initiated by the World Bank in 1999. Even before Nigeria could produce an Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, it abandoned the PRSP process for the National Economic and Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS). It is important to point out that the terms reduction, alleviation or eradication as applied to poverty is not just a matter of semantics but are heavily ideologically loaded. As noted above, the neo-liberal approach to poverty takes the view that poverty cannot be eradicated but can only be reduced or alleviated. Secondly, programmes and projects implemented under the policies to deal with poverty in Nigeria consist of dishing out of handouts from the neo-liberal understanding that the problem is with individuals. But as noted above, poverty results from failure to observe and implement human rights ingrained in the economic, political and social systems. Therefore, discretionary ad hoc handouts and market led growth with the hope of trickle-down effect cannot alleviate or eradicate poverty. Thirdly, the poor for whom the programmes are implemented do not participate in the conceptualization, implementation and evaluation of the programmes.

Meanwhile, scholars are in agreement that when citizens participate in the planning, execution, utilisation and assessment of programmes, social amenities or facilities designed to improve their welfare, success of those efforts are assured. As Onibokun and Faniran have argued,

...participation gives the people the pride of ownership of the facilities completed in the process of community development. When, for example, people refer to social services within the community as our school, hospital, or market, they are implicitly expressing enthusiasm and confidence in their community, with a strong feeling of belonging to it. The very idea of a community doing something for itself through the participatory effort of its people depicts development at its best....The principle of citizen participation extols collective effort for community development as the catalyst by which human efforts can pursue the interchanges of energies and satisfactions for the growth of communities and the development of the wider society. The principle is itself embedded in the psychology of man, i.e. understanding and accepting as the best those actions which he has helped to originate. For example, where a citizen has a part in an action, he agrees with it, and it has meaning for him. If a citizen can feel that he is part of a group in an action, this tends to ease out a major developmental challenge, through the development of the potential of the individual, as a member of a social group, a worker, a learner or a thinker, in an environment which enables him to acquire the necessary knowledge, skills and the freely chosen values to live by. It is this development that enables citizens to create a more wholesome social and material environment on which their succeeding generations can base and build.

Another reason why the policies have failed is the lack of co-ordination of the various programmes and inability to target the poor and vulnerable. Finally, the programmes do not have connection with other programmes and policies that should have impact on poverty situations. Poverty is complex and multidimensional and requires multisectoral approach in its eradication including changes to the economic, social and political system.



## CONCLUSION

The challenge of extreme poverty and hunger in the midst of increasing global wealth and technological advances is a paradox that must be dealt with. In order to deal with this and other developmental challenges, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were adopted. But at present trends, the goals are unlikely to be met. In particular, indicators of the goal relating to hunger in moving is the opposite direction in the last few years with the number of hungry people increasing to a record level of over one billion people.

We argue that although several theories have been propounded to explain poverty, Marxist and neo-liberal theories of poverty can help to understand anti-poverty programmes across the world. We opine that capitalism not only generates and promote poverty and hunger but that the global and national political and economic structures are organised to perpetuate poverty, hunger, inequality and injustice. Therefore, several poverty eradication programmes across the world are built on neo-liberal ideological foundations which leave out the structural and systemic causes of poverty and hunger to deal with the symptoms and how to make individuals come out of poverty. We contend that such programmes cannot lead to eradication of poverty and hunger. Meanwhile, countries that have focused on dealing with the challenge of inequality and promoted the intervention of the state including social protection measures have made significant progress in reducing poverty and hunger. In addition, programming for eradication of poverty and hunger must simultaneously take place at the local, national and international levels. The experience of Nigeria in anti-poverty programming utilising the neo-liberal approach has led to woeful failure.

A progressive government programme to eradicate poverty in Nigeria should contain the following elements:

### A. A more nuanced understanding of poverty:

There is no doubt that eradicating world poverty is one of the greatest challenges of our age. According to Wolfensohn, the greatest weapon we have to fight poverty is knowledge. This knowledge according to him include knowledge of policies that work to increase economic growth, of how to protect people from disease and protect the environment from degradation, to train young minds and equip them for productive work, and knowledge of where we stand now and how far we have to go to achieve our goal of a world free of poverty.

But according to Ochoa, the new conceptualisation of poverty should stress its human dimensions, enabling a vision of the poor not as ciphers or statistical data but rather as human beings, with a story to tell and a dignity that must be respected. Fayemi made a similar argument when he posited that policy makers need a more nuanced understanding of the complexities surrounding them. A more nuanced understanding of poverty is the starting point of poverty eradication. Scholars, policy makers, development workers and the poor must synthesize their knowledge for the purpose of eradicating poverty.

### B. Participation of the Poor:

It has been argued that “the poor are the true poverty experts. Hence, a policy document on poverty strategies for the 21<sup>st</sup> century must be based on the experiences, priorities, reflections and recommendations of poor children, women and men.” Another reason for the participation of the poor is the failure of the market and State led efforts to eradicate poverty. According to Webster and Engberg-Pederson,

It is now clear that while economic growth and better access to markets are crucial requirements in reducing the number of people in economic poverty, they are not sufficient. Nor, as attempts at State-led development have revealed is it sufficient to leave poverty eradication to the State. In the contemporary world, with the vagaries of fluctuating world markets rendering national economies fragile and their institutional structures often in crisis, poverty reduction is not likely to take place in a sustained manner without the involvement of the poor.

The participation of the poor is key to any policy, programme or project directed at poverty eradication.

### C. Empowerment of the poor

Another key strategy for poverty eradication is empowerment of the poor. This is because one major cause of poverty is lack of capacity and powerlessness of poor people to transform their situations. It has been succinctly put that:

The problem is poverty, not poor people. Those who care most about reducing poverty are poor people themselves. Hence effective poverty reduction must tap into the motivation, desire, determination, imagination, knowledge, networks, and organisations of poor women, men and children. Given the scale of the problem, any poverty reduction strategy must mobilise the energy of poor people to take effective action and make them essential partners in development.

#### **D. Good Governance, Transparency and Accountability**

One major way of exacerbation of poverty in Nigeria is bad governance and lack of transparency and accountability. Resources that would have been utilized to promote economic growth and eradicate poverty are mismanaged, misdirected and misappropriated by the ruling elite. Long years of military did not help matters. It is therefore necessary to promote good governance with emphasis on protection of human rights especially economic, social and cultural rights.

#### **E. Rights based approach**

There is no doubt that poverty denigrates, excludes, mutilates and kills, and has become the single greatest violator of human rights in the world today. As noted above, poverty results from the failure to observe and implement human rights. Therefore, discretionary ad-hoc handouts and market led growth with the hope of trickle-down effect cannot eradicate poverty. It has been argued that a rights based approach to poverty eradication is the proper approach to poverty eradication. According to CHRI, right based approach:

... gives primacy to the participation and empowerment of the poor, insists on democratic practices and on the fulfillment by the international community, nation states, the commercial sector and local communities and associations of their obligations to respect, fulfill and promote human rights. It emphasizes the moral and legal duties of global society to ensure a just and equitable social, political and economic order in which all people and persons can live in dignity. It is based on the fundamental principle of equality of all human beings. It calls for the recognition of the role of all citizens in governance.

#### **F. Combating Gender inequity, children vulnerability and other vulnerable groups**

Various scholars have tried to explain why women are poorer than men which has led to the situation whereby poverty wears the face of a woman leading to what scholars have called the feminisation of poverty. Women constitute 70 percent of the world's poor. Special emphasis need to be placed on combating gender equity and addressing the mechanisms, institutions and practices that make women and other groups in society vulnerable.

#### **G. Promote Pro-poor policies**

There are clearly policies that are anti-poor and there are others that are pro-poor. Anti-poor policies will benefit the rich while pro-poor policies will benefit the poor. In order to eradicate poverty, care must be taken to ensure that all policies are pro-poor. For instance, policies that favour small scale farmers or are labour intensive and will lead to the creation of more jobs are pro-poor. On the other hand, policies that will lead to increase in the prices of social services and utilities or introduction of user fees are anti-poor. Privatisation will almost always lead to increase in prices of goods and services and lay off of staff and is anti-poor. In order to eradicate poverty, emphasis must be placed on pro-poor policies. It has been documented that good public policy is at the core of the process of development.

In conclusion, we can state that the problem of poverty in Nigeria is complex, multidimensional and multi-faceted requiring the need for a renewed reflection and rethinking of the public policies that has been formulated to tackle poverty in the past. The new approach should produce public policies that will lead to poverty eradication in Nigeria. The starting point therefore will be an understanding of what constitutes poverty, the root causes and factors that exacerbate it as well as deciphering who is poor.

Poverty in Nigeria is unique in the sense that majority of the poor are located in the rural areas with geo-political variations, disparities between male and female and the fact that it is in the midst of plenty. Meanwhile, the public policies that have been designed to tackle poverty in the past have failed because of confusion among policy makers on the design of appropriate policies to eradicate poverty; lack of participation by the poor; poor co-ordination and inability to link anti-poverty policies with other policies/sectors that should have impact on poverty.

It is recommended that a progressive approach to eradicating poverty in Nigeria should promote a more nuanced understanding of poverty, participation of the poor, empowerment of the poor, good governance, transparency and accountability, combat gender inequity and children vulnerability, promote rights based approach and pro-poor policies.



## BUILDING A DEVELOPMENTAL AND WELFARE STATE: TOWARDS A NEW ECONOMIC PLAN FOR NIGERIA



**JAYE GASKIA**  
National Coordinator of  
Protest To Power Movement [P2PM]

*Jaye Gaskia* is a Development sector professional with over two decades of experience working with National and International Development agencies at the highest levels. He was the first Global Conflict Advisor with ActionAid International, working in the International Emergencies and Conflict Team, technically supporting 45 Country Programs. He was also Deputy Country and later Interim Country Director at Oxfam GB in Nigeria, as well as Head of Programs with Voluntary Services Overseas [VSO] in Nigeria.

An activist and social crusader for social justice, human rights protection, and social transformation, becoming a leader in civil society and in the mass social movements. His professional expertise and competences are in Governance and democratization processes, conflict transformation and peace building, protection, human security and food security, citizens' empowerment, advocacy and campaigning, organizing and mobilizing for change, policy analysis and development.

He was the National Convener of the United Action For Democracy [UAD] - a coalition of citizens' organisations established since 1997 to fight for democracy and the full democratization of the society and polity – between 2011 and 2013.

### The current failed economic paradigm

Let us begin by trying to understand where we are at the moment so that we can put things in their proper perspective. This is because a clear unambiguous understanding of where we are and how we got here is decisive with respect to moving ahead from here.

What therefore is our current situation? A series of contrasts should enable us make informed judgments. These sets of contrasts are at once an indication of the immense potential of our country, as they are also clearly a manifestation of the tragedy that has befallen us.

We are Africa's largest economy, yet we also have an infrastructural base for this economy that is in the lower rung of the league on the continent. With a \$510bn sized economy, we have also produced not only Africa's and the world's 30<sup>th</sup> richest man; we have the world's richest black woman being a Nigerian. And whereas 15 of Africa's 40 richest are Nigerians, we are also home to the largest concentration of poor people on the continent with 112 million poor people.

Although our economy and GDP has been growing well above the African and global growth rates at more than 5% annually for decades now; it is also true that this economy has been shrinking. It used to average about 8% annual growth rate in the first decade of the 4<sup>th</sup> republic, but it now averages just barely over 5%. In fact it shrank by more than 1% between Q1 2014 and Q1 2015.

We have one of the lowest measured Business Confidence Index rates around the world, just as we have one of the highest Cost of doing business anywhere in the world. To add a little bit of flavor, at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic, unemployment rate was around 8%, whereas 14 years down the line by 2014 general unemployment rate had exploded to 24% [NBS 2014] with youth unemployment reaching 45% [NBS Youth Survey 2012] and graduate youth unemployment rate reaching 80% [CBN 2012].

Average industrial capacity utilization on the other hand have continued to hover just below the 35% mark over the last years. The most instructive of this indication of industrial decline is the situation with the refineries in the petroleum sector.

The four refineries, after the injection of nearly \$20bn on a series of Turn Around Maintenances [TAM] over the last 16 years now boast of a pitiable 11% average capacity utilization despite an assertion of government that by the end of the last round of TAMs in 2012 capacity utilization would be brought up to an average of 90%!

We have a \$510bn sized economy, yet our present combined total installed power generation capacity stands at less than 10,000MW, while our actual available power generation capacity has continued to peak at just about 4,000MW. In fact as of May 11<sup>th</sup> 2015 actual power generation evacuated on the national grid was barely 2,800MW, just a mere 300MWs more than the power generation capacity inherited in 1999, and this after more than \$40bn in public investment into power generation over the last 16 years? As for the transmission capacity of our National Grid it has actually declined from the about 5,500MW inherited in 1999 to just about 4,500MW currently, due to wear and tear. This why we have continued to witness an average of 16 to 20 system collapses annually of which an average of 70% are total system collapses.

It is also important to underscore a certain issue, the issue of corruption, and the impunity in governance that condones, enables, enhances, protects, promotes, perpetuate and perpetrate it. Since 1999 an average of N1tn has been budgeted annually for capital expenditure at the federal level, if we add the combined total of all the annual capital votes of the 36 states of the federation, this should probably add up to about another N1tn. The implication of this is that annually over 16 years just about N2tn has been claimed to be expended on capital expenditure with precious little to show for it.

The underlying problem is monumental corruption of historical proportion. It is this that has ensured that regardless of the huge sums of public investment, we have remained comatose and have ended up with the phenomenon of non-inclusive growth. It is why whereas the top richest 10% of the population own and control 40% of the economy while the bottom poorest 20% own and control a meager 4.1% of the economy.

#### **WHAT IS TO BE DONE? – A NEW NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING FRAMEWORK:**

As stated above corruption has become the biggest problem and obstacle to our national development. Nevertheless corruption is neither an economic program nor and economic plan, it is the way of doing things; and it is therefore in these sense the acquired culture of governance in our country.

It goes without saying that the new economic plan must have zero tolerance for corruption; must block and seal up all avenues for leakages and wastage, must identify and punish the corrupt, must protect whistle blowers, and must recover looted funds.

The implication of this is that anti-corruption campaign cannot become substitute for an economic plan; it can only be an expression of a new way of doing things. From the cursory look at our problems it is clear that our biggest challenges are that of increasing industrial and business capacity utilization; reducing the cost of doing business, improving the infrastructural base; increasing the quantity and quality of social investment in education, health, housing against the backdrop of an 18 million housing deficit], and food security; diversification of the economy not only away from dependence on the petroleum sector, but also away from an exclusive dependence on extractives and solid minerals; as well as ensuring a framework for inclusive growth, enabled by a policy of wealth redistribution, given that we have one of the widest gaps between the rich and poor anywhere in the world.

An important foundational step to take is to move away from the exclusive expenditure framework to developing full-fledged multi-year Economic Development plans. The current practice where annual budgets are merely expenditure frameworks that are part of a three expenditure plan is not a planning framework. At best it enables one to organize one's expenditures, but it is not a substitute for development plans. In this context of development planning, the expenditure frameworks will merely help to organize the investments to realize the goals and objectives of the development plan being realized through development programs.

At the very least the incoming administration and new governing party should develop in a participatory manner a 4 Year Development Plan, on which its annual budgets and medium term expenditure frameworks will be oriented.

The Four Year National Development plan should have as its overarching goal the establishment and building of a Developmental and welfare state that plays an interventionist role in the economy, safeguards the weak through an efficient and effective social security/social protection system, and fulfills the provisions of the constitution in Sections 14 to 16.

Such an economic development plan should prioritise the following: Bridging the gap between the rich and poor; increasing average industrial capacity utilization to 80% and above; reducing drastically the cost of doing business; improving both qualitatively and quantitatively the quantum of power generated as well as the Transmission capacity of the National Grid; diversifying the economy by encouraging investment not only in solid minerals but also in agriculture and tourism; creating a supportive and enabling environment for small and medium scale enterprises and business; and systematic investment in infrastructure development.

A significant component of the necessary programs that can lead to the improvement of industrial capacity utilization, reduction in the cost of doing business, enabling a robust small and medium scale business development, and consequently reducing unemployment and creating equitable access to wealth will require fixing the power sector and ensuring adequate domestic refining capacity for petroleum products, including promoting development of the value addition industries of the petroleum sector.

Engaging Niger Delta youths and communities for instance in processes leading to establishment of small and medium scale nodal refineries, as well as programs on environmental remediation and regeneration will help create jobs, revive the environment, make agricultural livelihoods once again viable, and help meet the refined products need of the economy within an integrated framework. By revisiting the privatization process in the power sector, ensuring that companies actually have required technical and financial capacity, and sanitizing the system, the new economic plan can ensure the completion and availability of full capacity of all the ongoing power generation projects. It will then have to focus on rapidly upgrading the transmission capacity of the National Grid. Ensuring availability and accessibility of both energy [fuel] and power will contribute immensely towards reducing the cost of doing business, increasing capacity utilization, and creating employment opportunities both directly and indirectly.

The current constitution already makes provision for start-up funds for diversifying the economy. There is a Solid Minerals development fund into which 1.68% of federation account is to be paid annually. What is the status of this fund over the last 16 years? There is also an ecological fund established by the constitution that can be utilized to ensure the cleanup of the Niger Delta environment along the recommendations of the UNEP report on Ogoni among others.

This new national economic plan will need to be funded and adequately resourced. Hence it will be necessary to probe and recover funds from the power, energy [petroleum, refineries], constitutionally established funds, and other statutory Revenue earning MDAs.

There will be an urgent need to reform and restructure the taxation system and mechanism. While we must do away with the scenario of multiple taxation, we must also ensure that corporations and the rich do not evade tax.

Restructuring the taxation system could include ensuring that defined proportions of the tax paid are earmarked for specific purposes such as infrastructure development, Small and Medium Scale Business Development etc. It will also be necessary to introduce new taxes. The most significant such tax to be introduced should be a tax on personal savings in excess of N1bn that is not invested.

Alongside this, the corporate social responsibility framework of corporations should fit into the framework of the National Development Plan.

This New National Development Plan should promote a massive infrastructure development process based on a massive works and housing effort through use of direct labour among others, aimed at reducing the infrastructure and housing deficits.

Reducing the housing deficit for instance will require Urban renewal plans and efforts that are premised on modernization of slums without the eviction of slum dwellers, which ultimately enables slum dwellers to modernize their homes.

### **Conclusion**

Overall there is an urgent necessity to evolve in a participatory manner a New Four Year National Development Plan, focusing on a set of priorities; with set annual targets; and that is based on a massive mobilization and the effective utilization of the human capacity/social capital of the population.

This new economic plan must promote and enable the participation of women and youth while ensuring the implementation of an affirmative action framework that meets and accommodates the demands of women and youths for a minimum of 35% and 30% representation in leadership positions politically and economically, and particularly in ownership of businesses, on their boards, and in political representation capacities in across all arms and levels of government.

## MEETING NIGERIA'S ENERGY NEEDS EFFICIENTLY AND SUSTAINABLY



**Tracy Adole**  
PhD research student at the  
University of Southampton, UK

**Tracy Adole** is an environmental scientist & activist, and currently a PhD student under the research group, Global Environmental Change and Earth Observation, with her research focusing on Climate Change Impact and Adaptation Strategies in the Niger Delta. She was Project Officer of the National Coalition of Gas Flaring and Oil Spills in the Niger Delta (NACGOND). She holds a BSc First Class Honours in Microbiology from University of Benin and an MSc in Environmental Assessment and Management from the University of East Anglia, UK. She worked as Research Officer/Acting Registrar, Uptonville Oil and Gas Institute, in the area of flood and environmental management using Geographic Information System (GIS).

She is a recipient of the commonwealth scholarship which was tenable at the University of East Anglia and also the National Association of Science Students, (NASS) University of Benin, Award of Excellence. She is also currently a Commonwealth Scholar at the University of Southampton

### Overview of the need for energy

Energy which is the capacity to do work is what permits the existence of mankind. It can neither be created nor destroyed but can only be transformed from one form to another; a fundamental fact from the first law of thermodynamics. This invariable means we cannot create energy, but acquire it from different sources. These sources can either be:

1. Renewable: geothermal energy, hydroelectricity, hydrogen power, solar power, tidal and wave power, wind power, and biomass energy.
2. Non-renewable: fossil fuel and nuclear energy.

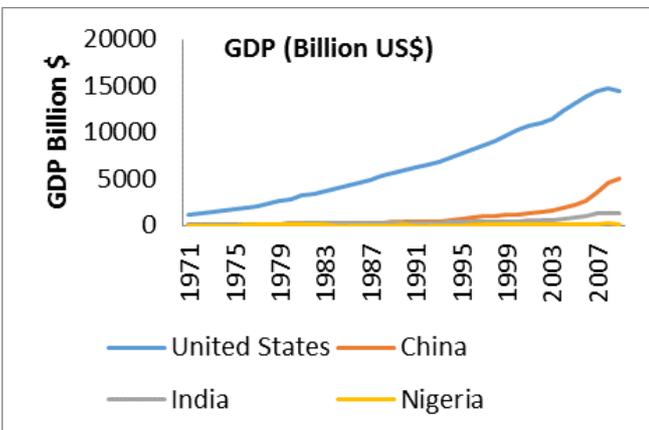
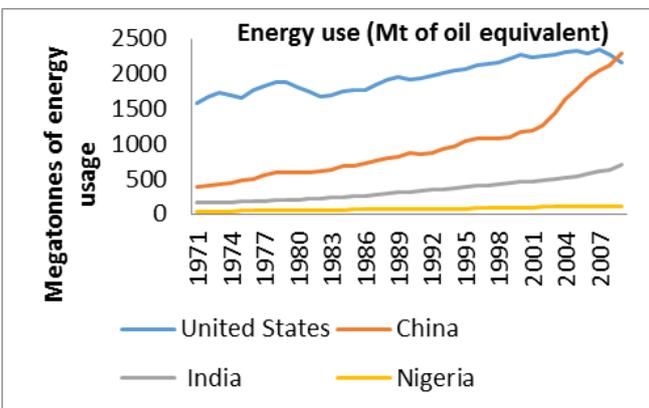
During the pre-industrial era, man had to depend on human physical abilities for energy, which was mostly acquired from food consumption (a person averages about 100 watts inside from burning food). This was one reason why slave trade thrived before the industrial revolution, as food calories plus the human body met up to the energy needs of the world. However, the increasing demand for energy, led to the discovery of other sources of energy. Table 1 gives an overview of the evolving demand for energy.

Era (defining technology)	primary energy sources
Pre-industrial (agriculture): ≤ mid 1700's	food calories for manual & animal labour, some renewables (e.g. hydro, wind) for milling, transportation; wood for home heating, passive solar for lighting, food calories for lamp oils
Early industrial (advanced metallurgy practices): late 1700's early 1900's	continued use of wood for heat, oil lamps for light; begin use of coal for various thermal & mechanical needs in manufacturing, for home heat; coal gas lighting and electrical generation, wood and coal for steam engines, emerging use of petroleum products for transport
late industrial (dynamo, internal combustion engine) early to late 1900's	continued use of coal for electrical generation, growing use of petroleum for products and transport; diversification of primary sources for growing demand for electricity
information (microprocessor): ≥ late 1900's	continued use of coal and growing use of natural gas and renewables for electrical generation, growing use of petroleum for products and transportation demand in developing nations

**Table 1: Evolving demand for energy**

## Energy and the economy

There is a direct correlation between the use of energy and the economic growth of a country. Meeting up with the energy needs is synonymous to development and economists have shown that energy use increases as economies grow. For example there has been a corresponding increase in the use of energy as the GDP increases in countries like the US and China (see <http://www.gapminder.org/> and <http://data.worldbank.org/>). Conversely, what was observed in Nigeria, was a slow increase in the energy usage hence a slow increase in GDP (see Figure 1). Other developing countries like India with relatively high increase in use of energy also had high increase in GDP.

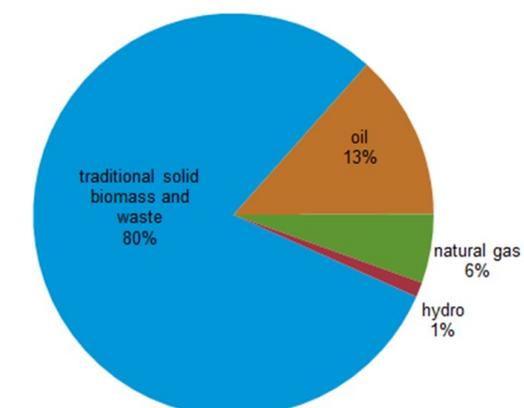


**Fig1: Showing the increases in energy usage and increase in GDP over the years in selected countries**



## Energy status of Nigeria

The current energy profile of Nigeria shows a lot of inefficiencies in its energy production and consumption. As shown in Box 1, Nigeria consumes only about 14% of the energy it produces. In addition, with a population of over 170 million, and with the capacity to generate 6,090 megawatts (MW), Nigeria's daily supply of electricity hovers between 2,000 to 4,000 MW. By comparison, Brazil generates 100,000 MW for its 201 million people and South Africa generates 40,000 MW for 50 million. This inefficiency leaves over 50% of the country's population without access to electricity. Hence, the dependency on other sources of energy, making traditional biomass or waste providing 80% of energy used in Nigeria (see Figure 2).



Note: Nigeria also consumed 35,000 shorttons of coal in 2012.  
Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, International Energy Agency

**Fig 2: Total primary energy consumption in 2012**

In addition to these inefficiencies is the practise of gas flaring. As at 2012, Nigeria still flared over 40% of its natural gas (see Box 1), making it second only to Russia amongst the top twenty gas flaring countries. Furthermore, despite being ranked amongst the world's top five LNG exporters, supply shortages of natural gas is one of the major reasons net electricity generation falls well below capacity.

### Box 1: Summary of 2012 production and consumption

Total primary energy produced (Quadrillion Btu) = 6.692  
 Total primary energy consumed (Quadrillion Btu) = 0.903  
 Total oil production = 2,524.14 thousand barrels/day  
 Total oil consumption = 269.89 hundred barrels/day  
 Total natural gas production = 1,190.48 billion cubic feet  
 Total natural gas consumption = 244.23 billion cubic feet  
 Total natural gas flared = 515 billion cubic feet  
 Carbon Dioxide Emissions = 73.69 Million  
 Metric Tons of CO<sub>2</sub>

**Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2013.**

## Nigeria's energy potentials

In spite of the above problems, Nigeria has enormous potentials to generate energy from clean sources, the renewables. These are:

- **Solar energy:** The sun provides 86,000 Terawatts of energy every year, approximately 6000 times the amount of energy consumed globally per year. From that power Nigeria has an estimated 200W/m<sup>2</sup> of solar irradiance. This potential has never been exploited. (see [http://www.3tier.com/static/ttcms/us/images/support/maps/3tier\\_solar\\_irradiance.pdf](http://www.3tier.com/static/ttcms/us/images/support/maps/3tier_solar_irradiance.pdf))
- **Wind energy:** A 10 MW Wind Power Plant is currently being developed in the small village of Rimi, 25 km south of Katsina City. This needs to be further expanded to other parts of the country.
- **Hydro power:** Table 2 shows the hydro-electric dams and reservoirs we currently have in Nigeria. If all the dams were functioning at full capacity, they can generate a total of 5,694 MW, which is above the current daily supply of electricity in the country. However, most of these dams have not been completed and/or are not working at full capacity.

### Why move to clean energy sources?

There are several reasons why the potentials of the clean sources of energy mentioned above should be urgently harnessed. The major ones are listed below:

- Due to the attendant environmental pollution from the mining of fossil fuel, global warming and climate change impacts, there is now a global conscious effort to stop the total dependency on fossil fuel and move to other sources of clean energy. Hence, in the near future, fossil fuel energy will be a thing of the past.

- The inefficiency of the fossil fuel subsidy system or policy. According to a new report from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the world pays \$5.3 trillion a year in hidden costs to keep burning fossil fuels, in addition to the \$492 billion in direct subsidies paid by governments around the world. The report went further to state that “eliminating post-tax energy subsidies in 2015 could raise government revenue by \$2.9 trillion (3.6 percent of global GDP), cut global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by more than 20 percent, and cut pre-mature air pollution deaths by more than half”. In Nigeria subsidy costs rose from 1.3 percent of GDP in 2006 to 4.7 percent of GDP in 2011, and this cost will keep on growing especially considering that there is rising car importation in Nigeria, which also translate to a corresponding increase in fuel consumption.

### Recommendations

In the light of the above issues, and knowing the importance of energy in economic growth and development, the following are measures that can be adopted which would ensure Nigeria meets up to her energy needs in a sustainable way:

#### On renewables:

- Accelerate plans to construct new dams, and revamp existing dams in other to increase their electricity generating capacity.
- Expand and increase wind power plants in the country.
- Exploit the potentials of solar energy generation.
- Invest in Research and Development (R&D), especially on biofuel, algae fuel and biomass energy

#### On fossil fuels:

- Eliminate fuel subsidy completely since it is very harmful to economies because of the market distortions and the susceptibility of the programme to massive corruption and mismanagement.
- Stop gas flaring by embarking on massive local gas to power projects, which can help with meeting the energy demands of local communities and its environs.
- Massive infrastructural development to enable adequate transmission and distribution networks of pipelines which would check the issue of both oil and gas supply shortages to generating plants.

State	Dam	Energy capacity	Capacity	Surface area	Primary usage
		Megawatts	millions of m <sup>3</sup>	hectares	
Ogun State	Oyan River Dam	9	270	4,000	Water supply, irrigation, hydro-electric
Adamawa State	Kiri Dam	35	615	11,500	Irrigation, plans for hydro electric
Oyo State	Ikere Gorge Dam	3750	690	4,700	Plans for hydro-electric, water supply
Niger State	Jebba Dam	540	3,600	35,000	Hydro-electric power
Niger State	Shiroro Dam	600		31,200	Hydro-electric power
Niger State	Kainji Dam	760	15,000	130,000	Hydro-electric

## TACKLING MARGINALISATION AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT



**Elvis V. Onovughe**  
Postgraduate (Doctoral) Researcher  
at University of Liverpool, UK

*Elvis Onovughe* is a Postgraduate (Doctoral) Researcher at the University of Liverpool, United Kingdom. He recently submitted his PhD thesis and awaiting his viva. He completed his BSc degree in Applied Physics (Geophysics) at the University of Lagos, and his MSc in Exploration Geophysics at the University of Benin, both in Nigeria.

Elvis Onovughe is an academic researcher whose research interest is in geomagnetism ( a branch of geophysics), focussing on the Earth's magnetic diurnal variation field and its applications in magnetic exploration methods. Outside active academic work, Elvis interest lies in current affairs, politics and sports.

This paper examines the issue of marginalisation and regional development, their implications and what a progressive government should do in tackling it. In Nigeria, deprivation, ethnicity and regionalism has assumed disturbing dimensions. The advent of democracy has seen the cries of marginalisation reach new heights. Marginalisation and lack of development has been known and seen to procreate mistrust and suspicion, enhance regional anxiety that leads to dispute over the sharing and allocation of power and the nation's resources. Hence, marginalisation and lack of regional development, whether real or apparent, has the capacity for disrupting social-political co-existence, peace and democratic governance. With the current cries of marginalisation and lack of development widespread among different regions in Nigeria, there is need for the new government to address the issues in a direct and uncompromising manner. My suggestion is that the issues need to be resolved through the creation of realistic and workable federal system of government that is correctly modelled after true federalism.

Nigeria has been mired in ethnic and regional rivalry and competition all her independent life. This has become the standard for gauging allocation, distribution of power, resources and national development effort. These has, often times, led to cries of marginalisation and lack of development from different regions and ethnic minority groups. For the future sustenance of our democracy and good governance, this issue need urgent addressing as these perceived ill-feelings may militate against the success of our democratic process. Questions of marginalisation and regional development demands continuous inspection, if efforts to achieve a better, peaceful and more prosperous Nigeria are to succeed. This is in view of the implications of pronounced conflict, militancy and insurgency over power sharing and resource allocation. Political solutions to tackling marginalisation and regional development problems can only emerge from well-grounded appraisal of the situation itself. Marginalisation, as we all know, affects the development of a region, society and community.

There is extremely serious and urgent need for tackling issues of perceived marginalisation and regional development in Nigeria. Nigeria is currently engaged in what many considered as paying lip service to the issue of marginalisation and regional development. This can be seen in the fact that despite more than 54years of independence, Nigeria is still faced with severe cries of marginalisation and lack of development from different ethnic groups and geo-political regions. This has serious implications and spells danger for our democratic experience. Democracy and strong democratic sentiments have emerged in Nigeria. One of the greatest appeals of democracy, it may be argue, is the prospect it offers for guaranteeing individual and group rights. This, however, can only occur where democracy is not burdened with negative influences such as marginalisation. In other words, democracy provides constitutional opportunities for people to freely exercise their franchise in choosing their leaders. No group, individual or region is singled out for marginalisation by undue manipulation.

## MARGINALISATION IN NIGERIA

Marginalisation originates from a people's perception of their treatment in the distribution or allocation of power, resources and the development of their area. It may be real or apparent. According to the Nsukka Analyst (1994), "Marginalisation is the deliberate disempowerment of a group of people in a federation politically, economically, socially, and militarily by another group or groups which during the relevant time frame wield power and control the allocation of materials and financial resources at the centre of the federation." Marginalisation exists when a group of people feels disenchanted with the working of things in a system of which it is a constituent part. There is a sense that the existing state of affairs is permeated with glaring disadvantages to it as people or group. It hinges more on feelings, perceptions, which may be selective and attitudinal orientations. Feeling of marginalisation can stem from ethnic rivalry. Whereas ethnic rivalry in Nigeria's political life had previously been between the three dominant ethnic groups (Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo), the minority groups have started to redefine the ethnic terrain, more so since the late 1980s, reaching its height just before the advent of the fourth democratic republic. In this context, the feeling of marginalisation and regional development have arisen and become strong among the various ethnic groups and regions in Nigeria. This argument made by late Saro-Wiwa in the early 1990s clearly captures the increasing complexity of the ethnic, marginalisation and regional development question in Nigeria:

"The new men created seven new states, most of them in the ethnic majority areas of the Hausa-Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba, increasing thereby their access to the oil revenue while exacerbating ethnic tension. They went further to revise the oil revenue allocation formula agreed before independence, so as to give the ethnic majorities an even greater share. The regions involved in oil exploration were now forced to accept twenty percent instead of fifty percent of the proceeds of mining rents and royalties." (Saro-Wiwa, 1992)

While all the regions in Nigeria have one claim of marginalisation and lack of development or another, the Niger delta region (which produces the bulk of Nigeria resources) has been the leading region in the cry of marginalisation and lack of development. For example, a case of marginalisation may be made for the Ogoni (a Niger Delta Community), who despite "having provided the nation with an estimated \$30,000 million in oil revenues, their people had no pipe borne water, electricity, and lack education, health and other social facilities: it is intolerable that one of the richest areas of Nigeria should wallow in abject poverty and destitution." (Saro-Wiwa, 1992)

This scenario is not different in most communities in Niger Delta today, coupled with devastating environmental degradation as a result of exploration and exploitation of crude oil in the region. Bodo community of Rivers state in Niger Delta exemplify this environmental degradation through oil spill as a result of exploration and exploitation activities. Till this day no clean up or remediation seven years after. In this light, the Ogoni and the Niger Delta region in general has tangible reasons to consider themselves marginalised and underdeveloped.

On the part of the Igbo in the Eastern region of Nigeria, The Nsukka Analyst (1994) made use of some interesting statistics to make a case of marginalisation against the Igbo ethnic group. It argued that since after the Nigerian civil war, the Igbos has been jointly marginalised by the northern and western regions (Hausa-Fulani and Yoruba groups respectively). To show this, it states that in 1989 out of 154 officers of the rank of Brigadier and above in the Nigerian army, only 8 were Igbo, while 51 and 37 were Hausa-Fulani and Yoruba respectively. This to them is disproportionate representation which stems out of marginalisation. In the past, protests against marginalisation have also been taken by the Yoruba, who see the annulment of the 1993 presidential election, presumed to have been won by a Yoruba man, as a move by the Hausa-Fulani militocracy to maintain power at all cost. The supposedly 'privileged' Hausa-Fulani have also raised questions of marginalisation in the areas of education and the private sector of the economy, although their 'marginalisation' in these areas have been seen by the other regions as self-inflicted. Minor ethnic groups, particularly in the Niger Delta are currently leading the cry of marginalisation and lack of development. Their plight has attracted international attention since the hanging of the prominent Ogoni activist and environmentalist, Ken Saro-Wiwa. Today, every region in Nigeria claims that it is being marginalised and suffering from lack of development. The serious threat of marginalisation and lack of development to survival of Nigerian democracy remains a fact. The current class of political leaders in Nigeria are corrupt, selfish, greedy, short-sighted, unpatriotic and careless about the general development of Nigeria. The new government must take a different path if these issues are to be resolved.



## GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

Cries of marginalisation and regional development by various groups in Nigeria have not exactly gone unnoticed by successive governments, but their response have usually been half-hearted, and most times suffer holistic implementation of policies drafted to solve the issues. These are just a few things done in the past to enhance and give a sense of belonging to different regions, in order to address marginalisation and regional development:

- Establishment of American style Presidential system, which requires the president to obtain appreciable electoral support in at least two-third (Nigeria's case) of the states in the federation.
- Introduction of 'federal character principle' which requires broad ethnic or inter-ethnic representation in the composition of key national agencies.
- Introduction of the 'derivation principle' (13%) in statutory allocation to mineral producing areas of the country.
- State creation, seen as panacea by ethnic minority groups/activists. But current realities appear to contradict this. The reality is that the domination of regions has been thrown off to be replaced by the domination of the majority within minorities in the so-called minority regions/zones.



But none of these remove the real or apparent feeling of marginalisation and lack of development as the managers of the system abused them in one form or another.

It is important to state that, in some cases, the problem of marginalisation and development does not lie in lack of constitutional provisions and protections. The problem, rather, is a function of certain existential conditions, which makes ineffective the implementation of the constitutional provisions. How constitutional provisions are translated into practice depends on who is in power and this applies to all level of government in Nigeria (Federal, State and Local government Area).

## WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE BY A PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT

It is apparent that our democratic experience and existence as a nation can only endure if feeling of marginalisation and development and various acts signifying these are directly confronted. Our idea of a nationhood of justice and fairness can only be attained if fears of marginalisation are erased.

One way of tackling marginalisation and regional development is by working towards the adoption of true federalism – both in letters and in deed. Nigeria must take a cue from multi-ethnic developed countries, whose political culture makes adequate provision for all interest groups. This is the American style democracy, notion of majority rule with its doctrine of minority rights. Where federalism is implemented to the letter, it will be ideal for a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society like Nigeria, where certain national rights are established for all citizens, and at the same time allowing states to make their own laws that do not conflict with national laws. Nigeria currently operates a skewed and defective federal system of government.

Also, there is the urgent need for the new government to confront the realities of ethnic minorities, especially the resource-producing minorities, who have for long been marginalised in the dynamics of the Nigerian power game. They need to be treated fairly, which makes it necessary to redefine the statutory allocation system to make provision for tackling environmental pollutions, which oil exploration and exploitation have caused, as well as improving general living conditions. Since policy reorganisations in Nigeria are half-hearted, and attempts at readjusting statutory allocation had met with failure, there is need to make the Niger Delta host communities in particular stakeholders in the oil economy of the nation.

**LIBERATE**  
DELTA PEOPLE'S  
MOVEMENT



## BUILDING A SUSTAINABLE POWER SOLUTION FOR DEVELOPMENT

### THE CHAINS OF POWER GENERATION - WHERE HAS NIGERIA GOTTEN IT WRONG?



**Joseph D Dafimu**  
Senior Surveyor, Oil and Gas

*Joseph D Dafimu is a Senior Surveyor (Consultant as an Independent Competent Persons – ICP for the oil and gas industry in United Kingdom. Joseph completed his HND Marine Engineering at River State University of Science & Technology, he went on to secure his Bachelor of Engineering, Engineering Technology and Management at the University of Huddersfield UK. He then studied MSc. - Reliability, Safety and Maintenance Engineering Management at Bradford University UK.*

*His previous experience includes Chief Engineer – Marine engineering officer at sea (NNSL, IRISL - Iran, Vector offshore – Aberdeen, ADAMS – Saudi Arabia); Head of Maintenance Department – Centrica Energy (British Gas Power Station – 360MW CCGT) and Head of Turbine Engineering Department – Hubco Power Station – Fossil fuel boiler / Steam Turbines - 4x 323MW (Independent Power Generation Group), Karachi. Pakistan.*

There is no place in this world that highly seeks after developments without reliance on sustainable power generation. Sustainable power supply is the heart of any economic growth. I write this based on the world economics of today - what power generation does in making the G20, the growing economics attain their current status.

Can we attain vision 2020 (5 years away) when we cannot provide power supply (electricity) to drive the small, medium and large scale businesses?

The question is “has Nigeria not gotten the wherewithal / technical expertise to produce enough electricity for the country? Nigeria has invested Billions of Dollars, yet there is nothing to show for it except for dwindling **2.3GW for her population.**

The Newspapers, government, NERC and other sources blame insufficient gas supply for the inconsistency and under generation. This problem has stared Nigeria in the face for many decades, with the same old song sung by those who should have eradicated it.

The sayings goes, “that doing the same things over and over and expecting different results does not only call for psychiatric attention, but is complete insanity.

#### **Where has Nigeria gone wrong:**

Musa Yar’ Adua was to declare emergency in the power sector, Obasanjo promised to eradicate the monstrous gigantic Goliath of power generation, GEJ told Nigerians of how far he has helped reshaped the sector by privatisation, yet no Nigerian is enjoying the dividends, rather the Monstrous Goliath is growing, becoming Dinosauric, leaving behind trails of destructions for the small, medium and large scale businesses.

We as a nation cannot privatise a failed / wrecked enterprise. How can this failed enterprise under your management be regulated? How can punitive measures be meted for under performers? How can you distribute what is not generated by enterprises called “DISCO” – Distribution companies of Nigeria? Has enough been done to grow the industry in Nigeria making it lucrative and attractive for investors? What attract investors?

## How is it done in developed nations?

I give an example of Centrica Energy (part of it at one time of my career life, also involved in some of the decision making).

Centrica Energy – the parent company to British gas where initially sole traders in gas. Then the opportunity came when the United Kingdom government decided to privatise the industry. Centrica capitalised on this by acquiring Briggs, Kings Lynn and Peterborough power stations.

Due to how viable and profiting the industry was, they increased their portfolios by further acquiring Rooscote and Killingholme power stations. Centrica went building one of the most modern and state of the art power station – Langage power station in Plymouth. They also bought 100% shares of power generated from Spalding power station to meet their customers' needs.

Centrica Energy went these miles because of the potentials and the profits made, how the United Kingdom government made this very attractive for investors. Currently, Centrica Energy (British Gas) owns 6 power stations with the capacity of generating 3.7GWatts at base load and about 4G-Watts peak loads.

The lesson is simple: the government has to invest in building more power stations with the adequate gas supplying facilities to run them (an immediate action plan), create a competitive and rewarding environment for investors.



## So how can we forge ahead and what can Nigeria do?

All hope is not lost in the government bringing this Dinosauric Monster to its knees.

Taking example from what is attainable in the UK National grid, there were machineries in place to help tackle the problem of power generation. Various governments tell Nigerians the Billions of Dollars (Trillions of Naira) spent in improving electricity supplies still with declining outputs. It is common sense that when investments are made, dividends be seen.

The major cause of the predicament has primarily been the inability of the past regimes to understand and apportion the needed attention to the importance of power generation to the nation's economy. Then problem of "self / vested interest". This is true because during the launching of NTA International (NTAi) in London, the then Minister of information (Hon. Frank Nweke Jnr. under President Obasanjo) when addressing the attendees said "the government has not understood the importance of power generation, hence the amount of attention given to the industry".



The government of the United Kingdom built and maintained power stations that attracted the public sectors, as Killingholme power station owned by a banking syndicate before being bought over by Centrica Energy. Centrica energy and other trading companies bought power station, ( E-ON, Scottish and Southern Energy to mention but few). Centrica Energy alone has generating capacity of 3.7GWatts which is greater than the currently 2.3GWatts.

Centrica Energy (British Gas Power Generation) ended up with a portfolio of 6 power stations. This was possible because of the ability to see beyond self-interest, greed and complacency / nonchalant attitudes, as everyone took responsibility and ownership of their roles with dedications.

The sums speculated in total so far that have been invested in the sector would have yielded the country the capability to generate more than 40GWatts of power. It is important to mention that as small as the United Kingdom is, the electricity demand is 57.490GWatts as at December, 2012 against 37.83GWatts in 2014 (Department of Energy and climate change) compared to what Nigeria generates. The United Kingdom is able to meet in excess of her demand with even nearly 30% of the CCGT and coal fired station including the large power stations shut down due to pricing. The reality is that this has not stopped the investors in the UK from investing in building new power plants (e.g. the Marchwood power station of 840MWatts). This should be the approach to emulate by the Nigerian government. The government needs to stabilise the industry, make it more attractive and luring with incentives for investors. Then would investors be willing to come in.

## Conclusion

The UK National grid had the challenges in the yester years and were able to deal with it seriously leading to self-sufficiency in the electricity supplied to the national grid by all spheres of competitors.

The electricity generation spans from different sources below:

- 40.4% from gas
- 32.3% from coal
- 14.6% from Nuclear
- 1.7% from Hydro
- 2.9% from wind energy
- 3.4% from Biomass (Energy from waste)
- 8.1% from other sources such as solar

Statistically, on an average, the associated costs for building power plants is as follows:

- For conventional CCGT , it is \$917?KWatts - \$973/KWatts
- For CT it is \$676/KWatt
- For coal, it is between \$1500/KWatts - \$1800/ KWatts
- For nuclear, it is in region of \$1560/KWatt to \$1750/KWatts; which is dependent on location.

Therefore, the \$16 Billion that Obasanjo claims to have invested (“the Nigerian Voice, dated 23/12/2013 – Obasanjo’s frustration on opinion column”), should have added about 20GWatts of electricity supplies to the Nigerian grid which would have been available for the DISCOs (distribution companies) to distribute to Nigerians.

Centrica Energy built a state of the art 885MW CCGT plant at Langage – Plymouth for £400 million in 2009 when the late President Musa Yar’ Adua was to declare state of emergency in Nigeria regarding the problem of electricity supplies.

Investing in this sector in the UK brings £5.7 Billion in taxes to the treasury, £13.1 Billions of investments in infrastructures, creates 680,000 jobs across all areas of the economy, supporting the small, medium scales businesses, etc.

The Federal Government must tackle this problem with all vigour in actualising consistent power supply. It is then we can say we are a growing economy.

Nigerians need constant power supplies for comfort, to do business and have normalcy in the current living standard.

Nigerians pay and go the extra miles when the services are available. This has been demonstrated through the inception of mobile phone technology; it was nearly 30 years ago when a minister said telephone was not for the masses. Is that the mindset that power generation is not for the masses? Those who are beyond killing this sector in Nigeria can afford a decent life style through crony activities, with their families are away overseas where things work normally.

Is hurtful that those of us who enjoyed these benefits, who knew nothing like epileptically endemic feats of electricity supplies, are those plunging the country into darkness in this modern days and age of jet speed development?

I am inclined to say as written in the scriptures, darkness has a spiritual connotation (meaning) and therefore, a nation in darkness speaks volumes through social ills, economic deprivations, utter backwardness, lack of investments, etc.

I call on the incoming dispensation to put this sector into the hands of technocrats who can make this a thing of the past. Then can Nigerians be rest assured of their sanity, economic empowerment, enjoy live as usual, know what ice water is, watch TV, listen to radio and do more through what electricity supplies brings.



**LIBERATE: POLICY FORUM**

Join the Discussion on Facebook

[www.facebook.com/groups/deltaliberation/](http://www.facebook.com/groups/deltaliberation/)

**GET INVOLVED**

## CORRUPTION – RESTORING TRANSPARENCY, RESPONSIBILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY



**TONY OSBORG**  
Writer

Tony Osborg is a Nigerian citizen from Delta state. He is an active and professed writer whose interest ranges from socio-political criticism to investigative journalism, poetry, politics, philosophy, sociopreneurship and community development.

Osborg has published several critical articles on Nigerian national issues. His most recent published book is titled 'Can Nigeria Bake Her Own Bread?'

### ESSAY TITLE:

### COMBATING CORRUPTION THROUGH A TRANSPARENT AND ACCOUNTABLE PUBLIC PROCUREMENT PROCESS

Corruption has been the baneful source of the endless hardship, mismanagement and uncertainty that has gripped the Nigerian socio-political environment, since the emergence of our political movement. Corruption, as we know it, is a display of dishonesty, an abuse of trust, or simply put, a state of progressive putrefaction. Corruption, under the broad heading and for the purpose of this essay, shall encompass every form of dishonesty displayed by public officials. However, for the purpose of this essay, I shall restrict my notion of corruption to a specific kind that is obvious in government cycles and is rampant among African governments due to structural defects and lack of external constraints on the activities of state affairs.

In Nigeria, corruption has become a way of life not just for those in government cycle but even for the ordinary citizen who now see truth telling as a luxury they cannot afford if they must survive. This is due to their inherited political culture. From writing exams, to getting admissions, to getting a job, and sourcing for contracts; the corrupt way has become the preferred way; the *right* way. The corrupt way is the preferred standard in Nigeria! A notable professor of virology once acclaimed '*in Nigeria, it is not just a fact that the government officials are corrupt, but it is also a fact that corruption is official!*'

Since this essay is designed towards discussing policies which a progressive government can implement, I will limit my discussion on corruption to a specific kind that is common among the three tiers of government and which I suspect is the foundation upon which the bulk of our commonwealth is abused and stolen by public officials. This kind of corruption is hidden under the pretext of public procurement – the award of contract process. Before going into detail to explain what this means, let me first remind us that Nigeria's pattern of corruption is not only institutional but equally systematic, structural and cultural. Therefore, understanding and proffering solutions must follow the same pattern.

Public procurement simply put is the *procurement of goods and services on behalf of a public authority such as a government agency*. Public procurement includes all activities that involves the award of contract by the government on behalf of the people. Such projects, be it for the construction of roads, power plants, supply of desk for a basic school, etc, all falls under public procurement. The endless manner in which governments of developing countries award contracts makes them remain the biggest client any contractor should have as a client; government projects are endlessly continuous – always constructing and modifying, demolishing and expanding, all in a bid to meeting the demands of the people.



Therefore, it must be an institution by an Act. This procurement department will be the sole arm of government capable of awarding contracts on behalf of the government and all its agencies, commissions and foreign bodies. In other words, no arm of government, starting from the Presidency and down to the local government, will have the power to determine who gets what contract except through this procurement department/commission.

2. Stripping of all public officials the power and authority to influence the operation of this commission. Autonomous agencies and parastatals like Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), ministries, the National Assembly, etc will be stripped of their powers to independently award even their own contracts inasmuch as they are dealing with public fund and spending on behalf of the people. Such powers will then be vested on this single procurement department/commission.

3. The internal policy of this commission will be so defined to such an extent that at least six in every ten registered contractor shall have the opportunity to execute at least one project annually.

4. The operation of this commission shall be so designed with so much administrative constraint to the extent that even if by accident a rogue is selected to head it, such a rogue will be limited by the internal constraint guiding the commission to the extent that he will be unable to display and manifest his rogueness in the commission's affair.

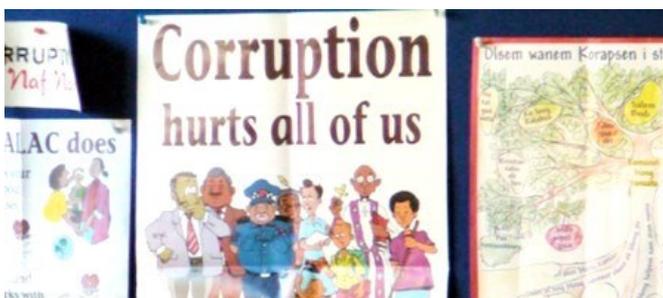
5. Every activity of this commission shall be open to public scrutiny; all invited contractors, awarded contracts, etc, shall be published on a monthly basis. Also, criteria for contractor registration and procedure for contractor pre-qualification, qualification, shortlisting, and categorization shall be made open to the general public.

It might seem that some of the above mentioned steps are already captured in the existing Public Procurement Act 2007, however, what we have lacked in implementing the processes is a sincere leadership that would respect and protect the spirit of the Act. The President of the United States of America cannot easily make a common citizen a billionaire overnight without him going through some administrative constraints. In our Nigeria, it is a different story, with the too many obvious administrative abnormalities, a state governor, with just a phone, will not only make a commoner a billionaire overnight, but also make him the biggest contractor of his state - a clear indication of a lack of administrative constraints on the behaviour of our public officers, or perhaps a blatant neglect of the existing laid down rules without respect to the rule of law. If we must restore transparency, responsibility and accountability to our public life, then we cannot continue to depend on the self-restraints of our leaders as a way of getting them to behave right, we must learn to establish and if necessary, impose external constraints that will guide their actions and guarantee our individual progress and national interests. Corruption is rampant in Nigeria today simply because we have relied so much on the self-restraint of our leaders, who often end up becoming overwhelmed by the criminality of the politics. For this reason, there becomes an urgent need to establish external constraints such as independent bodies with clear out objective to check mate and moderate the actions of our government officials.

The same method must be applicable to other spheres of public life, which is;

*we can no longer continue to rely on the self-restraints of our public officials as a way of expecting them to behave right, we must therefore, impose on them, through legislature, institutions, and policies, some sort of external constraint to checkmate their excesses.*

The card reader was a kind of external constraint that worked well to check mate the rigging excesses of both notorious party riggers and INEC conspirators. In the civil service, the Integrated Personnel and Payroll System (IPPS) introduced by the outgoing administration was a constraint on checking the corruption of *ghost workers* and salary diversion. It all worked out well, at least, to a large extent. Constraints, through legislature, technology, institutions, and policies becomes the new method of tackling corruption and restoring transparency, responsibility and accountability in our public life. However, all cannot be achieved without a sincere and proactive leadership.



With these and many more strategies designed as part of the steps to strengthen the procurement process, transparency and accountability will not only be implemented, but also, the process shall offer the general public a cost effective method of justifying government expenditure for equal value on development projects.

## RESTORING THE JUDICIARY AND ACCESS TO JUSTICE



**Edward Ekemere**  
Administration,  
Guy's and St. Thomas Hospital

*Edward Ekemere* is from Isoko South of Delta State of Nigeria and holds a Bachelor Honours degree in Laws from the University of Derby, United Kingdom.

He presently works in Administration dealing with non-clinical information records for the Guy's and St. Thomas Hospital in London.

He has past work experience in client facing roles, customer service and operations leadership, within a corporate and public service environment respectively in Nigeria and United Kingdom.

This Proposal is aimed at reducing delay in dispensation of justice in the court system in Nigeria. The objective of this proposal is to encourage settlement/ avoid litigation; encourage parties to be less adversarial/more co-operative; reduce Complexity of litigation; reduce Delay; and reduce Cost.

The proposal is seek for new court procedure rules comprising a new procedural code with the overriding objective of enabling the court to deal with cases justly and at proportionate cost. Dealing with a case justly includes, as far as is practicable:

- a. Ensuring that the parties are on an equal footing;
- b. Saving expense;
- c. Dealing with the case in ways which are proportionate –
  - (i) To the amount of money involved;
  - (ii) To the importance of the case;
  - (iii) To the complexity of the issues;
  - (iv) To the financial position of each party;
- C. Ensuring that it is dealt with expeditiously and fairly; and
- D. Allotting to it an appropriate share of the court's resources, while taking into account the need to allot resources to other cases.

**Case Management** - It is proposed that a positive duty be given to the court so that every case be controlled by the judiciary rather than leaving the conduct of the case to the parties and therefore bring the cases to trial quickly and efficiently. It is envisaged that all the litigants in the proposed new system will have much less control over the pace of the case than in the past. The case will be subject to timetable and parties will not be able to draw out proceedings and cause delay.

The Judiciary will:

- 1) Encourage parties to co-operate with each other in conduct of the proceedings
- 2) Identify the issues at an early stage
- 3) Encourage parties to use Alternative Dispute Resolution
- 4) Help parties to settle whole or part of the case.

Under the proposed reforms cases must be assigned to 1 of the 3 tracks, namely small claims; quick fast track and multi-track as all these have their own separate regime depending primarily on financial value of claim.

## Small Claims

Claims with a value of not more than Naira 10,000 will be usually allocated to the Small Claims Track unless, the amount claimed for pain, suffering, and loss of amenity in a particular Case is more than Naira 10,000; or the cost of the repairs or other work to residential premises claimed against the landlord by a tenant is estimated to be more than Naira 10,000 - whether or not they are also seeking another remedy - or the financial value of any claim in addition to those repairs is more than Naira 10,000.

The procedure for the category will be controlled by Magistrate judges on an informal basis. The trial of the case in this category must not likely last for more than one day; oral expert evidence at trial will be in more than two fields; or there will be more than one expert per party in each field. The Case can be decided without needing substantial pre hearing preparation and the formalities of substantial trial and also without incurring large legal costs.

## Quick Fast Track

Claims with a financial value of more than Ten Thousand Naira 10,000, for which the Small Claims Track is not the normal track will be allocated to the Quick Fast Track unless, the trial is likely to last for more than one day; oral expert evidence at trial will be in more than two fields; or there will be more than one expert per party in each field.

Limit for small claims cases is One Hundred Thousand Naira (100,000). Cases involving amounts between Naira 100,000 are for this track unless they are deemed unsuitable. A set timetable of no more than 15 weeks to trial, limited pre-trial procedure, trial restricted to no more than 5 hours, restriction on oral evidence form experts and recovery of standard fixed costs as a concept to be established.

## Multi Track

Any case not allocated to either the Small Claims- or the Quick Fast Track is allocated to the Multi Track. Cases involving amounts in excess of the quick fast track category limit or cases with lesser amounts which are considered too complex or too important to be dealt with as small claims or fast track cases, are allocated to the multi-track category.

A set timetable of no more than 30 weeks to trial, limited pre-trial procedure, trial restricted to no more than 5 hours, restriction on oral evidence form experts and recovery of standard fixed costs as a concept to be established.

## Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)

ADR measures are engaged to urge people and encouraged people to resort to alternative grievance resolution procedures, before taking up the judicial action and saves a lot of time and avoids the ever escalating litigation costs.

## Experts

Expert evidence because of its excessive expense, delay in some cases and complexity, will be managed by the Judiciary in a system where a single expert is appointed, or both parties agree to appoint own expert(s) who would owe his allegiance to the court rather than the parties.

## Court Bundle - Method of Reducing Court Time

As a case approaches a hearing in court, one method of reducing the time spent is by preparing a "court bundle". Court bundles are usually required for any case that appears in court. The idea is that the judge will be able to pre-read all the relevant documents in the case. All the parties will also have all the evidence and copies of any precedents collected together in one place, making it easier to refer to information during the trial. In theory there is no reason why simply making copies of all the relevant documents in a case should be problematic.

The responsibility for preparing the bundle usually falls to the party that made the application for a hearing.



**Contents of a court bundle:** A court bundle should contain copies of the following documents, in chronological order from the front of the bundle:

- a. Preliminary documents and any case management documents;
- b. Applications and orders;
- c. Statements and affidavits (which must be dated in the top right corner of the front page);
- d. Experts' reports and other reports; and
- e. Any other documents, divided into further sections as appropriate.

In addition to these documents, some courts require up-to-date summaries of matters relevant to the hearing; statements of issues to be determined; position statements from each party, including a summary of orders sought; a chronology; skeleton arguments; and lists of essential reading.

**Format of the bundle:** Bundles are usually contained in one or more A4-size ring binders or lever arch files (each lever arch file being limited to about 350 pages).

All ring binders and lever arch files need to be clearly marked on the front and the spine with:

- a. The title and number of the case;
- b. The court where the case has been listed;
- c. The hearing date and time;
- d. Name of the judge hearing the case (if known);
- e. Where there is more than one ring binder or lever arch file, a distinguishing letter (A, B, C)

**Pre-action Protocols:** To support the ethos of narrowing the issues prior to the use of proceedings and encapsulate best practice, the Court Procedure Rules (CPR) shall be reviewed and introduced with "pre-action protocols". They are given force by Practice Direction – Protocols

Pre-action protocols outline the steps that parties should take in particular types of dispute to seek information from, and to provide information to, each other prior to making a legal claim. This will entail setting out the claim in full to the defendant in an attempt to negotiate a settlement. The emphasis is placed on co-operation to identify the main issues. Failure to co-operate may lead cost penalties, regardless of the eventual outcomes of the case.

**Practice Direction:** The Practice Direction shall define the purpose of pre-action protocols as:

- Encouraging the early exchange of all information relating to the prospective legal claim
- Aiding settlement of the claim without the commencement of proceedings
- Producing a foundation for efficient case management where litigation cannot be avoided

**Proposed Pre-action Protocols:** Protocol Publication to come into Force with lists of classification of type of cases such as: Construction and Engineering Disputes; Trade and Commercial Disputes; Defamation; Disease and Illness Claims; Disrepair Cases; Judicial Review; Personal Injury Claims, Land law Cases; Housing and Possession claims based on Rent Arrears; Professional Negligence; Corporate Manslaughter Cases and Resolution of Clinical Disputes etc.

**Creation of the Rules:** The CPR shall be made by a committee called the Civil Procedure Rule Review Committee. Members of the committee shall consist of:

**Ex officio**

- The Chief Justice of the Federation
- The Federal Attorney General of the Federation.

Those appointed by Federal Attorney General of the Federation are:-

- Two or three judges of the Supreme Courts
- Two Court of Appeal Judges
- Two High Court judges
- Two Magistrate and Customary Court Judges each.



Those appointed by the Chief Justice of the Federation are:-

- Two persons who are Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN), including at least handling one Supreme Court Case with particular experience of practice in the Supreme Court.
- Five persons each who have been authorised by a relevant approved regulator to conduct litigation in relation to all proceedings in the Federal Court of Appeal, Federal High Court and the Federal Magistrate Court including at least one with particular experience of practice in the Customary Court.
- Two persons with professional experience in any field with some knowledge of the private sector or consumer affairs.

**Rulemaking procedure:** Rules must be approved by at least Eleven (11) members of the Committee, and submitted to the Chief Justice of the Federation, who may allow or disallow them. Where he decides to disallow, he must express his reasons for doing so in writing.

## INVESTING IN A FUTURE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE : EDUCATION AND TACKLING YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT



**Greg Ekhtator**  
IBM Certified Solutions Advisor

Greg Ekhtator is an IBM Certified Solutions Advisor, he secured his BSc and MSc Hons in the United Kingdom. A co-founding member along with Monday Osaigbovo Agbonze of a think-tank called Propelling Africa Psyche Systems (PAPS).

He is also a solution designer/architect Project manager. LCMS moodle, African mobile learning projects and e-enablement Specialties: Pedagogy, competence, talent management, LCMS.

### CO-AUTHOR

**Monday Osaigbovo Agbonze** is a successful recording artist who has written and sung many songs decrying Nigeria's dilemma.

In every aspect of Nigeria and when elucidating the Nigerian problems, it soon becomes clear that there is a dearth of moral standards, of enlightenment, of the cumulative attitude that builds incrementally on top of each other from generation to generation.

To reverse this situation, there should be a strategy to beam light (media attention/publicity) on to role models, Role models that embody the correct values for Nigeria. It is the increased consciousness of these positives that will gradually counter the negatives and thereby rectify our collective moral compass.

At the very base of our educational system should there be a fit for purpose cumulative corrective action, auditing system based on FORESIGHT. This system should measurably sustain a cascading psyche of empowerment that flows predictably from skilled teachers to pupils starting from primary school and all the way this enlightenment system of thinking should be monitored into graduation from tertiary institutions of learning.

Intrinsic for this enlightenment system which we can call "Foresight Reorientation System" (FRS) is for its PURPOSE TO BE CLEAR. ie a 20 year collective mind-set engineering program with standards, from which content is derived to ensure the learning is achieved and demonstrated to meet those standards. This Paper is in 4 broad sections: Background of problem; The real problem; Features of a Creative Solution; Benefits for the future.

### Background of problem

At the moment "Success" to the average youth means having plenty of money to splash around and show off with regardless of how the money was made. This has been the case in Nigeria for a while; and the cause of that mind-set is exactly what needs to be addressed and that false programming changed.

A common pattern throughout Nigeria is the lack of long-term solutions to today's problems and this has been so perhaps even before the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914. Actually the first person who scholarly noticed this is often not taken seriously due to the colonial motive in his findings. However, have we disproved Lugard? In his summary of the two typical character traits of Nigerians he noticed are (1) Lack of apprehension from the past and (b) Inability to visualise the future. (F. Lugard 1926).

At the time of independence from the British in 1960, if we listen to the leaders of the time speak (Tafawa Balewa) we can glean the level of education they received and the insights they perceived based on their utterances. We are also able to do the same through the years with different Nigerian leaders to get a measurable indication of the quality of education that eventually bubbled to the very top of Nigeria as they become leaders.

Therefore from this we can deduce that though there was some level of myopia at the time of independence and design of Nigerian education system, we should also notice that this myopia apparently has gotten worse since independence. The oil boom of the early 1970's is a clear example of this Myopia/lack of foresight, with the gross squander mania, misappropriation of funds and galloping corruption at the time. A crucial time when Nigerians learned many corrupt bad habits, that are remain unlearned.

Any Nigerian who grew up in Nigeria between 1979 and 1984 will have noticed a change in the average Nigerian psyche, regarding what success means and the acceptable means of achieving success. We should identify the encoding points during this era, and the strategy is through situated pedagogy techniques (J Kitchens 2009), to reverse engineer the learning process to be compatible with the generation of the youth's parents.

**A. Moral compass:** Pre 1980 our idea of who was successful and the meaning of success was of a person having a good enough paying job and living a responsible life. At the time while there was luxurious material goods around, there was not unbearable pressure to get them, and society idea of what is normal family standard of living, did not include outrageous material goods.

In 1980, was the advent of the 2nd republic, a new political era, and this is when as youngsters we on average as a nation got spoilt with too much money than we were responsible enough to manage. As a consequence we had some civil servants and business people who were well connected, now exposed to too much wealth than they realised how to be responsible for.

In that period, due to corruption, children learned at the most impactful period in their life; the short-term benefits of corruption. Then, if you were a corrupt politician, you were celebrated by your constituents and admired, regardless of the fact that the constituents weren't enjoying him serving them. Instead of the constituents rebuking and voting out the politician, the status quo was to become like the politicians thus the moral compass changed in 1980.

**B. Role models:** Following up from corrupted moral compass, is the result of wrong or poor Role Models in society!! Where thieves and looters are being celebrated such as Bode George and James Ibori.

Of course the believers in these bad role models always have a touching excuse but even Adolf Hitler and Saddam Hussein have sympathisers too. The very sad point in this, is those who hold on to their high moral standards are shunned by society, because they are now the antithesis of what they believe brings wealth and success.

Becoming the best at whatever God-given skill one has polished is no longer a sure banker for success but rather becoming an oppressor and sycophant to the corrupt is who becomes the sure banker.



### The real problem

Poor moral compass from an early age coupled with Short term vision and goals. To reverse this situation; there should be a strategy to beam light (media attention/publicity) on to role models, Role models that embody the correct values for Nigeria. It is the increased consciousness of these positives that will gradually counter the negatives and thereby rectify our collective moral compass.

Therefore for the Nigerian psyche to shift to be more long-term focused, we need to start early to teach pupils in primary school the purpose of thinking long-term and realising the benefits of foresight thought a "Foresight Reorientation System" (PRS). This system measurably sustains a cascading psyche of empowerment that flows predictably from skilled teachers to pupils right from primary school and all the way this enlightenment system of thinking should be monitored into graduation from tertiary institutions of learning designed to monitor over 20 years/a generation.

When a child has it encoded in them what is right and wrong for their future, it often guides them throughout their lives, and these ideals are deliberated upon as they progress in learning and thus their national contribution to society.



**Features of a creative solution**

The features of a creative solution crystallized clearly in this illustration:

Research into community heroes

- > Identifying the good role models, and what makes them good and what actions made them good
- > Honour them in a Wall of Fame vs dishonoured "Wall of Shame" that the educational board can reference at any time both locally and nationally
- > Reengineer the school curriculum to have "Foresight" as one of the "Subjects" from Secondary School upwards
- > Training the teachers consistently to the emerging standard
- > These standards should include those for all skillsets from Mechanics to Machinists, From Drivers to Doctors. From Builders to Bankers. The corresponding good role models on the wall of shame, with boost the national psyche and pride in EMPLOYMENT as well as boost demand for work, now that supply of labour as available for industry that until now labour had been imported expensively.
- > Monitoring of the Psyche reorientation system over a 20 year/generation period, to see how much of goals have been met per design.

**Benefits for the future**

- The benefits are ease of implementing standards and getting results
- Less effort in fighting crime, as the worthlessness long term will be realised
- More investment of time and effort in long term projects ie collaboration
- An explosion of trust which indispensable to have a thriving business environment
- A boom in international investment, as investors love an environment with great forecasts for the future.
- Excellent skilful practices and recognising mediocrity and incompetence, the value of training, talent development and adopting a standard of measurement for job performance. Thus boosting employment!

**Conclusion**

Design and integration of a "Foresight Reorientation System" (FRS) into the educational curriculum starting from primary education and monitored all the way to tertiary education, over a generation.



LIBERATE: Delta people's Movement

**THE FUTURE IS  
POWERED BY  
YOUNG PEOPLE**

## RESTORING POWER TO THE PEOPLE - ELECTORAL REFORM



**Ufuoma Atsiangbe**  
Epad Coordinator

*Ufuoma Atsiangbe* is the first child of Late Chief (Sir) Patrick Atsiangbe, the first PDP Chairman of Ughelli South LGA and the Urhukpe of Olomu Kingdom, who was later part of the APC merger committee before his demise. Ufuoma was a former Legislative Aide to the astute and admirable Late Senator (Barr) Ewherido when he was the Deputy Speaker of the Delta State House of Assembly.

He holds a Masters Degree from Newcastle University UK in Marine Transport & Management and currently based in Luton, UK. He has a keen interest in politics and have been in the Nigeria political arena since 1999. He is a vast reader and involved in historical research.

It has been said that democracy is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. But since the advent of Nigeria democracy in 1999 it has been government of the cabals, by the cabals and for the cabals.

The Nigeria Elites have turned democracy to cash and carry and destroyed all institutions of electoral process where they have succeeded in inventing a new word called STOMACH INFRASTRUCTURE to continue to impoverish the people. They have left the people in a state of despair invariably making the people to abandon their power and strength of the ballot for peanuts. THE WORST FORM OF FRAUD THAT CAN DESTROY A GENERATION IS ELECTORAL FRAUD

If we must move forward as a people and recapture our rights as a people, we must make conscious effort to say NO enough is enough to all forms of electoral malpractices and vices because at the end of the day it is still the same as they used in achieving their electoral fraud.

Let's be clear! The momentum and passion displayed in the just concluded elections proved that Power truly belongs to the people. But we must fight hard to enthrone it with common sense and work harder for it even though indices on ground are not to our favour as a people.

We must be resilient as a people to stand for what is right and just in midst of intimidation and brutality by the Elites who have no respect for the ballot. The kind of resilient displayed by the young lady in a polling booth that demanded that she wants to make sure her vote is counted and result sheet signed before she will leave the polling booth. Even when the police and electoral officers were trying to intimidate her. She stood her ground and simply called her parents to inform them that in case she was arrested, this is where they will find her. She called the state electoral office and reported the malpractices; they had no choice but to do the right thing. Also, the kind of resilient those Bauchi youths displayed by keeping vigil in INEC office.



The Uwais Report on Electoral Reform of 2008 is the latest report that is yet to see the light of the day. The Electoral Act of 2010 is a far cry of the Report. This is one report that will address electoral malpractices and give back power to the people if fully implemented by the government and adhered to by all stakeholders including the people. The government must do more and continue to do more.



The Electronic Voters Card and the Card Reader has shown that a lot can be achieved in terms of curbing electoral fraud. The Card Reader must be used to validate casted votes since we saw the benefits when used for accreditation of voters. Also, the establishment of special tribunal for electoral matters is a welcome development. Longer jail terms with a minimum of 10 years without fine should serve as punishment. The power to recall any Councillor, House of Assembly Member, House of Representative Member and Senator lies with the people and the people must realise this. These are ways of restoring power back to the people.

We must continually use all organs of government to educate and enlighten the people especially those in the rural areas and those that need to be unlearn to relearn about their civic responsibility, voters orientation, the power of the ballot and all other electoral matters.

We cannot talk of electoral reform and restoring power back to the people without mentioning the security forces responsible for providing the enabling environment for any free and fair election.

The Police must wake up to their responsibilities, be professional at all times and remain neutral and unbiased. It is no news that our Police always compromised during elections and in the course of discharging their responsibilities. Citizen's Arrest should be introduced in our system. This will give the people a moral boost and confidence which invariably restore power to the people.

Above all, the people must shun all forms of violence and stomach infrastructure. INEC must go the extra mile by preparing ahead and make concrete accommodation for all logistics problems associated with elections including its ad hoc personnel. We are aware of corrupt electoral officers both from top to bottom who try to undermine the choice of the people. Such characters should be dealt with strong punitive measures to serve as deterrent.

Let me conclude with the following quote that "we hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights"

Your vote is your power so do not use it foolishly!



## INVESTING IN A FUTURE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE : EDUCATION AND TACKLING YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT



**Elvis V. Onovughe**  
Postgraduate (Doctoral) Researcher  
at University of Liverpool, UK

*Elvis Onovughe* is a Postgraduate (Doctoral) Researcher at the University of Liverpool, United Kingdom. He recently submitted his PhD thesis and awaiting his viva. He completed his BSc degree in Applied Physics (Geophysics) at the University of Lagos, and his MSc in Exploration Geophysics at the University of Benin, both in Nigeria.

Elvis Onovughe is an academic researcher whose research interest is in geomagnetism ( a branch of geophysics), focussing on the Earth's magnetic diurnal variation field and its applications in magnetic exploration methods. Outside active academic work, Elvis interest lies in current affairs, politics and sports.

### Abstract

Millions of young people in Nigeria face a bleak future amidst government failure to give them quality education, decent work and allow them participate in political life in the society. The strengths, talents and potentials that young people can contribute to the Nigerian economy and the broader community are in danger of being wasted. Too many young people lack the resources they need to lift them out of poverty, even though they represent a vital opportunity to strengthen the nation's productive capacity. Nigeria cannot afford to leave large numbers of young people at the margins of the labour market, where they represent avoidable naira-cost to our public services and cannot contribute to national growth. Investing in young people will lead to national gains for Nigeria, social stability, security and sustenance of past investment. Nigeria needs policies and programme that will enhance development of young people and protect their interests. This paper briefly explores some of the possible ways out for better investing in young people's future in terms of education and tackling unemployment. Information used in this paper was generated from secondary sources and general observation available in the public domain.

### Introduction

In Nigeria, young people are currently facing difficult situations, especially in the labour market, and it is no secret that they feel alienated from mainstream politics. So as the new government takes over, it is important they look at what policies young people might wish to see implemented. A progressive government must focus on improving the prospects for young people in today's Nigeria. The main priority for young people is improving their employment opportunities. The new government must prioritise helping young people into genuine employment. Young people need quality education, secure work and stability to build their lives and become more optimistic about their futures. We need to build their skills and equip them to drive the economy future of the country. The current economic situation for young people has not only made coping with the present difficult, it makes planning for the future impossible.

An important indication of a strong economy is the extent to which young people are set up for fulfilling working lives. Building on the creativity and talent of the next generation is a sure way of a country that wants to succeed. Nigeria cannot succeed when young people are locked out of quality education/training opportunities, decent jobs and homes. The new government must set a clear vision for young people, where they are supported in pursuit of a better future, where none is left behind due to discrimination or lack of opportunity and a vision where the next generation can do better than the last.

## The Issues

**High Youth Unemployment:** The unemployment rate for young people in Nigeria is unacceptably high and is forecast to further increase. Even with the dearth of accurate statistical data on such things in Nigeria, the figures coming out of official sources are still very alarming. The National Bureau for statistics (NBS) reported that 54% of Nigerian youths were unemployed in 2012. Of this figures, females account for 51.9% and male 48.1%. Relatedly, the Minister of Finance and Coordinating Minister of the Economy, Dr Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, admitted that the rate of unemployment is really alarming. Quoting another NBS report, she declared that 1.8million youths enter into the job market recently. At a recent event, The Platform, held in the nation's capital, Abuja, the Vice President-Elect, Professor Yemi Osinbajo, while outlining the enormous tasks of the incoming administration, said the graduate unemployment rate in Nigeria is as high as 80% while the general unemployment rate is over 40%! It is instructive to note that Nigeria was ranked 153 out of 186 countries in the 2013 United Nations Human Development Index report. The World Bank states that job creation in Nigeria has been inadequate to keep pace with the expanding working age population, causing social distress for an increasing number of young people in Nigeria. So bad is the situation that if urgent and workable decisions are not taken, it could be capable of far reaching cataclysmic consequences. Even where jobs are available, the increasing employer-lead demand for a higher-skilled workforce in terms of education and training is a major contributing factor to the systemic youth unemployment. Young people are forever being told "you're not qualified", "you don't have the skills", or "you're not experienced enough" by potential employers.

**Education and Training:** Earlier generations of young people in Nigeria could walk into a decent job without finishing school. Today it is much harder to do. Badly managed economy and corrupt governance, coupled with technological change has resulted in the disappearance of many entry-level jobs that existed a generation ago. Increasingly, these sectors require tertiary qualifications. There is an increasing emphasis on qualification as a prerequisite for work, and a growing demand for higher skills.

Our educational system does not do enough to set up young people up for a career. Around 60% of young people will not achieve university qualification. They are reliant on Vocational Education and Training (VET) system as the main avenue for gaining recognised vocational qualifications. Those who leave the school system without functional levels of literacy or numeracy also rely on the VET system to build their foundation skills so that they can move into further study or work.

Previous government in Nigeria have not provided the needed investment in tertiary education or the VET system. As a result, course completion rates are low and training is not providing strong pathways into work for young people experiencing barriers to employment. The move to a demand-led system is proving fraught with risks for young people.

Meanwhile, young people that do not go to university face a confusing mix of vocational programmes, many of which fail to offer progression into good jobs or further study. Apprenticeships and traineeships provide one of the few opportunities to combine paid work and structured training as part of a recognised qualification. They provide an effective pathway to a secure future in the labour force. Apprenticeships are critical to building skills needed in the workforce now and in the future. The volumes of apprenticeship and traineeship opportunities have declined drastically.

## POSSIBLE WAY OUT

Action to tackle youth unemployment must be coordinated with action to stimulate the general economic recovery. This is because the rising level of unemployment amongst young people depends on the overall health of the nation's economy. The new government must invest in and encourage initiatives to promote entrepreneurship, and to retain as many existing jobs as possible. Measures should also be taken to encourage job creation by big businesses and Small and Medium-scale Enterprises (SME). Real improvement in the situation of young people depends to a large extent on state support and improved cooperation between employment services, career advisory services, education/training institutions and youth support services.

The situation of youth unemployment can be improved by implementing fundamental reforms to Nigeria education system. Our education delivery system needs to be modernised by transforming education policy into basic instrument for investing in the future of young people and improving their situation in the labour market, by adapting the school curriculum to current and future labour market needs. Greater efforts are needed to close the gap between the skills of graduates and the needs of the labour market. This can be achieved by better adapting education and training curricula. Another way is focusing on 'dual education' and promoting transversal skills. Dual education is a system of training which provides young people the opportunity to combine workplace experience and practice with vocational education. High quality traineeships are an opportunity to prepare young people for specific jobs, thus increasing their competitiveness on the labour market.

There is need to help and encourage young people to gain required entry-level skills essential for accessing employment. Government should pressure employers into providing more entry-level jobs with in-work training available. Training opportunities, apprenticeships and financial support should be provided to enable young people gain the skills and experience required to provide better opportunities to be successful throughout life. By investing in the future of young people, the government will be investing in the future of Nigeria. The incoming government must prioritise this. By ignoring this, the country will be in danger of leaving behind a generation.

One very important element in any policy for introducing young people to the labour market is to promote self-employment. All actions aimed at developing entrepreneurship, independent initiatives and developing individual talents should be encouraged and supported. Young people should know how to go about setting up their own businesses, and where they can find help and assistance with the administration. The system of benefits and preferential conditions in the form of tax exemptions or reliefs should encourage them to do so. That is why it is vital that the idea of supporting self-employment and providing help to obtain start-up funds is pursued and well implemented.

### **Policy Recommendations**

Despite being endowed with diverse and infinite resources, both human and material, years of corruption, neglect, mismanagement and adverse policies have led to under-utilization of these resources. Part of the result is the poor quality of education and crippling youth unemployment. Below are some itemised summarised policy recommendations of some ways in which the incoming government can invest in the future of young people in order to tackle education and youth unemployment.

- A. Reform the training system to better prepare young people for work.
  - i. Review the whole education curriculum, from primary to tertiary, to make it adaptable to current and future realities.
  - ii. Lift the performance of vocational education and training system. Ensure that you don't have to go to university to get on, with guaranteed high quality apprenticeship for all school leavers that are willing to go through that route.
  - iii. Federal government should work with states and local governments to establish a system to immediately identify, and engage support for, those who leave school prematurely.

- B. Assist young people to build job readiness.
  - i. Strengthen relevant agencies and parastatals to assist and enable young people who are unemployed to become work-ready and connect with employment opportunities.
  - ii. Invest in jobs of the future, by working to make Nigeria a leader in areas where we have comparative advantage in solid minerals and agriculture over the next decade, creating millions of additional jobs.
- C. Stimulate the availability of entry level opportunities for young people.
  - i. Arrest the decline of apprenticeship and traineeships by creating the enabling environment and expanding the opportunities for businesses to take on young people without carrying the employment risk.
  - ii. Create incentives for employers to hire young people as apprentices and trainees in areas of skills shortage and priority occupation areas.
  - iii. Require contractors undertaking publicly-funded projects of substantial size to provide structured employment and training opportunities for young people.
- D. Exploit the effects of governments, communities and businesses to tackle youth unemployment.
  - i. Establish a Ministerial Taskforce on Youth Employment that reports to Cabinet/Federal executive Council (FEC), to drive a whole of government approach to boosting youth employment. This taskforce will develop the delivery of Youth Employment Action Plan, in consultation with communities, unions and businesses.

### **Conclusion**

Ensuring the wellbeing of young people and general residents of Nigeria still remains the most important responsibility of government. The incoming government needs to show the young people that politicians are serious about addressing these key issues. A government that prioritises the needs of young people would significantly improve political engagement, as well as give the economy a much-needed boost. A skilled, well-paid young workforce will not only allow Nigeria to compete globally, it will grow the economy and allow investment in public services like health and education to the benefit of all. While failure to acknowledge the issues affecting young people will exacerbate current sense of disillusionment and anger at the politicians. Young people cannot be a footnote in politicians' manifestoes or campaign promises anymore. If the incoming government do not want young people to feel failed by the system, they must prove that governance can meaningfully improve young people's lives – and that begins with listening to young people's needs.

## A PLAN FOR THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY



**Frank Ofili**  
Human Resource Practitioner

Frank Ofili is a human resource practitioner, writer and socio-political analyst. He has more than fifteen years of experience in human resource management. He has worked in roles up to the executive management level in companies across diverse industries.

He is a member of the Centre for Values in Leadership; member, Chartered Institute of Personnel Management of Nigeria; member, Society for Human Resource Management; member, Institute of Professional Managers and Administrators and member, Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria.

He is the founder of PHR Consulting, and co-founder Anioma Voice Worldwide Foundation, a community interest foundation. He brings a balanced perspective to socio-political, personal and professional development.

In-coming President Muhammadu Buhai's administration seems to have its work clearly cut out for it with regard to the Nigerian economy. To all intents and purposes, the administration is condemned to perform or face the prospect of the faith that befell out-going President Jonathan. The Nigerian economy is no doubt in doldrums, but then has it not always been that way? The economy seems to be perpetually in quagmire even as it undergoes one policy tinkering after another. From all indications, it seems the country's policy makers since Independence have never got it right with the economy, as things go from bad to worse under different regimes. Any serious effort to suggest an economic policy agenda for the country, then, is not expected to be an easy one, given the antecedents. Everyone appears to know what the problems are but no one appears to have the answer. Looking back in retrospect, it will not be all together incorrect to aver that oil has been more a curse to Nigeria than a blessing.

What then are the solutions to the myriad economic problems plaguing the country? What economic policy thrust should the in-coming administration adopt in order to address the structural imbalance in the economy, and thus reduce over-reliance on oil revenue? These and many more were examined in this paper. Figures quoted in this paper were from official government sources.

### OVER-VIEW OF THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY IN 2013

In April 2014, Nigeria carried out a statistical "re-basing" of her economy. After the exercise Nigeria emerged as Africa's largest economy, with 2013 GDP estimated at US\$ 502 billion. But oil remains the dominant source of government revenues, even with limited new investment in that sector. In fact Nigeria's oil production contracted in 2013, yet government sources claimed that the Nigerian economy grew at a rapid 6-8% per annum (pre-rebasing), driven by growth in agriculture, telecommunications, and services. Despite the bright picture painted by Finance Minister Okonjo-Iweala in her media briefing post-rebasing exercise, the reality on ground tells a different story as unemployment rate today is about 24% (up from 11.8% in 2011); exchange rate which was N119 to the dollar in 2011 is today hovering at between N190 and N200, pump price of fuel was N65 per litre, today it is officially N87 (reduced from N97) but unofficially about N120; poverty level was about 54% in 2011, today it is about 71%; GDP growth rate was 11%, today it is about 6%; Inflation rate is about 9%; interest rate remains high at 13% and life expectancy 52.62 years. Given the above scenario, there is no gain-saying the fact that the in-coming government of General Muhammadu Buhari has its work cut out for him. How he will set about turning the economy around is the focus of the next chapter.

## Economic Policy Imperative for Buhari

The economic reality in Nigeria today clearly shows that the in-coming government of President Buhari will need to put on its thinking cap for the purpose of putting in place policy imperatives that would, to all intents and purposes, determine the success or failure of the regime. Beyond the "change" mantra of the APC, it should be clear to any discerning fellow that governance in Nigeria should no longer be business as usual. An entirely new approach founded on leadership transparency, discipline, accountability and integrity is now a must if the President Buhari regime will have any hope of pulling Nigeria out of the woods. No doubt, expectations are high that Buhari will provide an antidote to the country's most daunting problems of epileptic power supply, poverty, corruption and unemployment.

Before examining these one after another perhaps it is apt to suggest that with the first ever change of federal government from a ruling party to an opposition party, we should begin to seriously consider May 29 to May 28 as Nigeria's fiscal year in order to align with our established election time table and also prevent politically induced budget truncation halfway into the year, on the advent of a new leadership after elections.

## POWER SECTOR REFORM

The power sector has gulped billions upon billions of dollars over the years without anything to show for it. Stable electricity supply remains elusive even as Nigerians are compelled to pay huge electricity tariffs for services not enjoyed. The sector has gone through one re-jigging or the other, all to no avail. The Buhari administration should therefore consider the following measures:

- i. Investigate how Nigeria was left with over N400bn debt after the privatization of the Power Holding Company of Nigeria distribution network.
- ii. Continue with the NIPP project but **stop breast-feeding the power distribution companies** with selective interest waivers which have regrettably not resulted in low tariffs or improved performance.
- iii. **Fast-track the adoption of gas for generating power**, as gas is considerably cheaper at below \$3 per cubic metre and remains a much cleaner form of energy.
- iv. Put in place an **institutional legal framework in which power and energy sectors are converged** so as to facilitate transportation of gas to the power sections. This is necessary considering that Nigeria's gas reserves are a thousand times in excess of her crude oil reserves. Therefore converging these two sectors would bring about greater efficiency and coordination

## CORRUPTION

Corruption is endemic in Nigeria with the massive looting of public funds, profligate spending of public office holders, over-invoicing and kindred other corrupt practices. The Buhari government must, of necessity take bold and courageous steps in tackling corruption if it is to make any meaningful impact in the lives of Nigerians. To have any hope of reducing corruption, the Buhari government must:

- i. Take deliberate steps to **build strong institutions** as opposed to strong personalities. Under President Jonathan, Nigeria's two foremost anti-corruption institutions - the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) - were crippled with lack of funds. Both institutions became moribund as no one, absolutely no one, came under their searchlight even in the face of massive looting by anyone privileged enough to wield little authority. Buhari's government must therefore show commitment to building, strengthening and sustaining the independence of these anti-graft agencies as well as the Judiciary.
- ii. In addition to the above, the in-coming administration should consider proposing a *bill to remove the clause "proof beyond reasonable doubt"* before conviction on corruption charge can be legally obtained. I opine that failure for an accused to sufficiently prove the source of his/her wealth should be sufficient ground to procure a conviction. This suggestion however is without prejudice to justice process of investigation, trial and conviction or acquittal
- iii. **Banks and other financial institutions should be statutorily empowered to demand the source and purpose of large deposits** in excess of a prescribed limit in cash, cheque or transfers into anyone/organisation's bank account. Multiple deposits even within the prescribed limit should also be subjected to this regulation. Any bank found in breach of the proposed regulation should be regarded as being complicit in questionable transaction. The current regulation where banks are only required to report to the Special Frauds Unit of the Nigeria Police Force, the EFCC, NDLEA, NDIC transactions exceeding N5,000,000 for organisations and N500,000 for individuals has proven inadequate.
- iv. **Immunity clause protecting serving public office holders should also be removed.** There is no reason whatsoever to retain this clause in our statute books. If a serving public office holder is accused of corruption, there is no reason why he should not appear before a competent court of law to prove himself innocent.



Rather the approach should emphasize agro-based institutional frameworks that would see to the **establishment of rural community-based agricultural banks** through which loans can be channeled to rural farmers – with conditions of course – at single digit interest rate. This framework should also include establishment of Agricultural Processing Zones as processing harvested products guarantees good value on the farmers produce. Although several loan facilities exist through the Bank of Agriculture (BOA) and Bank of Industry (BOI) respectively, these are limited to urban areas and, most of the time, bogged down by excess bureaucracy such that these loans are disbursed to needy farmers late in the year. Even then, rural farmers are hardly aware of these facilities.

- iv. As a way to **diversify the economy** and reduce over-dependence on oil revenue, the Buhari government should look seriously in the area revitalizing the manufacturing sector. It is one sector that can generate the desired employment. The textile industry, for instance, has been comatose for many years now. The government must do everything to revitalize it. There was talk of about \$700 million bail-out fund for that industry a couple of years back. Nobody knows what has happened to it. There are other sectors suffering similar fate. The government must revisit Vision 20:20:20 with a view to fashioning out a **National Development Plan that will focus on 2035 or even 2040** as 2020 has become unrealistic. To ensure that this policy is pursued by governments after Buhari, it should be supported with an Act of the National Assembly, as well as involve inputs from states and local governments, organized private sector, and other stake holders. In short, a commission should be established to oversee its implementation. The policy should of course not exclude provision for the environment.

## EDUCATION

Despite the huge resources committed to education over the years by successive governments, very little has been achieved. The licensing of more universities has not helped much in improving the standard of education, nor has it helped in reducing the army of those seeking tertiary education. Students seeking tertiary education are subjected to all sorts of obstacles as JAMB takes one misstep after another. Post UTME examinations have also become a tool for favouritism such that one is tempted to say that there is now no justifiable basis for the post UTME to remain as its original purpose has been defeated.

Even when intending students are lucky to gain admission to tertiary institutions all sorts of obstacles are thrown on their way in the course of their academic pursuit. Little wonder they cut corners to facilitate their admission and graduation, sometimes tacitly supported by their parents/guardians, hence the quality of graduates produced by our tertiary institutions has become abysmally low. Many of the graduates are not employable because they lack the basic skills their vocations demand. In addition to all these, there is hardly enough grant for academics to undertake research. In light of the above, it is recommended that Buhari government should:

- i. Undertake a surgical operation of the education sector in order to cure it of the debilitating malaise that has troubled it over the years, moreso as education remains the bedrock of a nation's economy. One sure way to start is to **examine the existing education policy and align it with the industrial policy proposed above**. It is also desirable to review the entire curriculum with a view to setting a new benchmark for academic excellence
- ii. **Review the necessity for the retention of post UTME** or scrap it altogether as its purpose has been defeated
- iii. Undertake **massive capital investment in the education sector** in terms of physical infrastructures, expansion, rehabilitation of educational facilities and establishment of more tertiary institutions
- iv. Rather than continue to subsidize petroleum subsidy, it makes more economic sense to **subsidize education** as its long term gain cannot be quantified
- v. **Research grants should be increased and extended to academics on regular basis** with strict conditions which must include verifiable proof of the research outcome
- vi. Put in place **stricter regulatory framework for private schools** so as to curb the mushrooming of illegal and substandard schools offering unaccredited courses
- vii. **The 6-3-3-4 education system, while desirable, should be re-examined, rejigged and refocused** as it has lost one of its principal purposes of providing for those who could not secure admission into higher institutions. There is currently a wide skill gap arising from a total absence of career path for this category of Nigerians. In the absence of a workable policy framework to take care of this category of Nigerians crime, prostitution and other social vice easily become attractive to them.

## EDUCATION: POLICIES AND EMPLOYMENT CREATION



**Eddy Aghanenu**  
Educational Consultant

*Eddy Aghanenu* is from Ughelli North in Delta State. He attended University of Calabar. While he was in Calabar, he was involved in progressive student activism. He was the President of Movement for Progressive Nigeria (MPN), University of Calabar.

He was also a member of NANS Senate. After graduation, he taught in Sokoto and Lagos. He was the Zonal Organising Secretary (South South) of Good Governance Group. He is the Director of Education, Delta Rescue Mission (DRM). He is presently an Education Consultant. He has published several articles. He is married with children.

In traditional African education, education was geared towards building a total man – a man who is creative, able to cater for his family, morally upright, self-sufficient and a political leader. A man was unemployed in traditional African setting not because of lack of proper education but because of laziness or unwillingness to work. Both girls and boys were taught how to be fully engaged and self-sufficient. Though the education was informal, it nonetheless met the needs of the time. Parents were the teachers and the community was not left out. Children learnt the trade of their parents and even improved on them. It was a taboo to see one not meaningfully engaged. Okonkwo in Chinua Achebe's ever green book, *Things Fall Apart*, never wanted to be like his father who could feed his family. One can conclusively say that unemployment was alien in pre-colonial Africa and even during the early stages of colonialism.

With the coming of the forerunners of colonialism – the missionaries, western education was introduced. The aim then for the introduction of western education was to first mentally colonize the people preparatory to the eventual colonization of the country. This education is what Ngugi Wa'Thiongo in his book, *Petals Of Blood*, calls the three Cs – Christianity, Commerce and Colonialism. Enslave the man first mentally, then force him to an unbalanced trade and finally subjugate him. Prior to this, the Muslims have taken over most parts of the northern part of the country. They came with their Qur'anic education. The education was all religious based.

**Education During the Colonial Period:** The colonial masters followed up with the missionary form of education. The education was aimed at training middle manpower for the emerging civil service. The training was based on the three Rs – Reading, Writing and Arithmetic (Mathematics). These cannot prepare one enough to be self-reliant and forward looking. All the education ordinances of 1882, 1887, 1916, 1926, 1948 and 1952, the purpose of education was not significantly different from the earlier times – producing manpower for the civil service. Meanwhile, no deliberate attempt was made to make education accessible to all. It was fee paying. Emphasis was on arts and little or none of science. The products of these schools were therefore only employable in the civil service. With the establishment of University College, Ibadan in 1948, the mindset in the educational system did not change. It was still geared towards producing middle and higher manpower for the civil service.

**Revolution in Education:** With the coming of Chief Obafemi Awolowo as the premier of the Western Region, he felt that education was the key to development and that a country of illiterates will always be backward. He therefore, introduced a free and compulsory education in the region. It was a massive and very successful policy. In a few years, the school population in the region more than tripled. Since then, the western part of Nigeria has held the enviable record of having produced and still producing the highest number of school graduates. Unfortunately, the programme did not differ from the colonial policy of producing manpower for the civil service. No conscious effort was made to train individuals to be self-employed.

In 1976, the Obasanjo government introduced Universal Primary Education. It was a massive project to address increase in school population, Teachers' Training Colleges were made tuition-free. Short time programmes were introduced for school certificate graduates to be trained as teachers. This was called the pivotal programme which was either a year or two depending on the result of the applicant.

Obasanjo followed this up with the National Policy on Education in 1977 and revised in 1999; stating that:

- a. Education shall continue to be highly rated in national development plans because education is the most important instrument of change. Any fundamental change in the intellectual and social outlook of any society has to be preceded by education.
- b. Life-long education shall be the basis of the nation's educational policy.
- c. Educational activities shall be centered on the learner for maximum self-development and self-fulfillment
- d. Efforts shall be made to relate education to overall community needs.

There was a policy shift in education in 1999. From the 6-5-4 education system that has been practiced in the past, a new policy of 6-3-3-4 system was introduced. 6-5-4 was six years for primary school, five years for secondary and four years for university. 6-3-3-4 was six years for primary, three years for junior secondary school, three years for senior secondary school and four years for university. In the new policy, it was expected that at the junior secondary school level, some trade such as introductory technology, carpentry would be introduced. It was assumed that a junior secondary school graduate would have acquired some trade which he can use to successfully engage himself with if he did not proceed further with his education.

In 2009, this policy was modified to 9-3-4. The essence was the same. At the tertiary level, the educational policies have not drastically changed from that of colonial times. It was still geared towards producing manpower for the civil service and the private sector. Nigerian tertiary institutions are at the verge of collapse. It has been an abandoned sector. Right from the early 1990s, Nigerian tertiary sector has been an orphan. Funding has been very poor, with absence of research funds. It is politicized and stagnant. It has not been forward looking and not growing with the times and students are not challenged. Corruption has eaten deep into the system. Graduates of Nigerian tertiary institutions are lost in the society and more dependent on the civil service and private sector for employment. The trend in governance all over the world now is for lean government. Instead governments employing, they are dispensing with services. Government is encouraging graduates to look inwards, be creative and be an employer rather than an employee. The reality is that the Buhari administration will not employ millions of graduates into the civil service. What it will do is to create employment opportunities through infrastructural development and create an enabling environment for self-expression and actualization.

According to Chief Obafemi Awolowo when addressing the Nigerian Union of Teachers in 1947, education is "the process of physical and mental culture whereby a man's personality is developed to the fullest". Dr Frederico Major, then Director General of UNESCO said in 1993 at the International Commission on Education for 21<sup>st</sup> Century that "education is not only instilling knowledge, but awakening the enormous creative potential that lies within each of us, enabling us to develop to our fullest potential and better contribute to societies in which we live".

Is Nigeria educational system "awakening the enormous creative potential that lies within us"? There is no lack of good educational programmes in Nigeria. What has been lacking is that the country has been implementing new educational programmes with the same old method. There is no way a change can occur. According to Momoh U in his book *'Implementation of Educational Policies in Nigeria: Issues And Suggestions For Reform'* noted that "implementation has been the bane of most laudable education programmes in Nigeria. Education policies in Nigeria have been said to be among the best in the world... the effective implementation of these policies is lack of planning, continuity, contradictory policies, underfunding among others" (p147).

**Way Forward:** Buhari administration will be faced with massive unemployment. To forestall further increase in unemployment, the education sector needs to be reformed. If this is done, our schools will be producing potential employers and not potential employees. There has to be pragmatic education. An education that meets current needs! The country has been using the same educational system for close to one and a half century. First, his government has to stop the politicisation of our universities. Funding must be made available to tertiary institutions. Research must be encouraged. Every form of corruption in our tertiary institutions has to be stopped – from recruitment of staff to results of students.

Government has to introduce a general course for all students irrespective of the student's core course. This was done in the eighties with the introduction of General English. This course which is already being done at Covenant University is Entrepreneurial Studies. This should be a two year compulsory course. By the time, a student diligently does this course, knocking at offices looking for employment will be a thing of the past. A Business Incubation Centre should be established in all tertiary institutions where students have to share their ideas and source for fund. There is no harm in a student running his enterprise. The polytechnics should be strengthened and made more practical. This entrepreneurial course should be introduced there too. Vocational Centres at the junior secondary school should be well equipped, well-staffed and properly supervised. Government should establish capacity building centres in all states of the country to properly equip our graduates for self-employment.

## PROTECTING PUBLIC SERVICES – ‘EDUCATION’



**Daniel Amrohore**  
Teacher

*Daniel Amrohore*, hails from Evwreni town in Ughelli North Local Government Area of Delta State. He attended Unity School Agbarho (1978-1983) Bendel State University Abraka Campus (DELSU) and graduated in 1987. Went back to school (DELSU) in 1997 and graduated in 2002 where he read Accounting and Finance.

He is currently teaching with the Post Primary Education Board, Asaba and resides in Ughelli town. He is an honest and straight forward person, dislike the oppression of people. He loves playing scrabble and chess

Education is the bedrock of any society. Thus no nation can rise above the quality of education it gives to its citizens. As an institution, the services it renders are not quantifiable hence as a public service it has to be protected.

In Nigeria today the educational sector is in need of prompt, surgical and decisive but firm emergency intervention. While in the 70s education was tailored towards achieving an increase in the literacy levels in the country, today it is more in the survival of the people and the country. This write up will focus more on the PRIMARY AND SECONDARY level of education, if not for anything, but for the fact that this two constitute the bed rock of the education sector in Nigeria “as a house is only as strong as its foundation”. That today our institutions of higher learning are churning out half-baked and often times unemployable graduates is an axiomatic fact. So, how did we get here and what can we do?

**POPULATION GROWTH:** It is needless to say at this stage that our population has experienced an exponential increase since the 80s. as at 2009, there were a total of 54,434 public primary schools in the country with a total enrollment figures of 24,422,918 (twenty-four million, four hundred and twenty two thousand, nine hundred and eighteen) pupils and 7,129 (seven thousand one hundred and twenty nine) junior secondary schools with an enrollment figure of 3,266,780 (three million two hundred and sixty six thousand, seven hundred and eighty) students. (The Punch; March 26, 2009). Without much ado, it’s obvious that these infrastructures are inadequate. Thus a responsive government would need to be proactive and plan ahead using our projected population annual growth rate of about 3% to ensure adequate service delivery. A cursory look around would reveal that most primary and secondary education were either established by the missionaries or other voluntary bodies in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century! It’s therefore obvious that our government has failed because this all important sector has been so neglected that hardly were any new school built. Enrollment increased, and classroom space became inadequate. Teacher – pupil ratio increased beyond management level. And with the introduction of the free Universal Primary Education in 1976 by the Olusegun Obasanjo administration, admission essentially was so much that it took a toll in the pitiable available infrastructures. Of course it is quite easy to measure the quantity environment of education, while measuring the quality environment is difficult. The quality environment includes such items as the national policy, value system, educational goals and the philosophy of the country.

A progressive government must therefore be able to project and plan accordingly instead of the reactionary steps move hitherto know in Nigeria. This government must therefore put into place immediate steps to construct or build suitable and habitable classrooms where adequate learning can take place.

**Supervision:** “ A rose needs love and attention to blossom”. The spate of decadence in both the primary and secondary level of our education is majorly due to a lack of supervision. These institutions need constant monitoring and supervision. The students, teachers, principals/headmasters must be closely monitored. This monitoring is not the “witch hunting” it assumed to be, but to actually ensure that the work done is in tandem with the policies, goals and aims and objectives of the educational curriculum put in place.

The Ministry of Education, both at the Federal and State levels should ensure that their “Inspectorate Division” is established (If none existent) immediately. The inspectorate division should be adequately staffed with qualified personnel. Their mandate is to ensure schools run the stipulated curriculum to the letter. Earning school staffs should be sanctioned appropriately to serve as a deterrent to others. There must not and should be no holy or sacred cows.

Proprietors of the private schools should even be monitored more. Education is more of a public enterprise than a business established for the sake of profits only. These schools should be closely monitored and supervised closely to ensure that they follow stipulated guidelines. Erring proprietors should have their licenses withdrawn as a deterrent to others. Schools that do not meet the minimum standards should be closed down.

**Welfare:** “Thou shall Not MUZZLE the OX that Threshes the Corn” and a servant is due of his wages. Aptly put, all personnel in the lower strata (Primary/secondary) should be amply rewarded. A situation where most teachers go for months without being paid is quite unhealthy since productivity on the part of the personnel would plummet for a progressive government; there is the need to establish a Federal board of Education for primary education. Leaving this area solely to state and local government has so far failed us. This board would work in tandem with the inspectorate division of the state’ ministry of education and ensure effective remuneration of the work force.

### **Broadening the Curriculum:**

At exit or graduation from the secondary school, our kids are only literate and have barely acquired any useful skills for their survival all through their years of study. To this a end, a Progressive government should ensure that entrepreneurial subjects like “Animal Husbandry, Leather works, masonry, Electrical Installation, Carpentry, Upholstery, Plumbing etc are included in the curriculum and taught along with other subjects. With the aforementioned subjects, it would be easier to reduce unemployment as our kids begin to leave school.

It would not be enough to broaden the curriculum if adequate provisions for the necessary manpower to impart the needed skills unto the students. If painstakingly implemented, when our children leave school, they would be with enough skills to face the challenges of life. It would also mitigate youth unemployment, not be able to further their studies.



**Funding:** Over the years, both states and the Federal Government have always budgeted for education. A cursory look reveals that Nigeria with her huge population spends very little on education – 8.43% in 2012 7% in 2014, 2013, 14% 2015, 11.7% which in comparison to other countries it is – 31% in Ghana, South Africa 25.8% Kenya 23% and Cote d’Ivoire 30%. This poor budgeting has made infrastructures to be poor, a dearth of quality teachers and poor service delivery.

A progressive government should ensure that the universal or UNESCO recommendation of at least 36% of National budget is met. I am an advocate of participatory funding. Education cannot be free but could be subsidized by government and parents pay. I would suggest an education infrastructure fund; where every adult Nigerian, male/female would contribute to. Its establishment could take after the Policy Equipment fund of ‘90’s. If properly harnessed, it would mitigate the dire shortage of funds that make most of our primary and secondary schools look like animal pens. Partnering with the TELCOS, a particular % could be deducted for every recharge card loaded and channeled to an account. Also, the NURTW/NATO could be involved. Travellers could pay a particular amount per vehicle. (Intra city: N10.00, Inter- city: N20.00.)



## REBALANCING THE COST OF GOVERNANCE: AN IMPERATIVE ENERGY FOR PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT SUCCESS



**Adefolarin Olamilekan**  
Researcher and Lecturer

*Adefolarin Olamilekan* works as a Researcher and part time lecturer. He is a trained political economist and development analyst (Marxian orientation). He is a member of socialist Workers League as well as Alternative Workers Group (both workers activism movement). Currently he is the senior research officer of Social Research Development and Document Group (SRD & DE) CSO research organization in Abuja and King polytechnic ubiaja Edo state, Abuja study center.

He is also a contributor to Academia.edu an intellectual blog site for Academic research journal, most of Adefolarin works are publish on that site. His works are also published in hard cover journals locally and international as well as books credit to his Name.

As all Nigerians welcome the progressive government to manage the affairs of this great country. Out of the several bane to our development, high cost of governance and Administrative wastages of resources remain a big challenge that progressive government must tackle head long. One may ask what is this high cost of governance? High cost of governance is majorly the reckless spending that goes with administration. This arises due to the large number of government officials, political appointees and consultants doing government business.

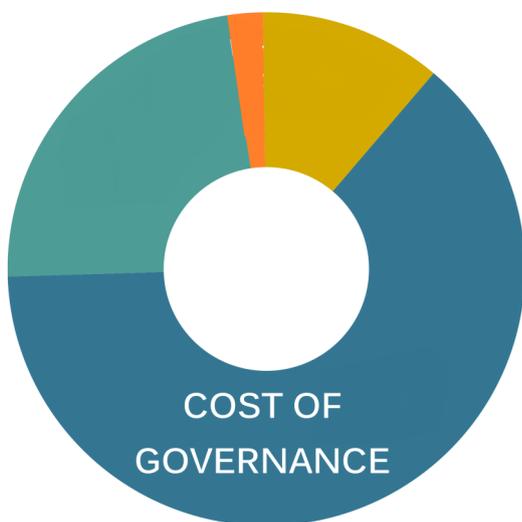
For the past 16years of the dawn of new democratic experiment in Nigerian, high cost of governance as being the major setback that drain our financial and material resources. Imagine, Nigerian budget for 16years recorded more funding for recurrent expedition than capital expenditures. While the trend is not the domain of the federal government alone, both state and local government are guilty of these faults. Governance expenditure is majorly tied to the emolument and entitlement and of government officials, political office holders and other itinerant bodies servicing the government of the day. That why what is expected to be done, in terms of financing capital and development project as mainly being expanded on personal and frivolous activities.

As expectations are high, so also the machinery of progressive government must be willing to meet up with the challenges. Nigerians expects nothing less than the change slogan satisfying most of their yearning for impactful governance. And one of the way out of several ways is to rebalance or reduce the cost or governance by removing all exorbitant, flagrancy and high cost of maintaining government excesses in the name of officialdom welfare packages. It is highly noted that Nigerians expect nothing but success from this progressive government, one must also point to the fact that, rebalancing the cost of governance is a measure to safe guide the resources coming to the government pulse. How this is obtained is for this progressive government disallowed any means that would entertain over-blotted cabinet and appointments.

It is presently evident that revenue yielding to the federation account of Nigeria is not pleasant going by the nose diving crude oil price fall in the international market. It suffices to say here, that rebalancing the cost of government is surely a way forward. Nigerians are generally of the opinion that a shrink in the numbers of political appointees and consultants for example would help and be off great influence in the way progressive government can find is footing to address some of our development challenges. As funds and resources save from reducing cost of governance can be diverted to peoples oriented development project like roads, electricity, water and healthcare.

It is very instructive to also discuss the other issues that reflect on the high cost of governance in the name of high cost of contracts and consultancy award by Nigerian government. Over the last one decade (post 1999 transition to democracy) government contracts job in Nigerian is one of the highest in the world. This particular problem remains one of the draining pipes of financial resources of this country. So it will be imperative for the progressive government to look into this avenue, a situation whereby government contracts sky rocket beyond every imagination. For instance road construction and building are so expensive; even though bid exercises are done on their regard we still found them much more exorbitant than expected. At the end most of these jobs are done with our mine stones, sand and labour gotten from this country. This writer is not against quality job but quality job are not expected to be exorbitant or over-estimated beyond what is obtain outside this country Nigeria. It is of great expectation that progressive government must be sincerely concern about the award of contracts.

Having discussed the two major areas the progressive government must checkmate for it to really impact Nigerians from change slogan to physical reality. To this author this is best as a panacea for our national development. In other word resources that would have served as lubricant to our national development are not being drain through mundane excesses. Am of the opinion that at this stage, the most profitable venture for the progressive government as they take over from May 29<sup>th</sup> is to save cost and pioneer transparent exercise in government contract awarding. Because as it stand now both national interest and national development is paramount to this progressive government and they cannot fail us. All that is expected from the progressive government is to ensure prudent management of the scanty available resources (human and materials).



The author of this paper is very much interested in how progressive government can take advantage of rebalancing the cost of governance especially to effect quality changes in our national development and safe guide our national interest. Just as we are all expectant like a pregnant woman, we are all totally move that this change slogan of the progressive government must not become a bad rhythm to earring in some years to come.

As a concern, our national interest for progressive government is to pursue and ensure the accomplishment of national development. For with this goals, the benefit of this extend far and enthrone a trust between the governed and the government. In other words, it is highly expected that the progressive government would live to it expectation by doing the needful for the generality of Nigerians which is our national interest, through proactive accomplishment of our national development by utilizing our abundance natural, financial and human resources.

**Conclusion:** Well the tasks ahead of the progressive government is very much herculean, the author of this paper believe that upholding rebalancing the cost of governance is an imperative energy to the success of the regime. For it ,our national interest and national development guarantee is quite tied to this, as leaders, policy influencers and makers, institutions, organizations, politicians and citizens in general expect nothing less than impactful governance from the progressive government. This highlighted point summarizes the take of this author:

1. Reduction in the cost of maintaining government official in terms of emolument, salaries, etc
2. Reduction in the numbers of government and political appointment; that is a shrink government or small government
3. Transparent exercise in the award of government contract to safe-guard against over estimated cost and exorbitant contract costing
4. Checkmate excess on the part of government and political appointees spending on miscellaneous product and services
5. Attitude that promotes and forge for the realizing of national development and promoting national interest
6. Prudent management of our abundant natural human, and finances resources to the survival and prosperity of Nigerians home and abroad.
7. Forging a national ethics that promotes citizen responsibility, discipline, integrity, dignity of labour, ethnic and religious tolerance and patriotism.
8. An all-time fiscal responsibility adherence to it laws and due process.

## REBALANCING THE COST OF GOVERNANCE: AN IMPERATIVE ENERGY FOR PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT SUCCESS



**Gradeone Henry**  
Online Editor at  
Politics & Governance Magazine

Gradeone Henry is the Online Editor at Politics & Governance Magazine. He is also a Technician (Electrical) who carries out Electrical installation and Maintenance Service work. Domestic, Commercial and Industrial wiring and maintenance.

Gradeone completed his studies in Electrical & Electronic Engineering at the Federal Polytechnic Auchi, Benin-City, Edo, Nigeria. He recently undertook a course in Electronic & Telecommunication at the Petroleum Training Institute, Effurun, Delta State.

In the last three decades, the nation through our leaders had shown pious intentions to alleviate poverty among the nation's teeming population. This they have demonstrated in the formulation of policy statements and establishment of varying number of programs, which according to the policy makers are capable of minimizing poverty in the country. It is for this reason, that issue of poverty has become a political tool in the hands of both military and democratic leaders in the country.

Simultaneously, the issue of energy development has equally dominated government campaign. Politicians has indicated in their manifestos their willingness to tackle issues of energy in the country, undoubtedly the nation's energy problem had in the past propelled several military intervention. In all these none of the government through their policies and political statements has demonstrated an understanding that poverty is a mere symptom of bad governance or the inability of our policy makers to equip the nation's large population with necessary infrastructure and public goods. More so, they have done little or nothing at all to create conducive atmosphere to make these goods available, one of such public good is energy. Energy development all over the world is accepted as one of the cardinal infrastructure capable of giving any economy a quick and sustainable start.

The general state of poverty in Nigeria is a reflection of neglect of social responsibilities of the government and the inability or failure of our leaders to provide the needed social and public goods. Public goods such as electricity have the potential of generating multiplier effects in the national economy and directly help in improving general living standards of the people. Sustainable energy development is also fundamental to all human activities, Etiosa and others (2007) opined that the Millennium Development Goals become unachievable in the country without access to energy and inevitable for poverty alleviation and the production of goods and services. The authors estimated that over 60 percent of Nigerians does not have access to electricity and over 90 percent of those that have access to it hardly enjoy it for more than 120 minutes (2 hours) on a cumulative basis per week.

Energy is a critical input for the achievement of many of the Millennium Development Goals, including eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating diseases, and ensuring environmental sustainability. For Nigeria to meet up with the Vision 20:2020; Nigeria requires power generating capacity of 140,000MW as against the current capacity of about 8039MW. This will put Nigeria slightly below South Africa with per capita power capacity of 1047W, UK with per capita power capacity of 1266W and above, Brazil with per capita power capacity of 480W, China with per capita power capacity of 260W.

## Rural energy needs in Nigeria

More than 70% of total populations of the country live in rural areas. At present major portion of total energy needs for cooking is met by locally available biomass fuels. The rural electrification program meets a small portion of total energy needs. For overall national development there is a need to pay special attentions to the energy needs of rural areas for subsistence and productive requirements (e.g. agriculture, industries, and transport) are met on a sustainable basis. Different types of renewable energy technologies such as Solar Home System (SHS), Biogas, and Improved Cooking Stoves (ICS) are suitable for Nigeria.

For overall national development there is a need to pay special attention so that the energy needs of rural areas for subsistence and productive requirements (e.g. agriculture, industries, and transport) are met on a sustainable basis. Different types of renewable energy technologies such as Solar Home System (SHS), Biogas, Solar water pumping, Solar Street lighting and Improved Cooking Stoves (ICS) are suitable for Nigerian rural dwellers.



## Energy and sustainable development in Nigeria

Energy is central to practically all aspects of sustainable development. Energy is central to the economy because it drives all economic activities. This characterization of energy directs our attention to its sources in nature, to activities that convert and reconvert this energy, and finally to activities that use the energy to produce goods and services and household consumption. Traditionally, energy is treated as an intermediate input in the production process. This treatment of energy's role understates its importance and contribution to development. All economic activities and processes require some form of energy. This effectively makes energy a critical primary factor of production. Given the state of technological advancement in the economy, capital and labour perform supporting roles in converting, directing and amplifying energy to produce goods and services needed for growth and poverty reduction.

Based on this fact, Nigerian energy sector is still characterised by wide spread use of ecologically and economically questionable private diesel generators which account for over 50% of the active generation capacity. The negative consequences are high cost of electricity to business owners/consumers with none or insufficient power services, regular power cuts and high losses of electricity and environmental impact on the society. This in turn poses a huge obstacle to sustainable economic and social development in the country while negatively impacting on environment and poverty reduction.

## Renewable energy resources and potential in Nigeria

Renewable energy and technologies have great potential to provide solutions to the long standing energy problems being faced in Nigeria. In promoting the diffusion of renewable energy into the country's energy supply mix for sustainable development, the government approved in November 2005, the Renewable Energy Master plan (REMP). The REMP was prepared by the Energy Commission of Nigeria (ECN) in collaboration with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

In the present predicament as a nation, it is obvious that depending mainly on fossil fuel (petroleum and Natural gas) is not enough to meet the energy needs of the country. Since Nigeria is blessed with abundant renewable energy resources such as hydroelectric, solar, wind, tidal, and biomass. There is a need to harness these resources and chart a new energy future for growth and sustainable development in Nigeria. In this regard, the government has a responsibility to make renewable energy technologies available and affordable to all.

Many indigenous researchers have looked into the availability of renewable energy resources in Nigeria with a view to establishing their viability in the country. In this regard, there new able energy sources that should be considered are solar energy, wind energy, hydropower and biomass.



**Embarking on energy security and mix:** Nigeria's energy mix should be very diverse to cope with rising fuel demands and assure security of supplies. On the long term, weather dependent contributors like wind power should be developed while strengthening the weather – independent sources like thermal, necessary for a balance mix of energy sources. The interplay of various types of energy in large and small facilities, including hydroelectric power, thermal power status and additive renewable energy sources should be exploited for a robust energy mix.

It is important that a full energy mix should be considered for poor communities, such as grid and non-grid solutions for electricity supply, liquid and gas fuels for cooking and biomass wherever it is appropriate; with different emphasis according to location and opportunities. For urban inhabitants, grid extension for electricity supply and liquid and gas fuels for cooking are the most appropriate solutions, though in many cases biomass for cooking in smaller towns may still be required.

**Decentralized energy system:** The use of decentralized renewable electricity is a promising way to meet the demand for basic energy needs in Nigeria, especially among the rural dwellers. Such systems which include, for example, solar home systems, small wind and mini-hydro, and portable solar lanterns – do not require installation of costly transmission lines and are becoming increasingly affordable thanks to improved economies of scale as a result of the growing number of users and technical improvements. In addition, decentralized systems are more likely to be manufactured and/or repaired locally and are hence, less dependent on foreign technical assistance, strengthening sustainability of rural livelihoods.

**Research and development:** Intensify research and development in the energy sector, especially renewable energy to increase energy sources and improve energy management systems that will promote sustainable development.

The existing Research and Development centres and technology development institutions should be adequately strengthened to support the shift towards increased renewable energy utilization. Human resource development, critical knowledge and know-how transfer should be in focus for projects development, project management, monitoring and evaluation. Preparation of standards and codes of practices, maintenance manuals, life cycle costing and cost-benefit analyses tools to be undertaken on urgent priority.

**Increase and Monitor funding in energy sector:** There should be increased and monitor funding in energy sector, which is capital intensive and requires huge amount of investment. The public and private sector could form a partnership to tackle this investment problem. Government should also increase the budgetary allocation to the energy sector and release these funds duly.

**Energy efficiency and conservation measures:** A large amount of biomass can be saved annually in Nigeria by employing improved (i.e. more efficient) cooking stoves, furnaces, boilers and other devices consuming biomass fuels. The traditional mud cooking stoves used in Nigeria exhibit overall efficiencies of only between 5% and 10%. Hence, large quantity of fuel wood is being consumed. The fuel wood can be conserve and indirectly the environment can be protected with the use of improved and efficient cooking stoves.

**Conclusions:** Affordable and reliable energy availability is the precondition for sustainable development. Sustainable development calls for an efficient, reliable and decentralized energy economy, based on local and clean energy sources, in which the price paid by the consumer will reflect the real cost of energy products to the economy.

There is urgent need to encourage the evolvement of an energy mix that will emphasize the conservation of petroleum resources in such a manner that will lead to their continued exportation for foreign earnings for as many years to come as possible. The adoption of renewable energy technologies in a Decentralized Energy (DE) manner especially for rural communities and in standalone applications will surely lead to reduced internal consumption of petroleum products. The energy supply mix must thus be diversified through installing appropriate infrastructure and creating full awareness to promote and develop the abundant renewable energy resources present in the country as well as to enhance the security of supply.

In a bid to attract and encourage renewable energy technologies development in Nigeria, the government needs to put in place the necessary mechanisms that will aid renewable energy development and production in Nigeria. One of the challenges of this effort is the absence of a legal frame work to regulate the industry. National government policies formulated for the development of RE sources were outlined in this study. Many of the Government of Nigeria energy initiatives are merely green paper policies that lack the resolve to be taken into the implementation realm. To facilitate greater uptake of 'clean' energy, the Federal Government needs to develop the 'Clean Energy Future' frame work aimed at increasing deployment and innovation of renewable energy in the country.

There are two components that should go together to achieve sustainable development in Nigeria. The need to conserve the present energy generated in the country using energy efficiency products and practices is essential for sustainable development.

Finally, government should take pragmatic steps to ensure that the distribution channels of supply are done effectively as most transformers are loaded beyond capacity and results to overheating of the transformer which effects stable power supply for the desired sustainable development.

Currently Nigeria has per capita power capacity of 28.57W and this is grossly inadequate even for domestic consumption. To the much desired millennium development goals a strong energy sector is essential for a vibrant and competitive economy.

The National energy supply is at present almost entirely dependent on fossil fuels and firewood (conventional energy sources) which are depleting fast. Despite the abundance of energy resources in Nigeria, the country is in short supply of electrical power. Access to reliable and stable supply of electricity is a major challenge for both the urban and rural dwellers. Only about 40% of the nation's over 140 million has access to grid electricity and at the rural level, where over 70% of the population live, the availability of electricity drops to 15%.

Analysis of Nigeria's electricity supply problems and prospects found that the electricity demand in Nigeria far outstrips the supply, which is epileptic in nature. The acute electricity supply hinders the country's development and not only restricts socio-economic activities to basic human needs; it adversely affects quality of life.

Effective policy and regulatory frameworks for advancing renewable energy in Nigeria are paramount to: (i) achieve long term reductions in carbon emissions; (ii) enhance the energy security of the country and establish a sustainable energy supply system; (iii) promote a policy of diversifying the energy supply so as to include renewable resources and technologies in to the nation's energy supply mix and (iv) make electricity accessible to the rural dwellers through grid extension and mini-grids, considering that the level of electrification in the country is very low.

### **Conventional energy resources**

In its mix of conventional energy reserves, Nigeria is simply unmatched by any other country on the African continent. It is not surprising; therefore, that energy export is the main stay of the Nigerian economy. Also, primary energy resources dominate the nation's industrial raw materials endowment.

Nigeria is richly endowed with a lot of the conventional energy resources which include petroleum, gas, coal and hydro. These resources are distributed in the various parts of the country. Coal deposits are found in large commercial quantities in places like Enugu and Okaba mines in Enugu and Kogi states respectively. Petroleum and its associated gas are found in commercial quantities in the southern part of the country.

### **Power sector goals in Nigeria Vision 20:2020**

The Federal Government of Nigeria commenced their form of the power sector via the enactment of the EPSR Act 2005, as a primary driver towards sustainable and adequate power supply to the country. However, the relatively slow pace of the implementation of this Act has not brought the desired changes in the sector.

As reflected in the Volumes I&II of the 1st National Implementation Plan for Nigeria Vision 20:2020, the strategic context of Power in national development could not be overemphasized. The broad vision for the power sector is to meet the demand for adequate and sustainable power in all sectors by the Nigerian economy and in all parts of the country at affordable costs. This must be done in a technically efficient, economically viable and environmentally sustainable manner using varied energy sources, conventional/non-conventional, to ensure supply at all times with minimal disruption.

The Nigeria's Vision 20:2020 goal is to generate, transmit and distribute 35,000MW of electricity by the year 2020. The NV 20:2020 strategic objective for the power sector is to ensure that the sector is able to efficiently deliver sustainable, adequate, qualitative, reliable and affordable power in a deregulated market, while optimizing the on and off-grid energy mix. It is expected that the electricity supply industry will ultimately be private sector driven. In this plan however, government will invest indirect electricity generation as well as provide appropriate legal and regulatory environment for private sector participation. In the medium term, the goal was to generate, transmit and distribute 16,000MW of electricity by 2013. Specifically, the overall target for the plan period was to increase electricity generation, transmission and distribution from the 3700MW capacity as at December, 2009 to 8000MW by 2010, and 16,000MW by 2013. Access to electricity is expected to increase from the current 40% to 50%, while per capita consumption will increase from the current 125kWh to 500kWh over the plan period.

This is expected to be achieved through significant investment in rural electrification programs that will facilitate the expansion of transmission and distribution lines to majority of rural Nigeria. Alternative energy technology will also be developed from Coal and other renewable energy sources (Solar, Wind, and Biomass) will be encouraged to electrify the rural communities. In order to achieve medium-term goal, Government aimed to continue regular maintenance of all power infrastructures, rehabilitate and complete all ongoing power projects while putting incentives for private sector participation through accelerated implementation of the Power Reforms Act.