

# The state of governance in Nigeria

A situational analysis of Abia, Ebonyi, Imo  
and Kaduna States



**V2P**

**VOICE TO THE PEOPLE**

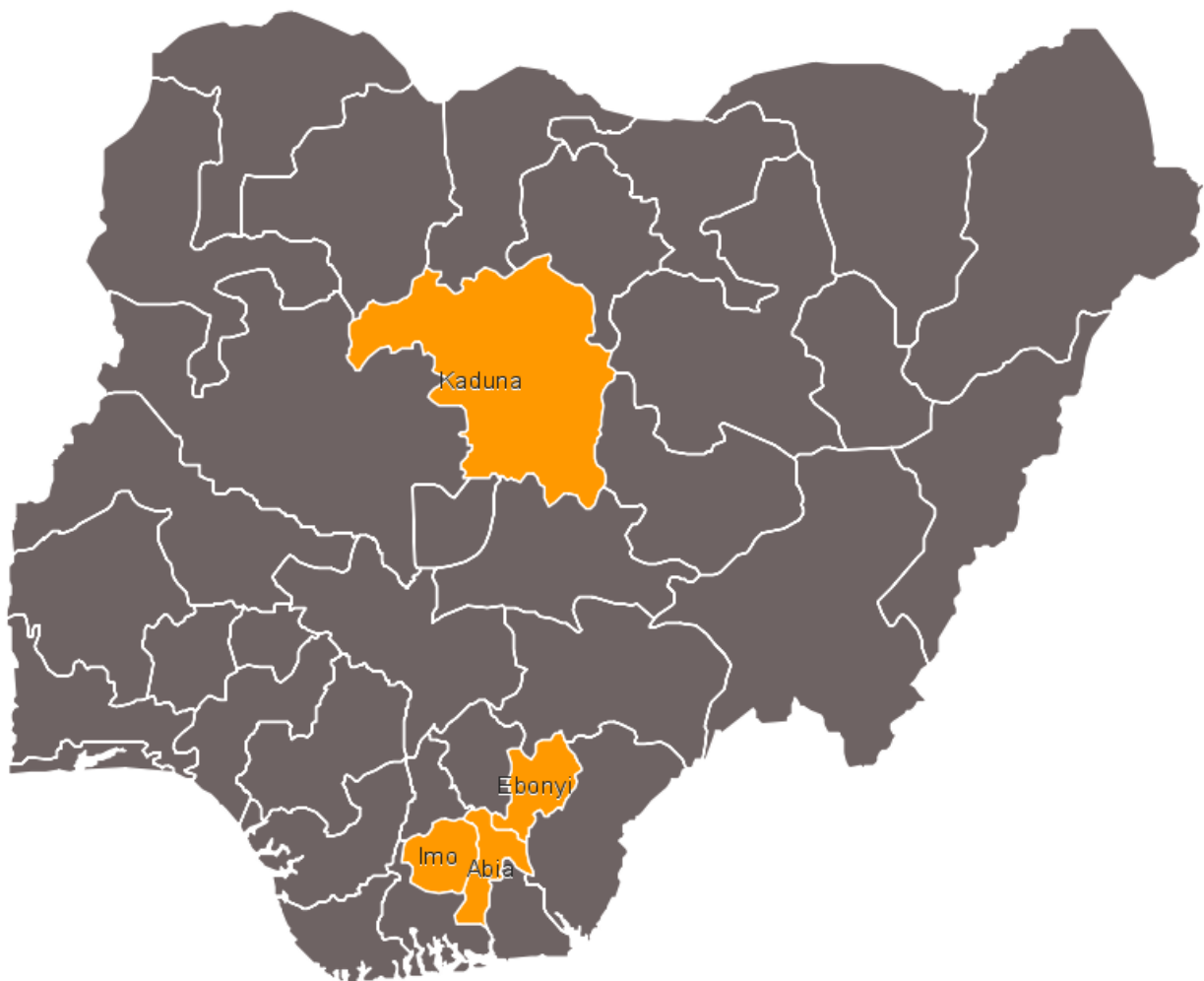
Making governance work for poor and marginalised people

February 2017



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Ebonyi, Imo and Kaduna states



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## List of Acronyms

<b>CAC</b>	Community Advisory Council
<b>CBOs</b>	Community Based Organisations
<b>CGC</b>	Community Government Council
<b>CIRDOOC</b>	Civil Resource Development & Documentation Centre
<b>CSOs</b>	Civil Society Organisations
<b>DFID</b>	Department for International Development
<b>FG</b>	Federal Government
<b>FGDs</b>	Focused Group Discussions
<b>FRL</b>	Fiscal Responsibility Law
<b>FRN</b>	Federal Republic of Nigeria
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>ICT</b>	Information and Communication Technology
<b>IGI</b>	International Glass Industry
<b>KII</b>	Key Informants Interview
<b>KIIs</b>	Key Informants Interviews
<b>LG</b>	Local Government
<b>LGAs</b>	Local Government Areas
<b>MDAs</b>	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
<b>MICS</b>	Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey
<b>NGOs</b>	Non-Governmental Organisations
<b>OBS</b>	Open Budget Survey
<b>PFM</b>	Public Financial Management
<b>PLC</b>	Public Limited Company
<b>PPA</b>	Public Procurement Act
<b>PPP</b>	Public Private Partnership
<b>PRS</b>	Planning, Research and Statistics
<b>SAVI</b>	State Accountability and Voice Initiative
<b>SBTI</b>	State Budget Transparency Index
<b>SHoA</b>	State Houses of Assembly
<b>SNBTS</b>	Sub-National Budget Transparency Survey
<b>SPARC</b>	State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability
<b>ToR</b>	Terms of Reference
<b>UNFPA</b>	United Nations Fund for Populations
<b>V2P</b>	Voice to the People
<b>WASH</b>	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

## Executive summary

### Introduction

The inclusion of citizens in the governing processes of a sovereign nation is crucial to achieving sustainable social and economic development within the nation. Citizen inclusion ensures that policy decisions will be directed by the peculiar needs of the people at the time as well as the socioeconomic and cultural environment of the people, rather than what the government of the day believes the people need. As citizens become more involved in decision-making and governance processes, there is an increase in the desire of citizens to perform their civic duties as a result of an increase in trust in the system. It also provides the opportunity to increase transparency and accountability of the state, as citizens are able to hold their duty bearers accountable to their own end of the citizen-state social contract.

For governance to be inclusive, there has to be effective participation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness on the part of the government and the governed, it should be consensus oriented, there should be effectiveness and efficiency of institutions in the use of public resources, equity in sharing common resources, and above all, there should be adherence to the rule of law. These principles are essential to achieving a “just, equitable and peaceful Nigerian society, where poverty is eradicated and every person is empowered to live life in all its fullness”, the Christian Aid Nigeria vision. Therefore, Christian Aid Nigeria works in the area of accountable governance, while also integrating elements of demand-side governance into all its other programmatic areas of community health and gender in order to achieve a more inclusive and participatory governance system that is responsive to the needs of the people.

Through its DFID funded accountable governance programme in Anambra state – Voice to the People (V2P) –, Christian Aid and partners successfully delivered strong results in the area of community-driven accountability, leading to an improvement in service delivery of government to the people. The state of governance in Nigeria suggests that there is a need to consolidate on this effort and strategically scale up the gains and learning from the program to regions outside Anambra. This led to the extension of the programme to cover the rest of the Southeast region and Kaduna state, testing the effectiveness of the model in the North-Central region of the country. It is on this basis that this situational analysis was conducted to elicit information on the state of accountability, and transparency. The study was carried out in four of the focal states of the V2P extension, Abia, Ebonyi, Imo and Kaduna and is geared at understanding how the governments in these states are informed with concrete evidence to help prioritize the sustainable delivery of public goods and services that better respond to citizens’ needs.

### Methodology

The study utilized a purposive sampling technique and covered a total of eight communities. Two Local Government Areas (LGAs) were selected per state, with each LGA being from a different senatorial zone. The study operationalized and clustered governance into two principles (meaningful participation and productive deliberation), four criteria (interest representation, government responsibility, decision making and project implementation) and 11 indicators (inclusiveness, equality, resources management, accountability, transparency, democracy dividend, agreement with communities, dispute settlement, behavioural change, problem solving and durability of projects).



Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) were employed with a total of 32 FGDs and 52 KIIs conducted across the four focal states. The study also reviewed the results of the 2015 Sub-National Budget Transparency Survey (SNBTS) to ascertain the situation of the focal states.

## Key findings

Overall, the eight communities rated inclusiveness, equality, resources management, accountability, transparency, democracy, agreement, behavioural change, problem solving and durability below 50%. The only one governance indicator that was rated above 50% was dispute settlement.

At the state level, apart from equality and dispute settlement which was rated above 50%, Abia and Ebonyi states communities rated other indicators below 40%. Similarly, all the governance quality indicators were rated less than 40% in Imo communities with the exception of equality, dispute settlement and problem solving but surprisingly Kaduna communities rated accountability, transparency and durability of projects resource management, democracy dividend, dispute settlement and problem solving above 50%.

Abia state men, women, and youth rated inclusiveness, resources management, accountability, transparency, democracy dividend, agreement, behavioural change, problem solving and durability of projects below 40%, but rated equality and dispute settlement above 60%. In Ebonyi communities, men, women and youth are in agreement in rating inclusiveness, equality, resources management, accountability, transparency, democracy dividend, agreement with communities, behavioural change and durability of projects below 40%. In Imo communities, all governance quality indicators were rated less than 40% by all groups with the exception of men who rated equality, dispute settlement and durability of projects above 60%. In Kaduna communities, the youth rated inclusiveness, equality, resources management, democracy dividend, agreement, dispute settlement, and problem solving almost 100% contrary to the opinion of other groups. The only agreement the youth had with other groups in Kaduna State was in durability of projects, accountability and transparency which were rated at below 40%.

Further evidence from both the FGDs and KIIs conducted across the four focal states show that citizens have the understanding of key issues of exclusion and participation in the decision making process but with a key concern that most citizens do not believe they have the power to bring about the desired changes. Community structures across the four focal states differ with the South-eastern states sharing strong similarities with weaker traditional leadership but stronger Town/Development Unions while Kaduna state has different community structures with stronger traditional leadership. The study observed that the Town/Development Union can be a powerful tool for community participation in governance because it is home grown in the South East while the Traditional Leaders can be very good entry point for communities in Kaduna state. Every key informant supported the idea of creating a Community Advisory Council (CAC).

There exist different community platforms across the focal states, but these community platforms are mainly sociocultural in nature and do not have adequate capacity to interface with the government on issues of openness, accountability and transparency. Aside the inherent nature of the existing community platforms, the communities identified some constraints such as: lack of knowledge and skills on how to interface with government or ignorance on what to do, gender norms and cultural barriers, especially towards women. Others include political interests and divisions, a lack of committed, patriotic and visionary leaders as well as disability and vulnerability. The communities have identified ways of reforming and/or strengthening the community platforms as follows:

- Sensitization of communities especially women on their rights, thereby enhancing their dignity as women.

- Strengthening and/or formation of associations to make inputs into and influence decision making.
- Skills empowerment through trainings, e.g. education on rights and responsibilities, inculcating patriotic principles, selecting credible leaders, and allowing democracy to work.
- Strengthening the existing platforms; as well as more commitments from members of the community.

The issue of women's participation and empowerment differs from state to state just as participation rate in each state depends on some religious or cultural practices. Governance issues with traction identified across South East and Kaduna State from the FGDs and KIIs have to do with the ease of accessibility of government documents or necessary information both in terms of livelihood matters and governance matters while communication resources available to different citizens' group varies across the focal states.

This study also reviewed the 2015 Sub-National Budget Transparency Survey (SNBTS) that shows that in terms of availability of key budget documents across the four focal states, none of the states scored up to 40%, which confirms most of the information generated from the KIIs and FGDs. This implies that on average, the four CA focal states do not make key budget documents available to the public. The survey also looked at the process of public participation in the budget process seeking to find out the involvement of different stakeholders during budget approval, execution and audit across the four focal states. Under this index, Ebonyi state outperformed the other three focal states with 28%; Imo scored 19%, Abia with 14% and finally Kaduna with 7%.

Only Ebonyi state has a Bureau of Public Procurement (a supervisory & regulatory body) established among the focal states, and there exists no implementing rules, standard documents or such other tools to serve as guides and manuals in compliance with the requirements of the law. The bidding processes seem to be guided by Official Circulars of the respective State Ministries of Economic Planning and Budgets Circulars and not the provisions in the law in line with UNCITRAL modern law. In the same vein, the result of the survey show that neither information on alternative dispute resolution mechanisms related to procurement bid documents and contract award decisions is made publicly available nor the information on the functioning of the procurement review system in any of the focal states.

## **Conclusion**

Improving governance is a tall order for every development partner, and it has to be done in collaboration with the communities, state actors and other interested partners - especially those operating at the community level. To do this however, there is a clear need for a proper definition of the most suitable approach to be adopted for every focal state. In some states, the top-bottom approach can help achieve some results within the shortest period, while in others, the bottom-top approach may help in achieving some results. Proper analysis of the states which are closely homogenous at inception have provided insight, and from all indication across these focal states, it seems that both the top-bottom and bottom-top approaches are needed for better, faster and more sustainable returns. In conclusion, documentation of achievements and lessons learnt from the project must be done regularly across the focal states and compared with this baseline. A publication of 'Inclusive Governance Watch' is required to document all achievements and lessons learnt from these communities regularly to help in review of intervention.

## 1.0 Introduction

### 1.1 Background and Motivation for the Study

Kooimans (1993: 2)<sup>1</sup> defines governance as focusing on sharing authority for public management between the state and non-state<sup>2</sup> organisations. This implies that governance brings public, private and other non-state actors together. When these different actors come together to discuss issues, it is easier to make decisions that are demand driven and have a focus on development as it affects the different segments of the society. The inclusiveness of governance matters to the governed because it improves their trust in the system, and enhances their willingness to do their own part such as community service, tax payment and other civic duties<sup>3</sup> expected of them. It is only when governance becomes inclusive alongside other good principles such as accountability, transparency, effectiveness as depicted in figure 1 below that a society can begin to talk about good governance.

Figure 1: Major Principles of Good Governance



Source: UNESCAP, 2010<sup>4</sup>

Good governance, though a relatively new term that became popular in the 1980s has been often used to describe the desired objective of a nation/state's political development. This term came because of comparison between what obtains in the developed countries of the world and the developing countries. During that period, most developing or less developed economies especially in Africa were still under one form of military rule or the other without a clear recourse to good governance and its attendant principles as illustrated in the figure above.

Since the end of World War II, developed economies have been known for their intolerable stance on corruption, with their authorities and institutions<sup>5</sup> doing all they can to be accountable, effective and efficient, participatory, transparent, responsive, consensus-oriented, and equitable. This is while leaders in developing countries, including Nigeria after their independence have been storing accumulated wealth in tax havens and safe banks in the developed world. In doing that, developing and less developed economies including Nigeria made no attempt to have the views of vulnerable groups, including women, youth and the poor (the people) heard in any form where important decisions involving them were taken. This is necessary because every group in the society especially the vulnerable groups, including women, youth and the poor is affected either directly or indirectly if good governance is not achieved.

To enthrone inclusive governance, developed countries involve the masses during the design and implementation; priority setting approach based on objective analysis; inclusive consultation and consensus building and;

coordinated support from the civil society, development partners and governments alike for better accountability focused on addressing shared goals and objectives. Nigeria as a developing country is yet to fully imbibe inclusive governance, with most citizens being unaware of what the government is doing. Efforts to involve citizens as well as influential associations of peasant farmers, cooperatives, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) including Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), research institutes, religious leaders, finance institutions in governance is still a battle that is yet to be won and it is becoming more complex as the process of development evolves and differs at every tier (level) of governance. At the national and state levels in Nigeria, the media, international development partners, multi-national corporations may play a role in decision-making or in influencing the decision-making process in addition to the above actors.

The need for inclusive governance is not just necessary but also sufficient in bringing development to the people in a sustainable manner. For Nigeria to do that at the national/state/local level, there has to be effective participation, consensus oriented, accountability, transparency, responsiveness on the part of the government to the needs of her citizens and the governed, effectiveness and efficiency of institutions in the use of public resources, equity in sharing common resources, etc. Above all, there should be adherence to the rule of law. In that situation, the country at every level assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It must also be responsive to the present and future needs of society for sustainability. It is only when these are enshrined in the day-to-day activities of governance that such governance can be people-centred. People-centred policymaking including budgeting experiences reflect civil society and government efforts to bring about new economic policy and governance frameworks. It is also important to note that even when governments initiate policies, they often take place in the context of larger social movements organized around poverty or gender equality concerns. Their effectiveness depends on the possibilities for forging alliances across groups.

Finally, in many instances, policy making including budget initiatives in people-centred situations have sparked a process of social dialogue, which is necessary for the reconciliation of competing and sometimes conflicting demands made by different social groups. Such opportunities help to raise the general awareness of the public on the larger issues of poverty and gender-equity not only at the national and sub-national levels, but also often at the international level.

Christian Aid Nigeria shares the same principles with its vision for “a just, equitable and peaceful Nigerian society, where poverty has been eradicated and every person is empowered to live life in all its fullness”. To do this, Christian Aid Nigeria has adopted a structural approach, incorporating gender, governance and advocacy into all programmatic areas. A solid example of this is the DFID-funded Voice and Accountability project ‘Voice to the People’, which was piloted in Anambra State in the Southeast region of Nigeria. The project delivered strong results in the area of community-driven accountability in the state, leading to its extension to four other states in the Southeast - Enugu, Abia, Ebonyi and Imo - and Kaduna state, located in North-Central Nigeria. This extension looks to consolidate and strategically scale up the gains and learning from the pilot phase of the V2P program, spread learning to the Southeast region, with Enugu as hub for the region, and test and replicate the model in Kaduna, given the difference in political and sociocultural environment.

Therefore, understanding how this vision can be achieved in its fullness in these states is crucial to success, hence this situational analysis to help elicit information on the state of accountability, and transparency in these states. The study is also geared at understanding how the governments in these states are informed with concrete

evidence to help prioritise the sustainable delivery of public goods and services that better respond to citizens' needs.

## 1.2 Study Goal and Objectives

The overall study goal as indicated in the Terms of Reference (ToR) is to understand the situation in these focal states in terms of accountability, transparency and evidence-informed governance that prioritise the sustainable delivery of public goods and services that better respond to citizens' needs. The specific objectives of the study include:

- To assess knowledge, attitudes and perception of citizens regarding key issues of exclusion and participation in decision-making processes.
- To produce a comprehensive assessment of how communities are structured or organised in the South East and Kaduna (where applicable) for engagement with local and state governments.
- To identify opportunities, constraints and risks for governance and institutional reforms in Abia, Ebonyi, Imo and Kaduna states that will guide the design of programme interventions in those states.
- To identify the key governance issues in the Ebonyi, Abia, Imo and Kaduna states and based on findings recommend/suggest strategies to address such.
- Based on the above, identify governance issues that have traction across the southeast states and where it is feasible for citizens to engage.
- To identify state actors' interests and incentives in these states.
- To understand why required reforms are not happening.
- To acquire both qualitative and quantitative baseline data against project outcomes and outputs which can be evaluated during the course of the project.
- To identify the preferred communication resources available to citizens/communities in the target states.

## 2.0 Scope and Methodology of the Study

### 2.1 Scope of the Study

The study was conducted in Abia, Ebonyi, Imo and Kaduna states, and covered two Local Government Areas (LGAs) within different senatorial zones in each of these states. Using a purposive sampling technique<sup>6</sup>, one community per LGA was selected. The communities were identified using the major development plans of the states, either in terms of high poverty incidence, lack of access to key basic facilities or communities with high timeframe of neglect. Table 1 below presents these communities with brief justification for their selection.

**Table 1:** Identified Communities and Local Government (LG) with Justification

S/N	States	Local Government	Communities	Justification
1	Abia	Umunneochi	Umuaku	Mentioned in the Abia State Economic Policy (ABEP) as somehow neglected because of their locations
		Ugwunagbo	Obeaja	
2	Ebonyi	Ezza South	Echara	According to information from the former Director for the UNFPA project in Ebonyi state, both LGAs have the lowest access to educational and healthcare services.
		Onicha	Oshiri Ukawu	
3	Imo	Ngor-Okpala	Eziama Amala	Both LGAs have the highest poverty incidence in the state and lowest access to Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) according to the Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey (MICS) 2011 Report.
		Obowo	Alike	
4	Kaduna	Soba	Sabuwa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The socio-economic status of both LGAs are among the least in the state.</li> <li>• There is a strong presence of poverty in both LGAs and a noticeable absence of capacity of individuals to engage their duty bearers to create change and enhance development within the identified communities.</li> <li>• There is an absence of people-driven development initiatives to empower the people in the communities within the LGAs.</li> <li>• Both LGAs were also chosen over others that have similar intervention projects in order to avoid duplicity of efforts.</li> <li>• The political and socio-economic status of both LGAs provide an opportunity to effectively test the V2P methodology in a different context to that of the Anambra State where it was first piloted.</li> </ul>
		Kaura	Attakar	

Source: Situational Analysis for V2P extension project, 2016

## 2.2 Brief Profile of Focal States

### 2.2.1 Abia State

#### Geography

Abia state, which occupies about 5,834 sq.km is bounded on the North and Northeast by the states of Anambra, Enugu and Ebonyi. To the West of Abia is Imo State, while to the East and Southeast are Cross River and Akwa

Ibom states, and to the South is Rivers state. The southern part of the state lies within the riverine part of Nigeria. Located in the South-eastern region of Nigeria, Abia State lies approximately within latitudes 4° 40' and 6° 14' North, and longitudes 7° 10' and 8° East. The state's population during the 2006 census was 2,833,999 with a population growth rate of 2.7%. Using this population growth rate, the state's estimated population in 2016 was about 3,699,168 people. The state is low-lying with a heavy rainfall of about 2,400 mm/year, and is especially intense between the months of April through October. The rest of the state is moderately high plain. The most important rivers in Abia State are the Imo and Aba rivers that flow into the Atlantic Ocean through the Niger Delta.

Abia State was carved out from the former Imo State on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, 1991 under General Ibrahim Babangida, bringing to thirty the total number of states in Nigeria at the time. The capital of the state is Umuahia, although the major commercial city is Aba, a former British colonial government outpost. Its citizens are predominantly Ibos with more than 95% of population. It is one of the nine constituent states of the Niger Delta region. Abia State has 17 Local Government Areas (LGAs), namely: Aba North, Aba South, Arochukwu, Bende, Ikwuano, Isiala Ngwa North, Isiala Ngwa South, Isuikwuato, Obi Ngwa, Ohafia, Osisioma Ngwa, Ugwunagbo, Ukwia East, Ukwia West, Umuahia North, Umuahia South and Umu Nneochi.

### **Economic and Investment Potentials**

Crude oil and gas production is a prominent activity, as it contributes to 39% of the GDP. Representing 27% of the GDP, agriculture, which employs 70% of the state workforce is the second largest economic sector of Abia. With its adequate seasonal rainfall, Abia has much arable land that produces yams, maize, potatoes, rice, cashew, plantains and cassava. Abia also has large crude oil deposits. The manufacturing sector only accounts for 2% of the GDP.

Agriculture is the major occupation of the people of Abia state. This is induced by the rich soil that stretches from the Northern to the Southern parts of the state. Subsistence farming is prevalent, and about 70% of the population is engaged in it, while a few farmers also produce on a large scale. Farming in the state is determined by the seasonal distribution of rainfall although some farmers now use irrigation methods. The main food crops grown are yam, cassava, rice, cocoyam and maize while the cash crops include oil palm, rubber, cocoa, banana and various types of fruits.

According to the Draft Abia State Economic Policy (ABEP), 2016, it is the policy of the current Abia State Government to encourage the development of industrial activities in the state. Large-scale industrial establishments located in Abia include Nigerian Breweries, Aba; Golden Guinea Breweries, Umuahia; Aba Textile Mills, International Glass Industry (IGI), Aba and Modern Ceramics, Umuahia.

Several medium scale industries abound in parts of the state that produce items such as plastic wares, textiles, food processing and machine tool fabrication. Aba is not only the major commercial centre of the state, but also one of the commercial nerve centres of the Eastern states. According to the blueprint for Abia state development, the state has the potential to attract investment in the following manufacturing projects:

- i. Agro-allied industries (Cassava starch and flour; as well as Fruit and vegetable canning)
- ii. Textiles (Cotton Socks, Fishing nets and Mosquito nets)
- iii. Industrial Minerals/Quarrying (Glass industry, Table ware, Aggregate plant including Stone crushing plants)
- iv. Plastics Industry (Plastics manufacture, Bottles, flask, cans, tubes and bags tiles)

v. Chemical Industry (Polyethylene, Explosives, Self-Adhesive Tape, Pulp and paper).

The Draft Abia State Economic Policy (ABEP), 2016 noted that to quicken the pace of industrial development, the state government is ready to embark upon direct industrial establishments and enter into joint ventures with entrepreneurs in the private sector. Efforts to industrialize the state are also being augmented by the private sector. Thus, three main categories of industries - Public, Private and Public-Private Partnership (PPP) are found in the state according to the Draft Abia State Economic Policy (ABEP), 2016.

## 2.2.2 Ebonyi State

### Geopolitical Background

Ebonyi state is an inland South-eastern state of Nigeria, populated primarily by Igbos and shares boundaries with Benue to the North, Enugu to the Northwest, Abia to the South-east and Cross River to the East. Its capital and largest city is Abakaliki, while Afikpo is the second largest city. Other major towns are Onueke, Nkalagu, Uburu, Onicha, Ishiagu, Amasiri and Okposi. Ebonyi was created out of the old Abakaliki division of Enugu state and old Afikpo division of Abia state, and is one of the six states created in 1996. The Federal Military Government created Ebonyi State out of former Abia and Enugu states on October 1st 1996. Ebonyi state has an area of 5,530km<sup>2</sup>. The population of the state during the 2006 census was 2,173,501 with a population growth rate of 2.8%. Using this population growth rate, the state's estimated population in 2016 was about 2,864,778 people.

### Economy

Agriculture is the major occupation of the people of the state. The crops produced are yam, cassava, plantain, banana, maize, and cocoyam. Others are palm produce, cocoa and rubber. It is a leading producer of rice, yams, potatoes, maize, beans and cassava. Rice and yams are predominantly cultivated in Edda. Ebonyi also has several solid mineral resources, but little large-scale commercial mining. The state government has however given several incentives to investors in the agro-allied sector. Mineral resources in the state include salt which is mined locally in the Uburu/Okposi salt lakes of Ohaozara. There are some industries in the state which engage in production of plastic block and food processing.

### Investment Opportunities

Ebonyi's large population, with a sizeable number being agrarian, is no doubt a factor to be reckoned with by any eagle-eyed investor especially in the agricultural sector. The state has rich and fertile farmlands, thus it is no surprise that many see her as the food basket of the South-East because of its richness in rice and yam production in addition to other farm produce like cocoa, maize, groundnut, plantain, banana, cassava, melon, sugarcane, local beans, fruits vegetables and palm produce. Today, Abakaliki rice has become a household name second to none when it comes to local production. Despite this, agriculturalists still believe that the industry is yet to be stretched to its fullest capacity and it still under mechanized.

Known as Salt of the nation because of the rich salt deposits found in commercial quantity in Okposi, Enyigba and Uburu salt lakes, Ebonyi State clearly stand out as a potential destination of interest to investors. The Uburu salt industry has over the years continued to churn out processed and unprocessed table salt, yet there seems to be a yawning gap of underproduction in its efforts hence, any ambitious investor can hatch into the lacuna to make a life-long fortune. There are vast deposits of solid minerals such as limestone at Nkalagu, Ishiagu and Okpoto. In fact in the 70s through the 90s, Nigeria Cement Company Limited (NIGERCEM), a cement manufacturing company



located at Nkalagu churned out bags of cement to serve the construction needs of South East and various parts of Nigeria. The company was owned by the East Central state which now comprises of the South East states. Though the company has been grounded due to mismanagement, it still serves as a haven for potential investors who stand a chance of enjoying a comparative cost advantage among its contemporaries.

Abakaliki has a thriving quarry industry. The stones are conveyed to various parts of Nigeria from the quarry site at Agahgboriga. Laterite and marbles can be found in every part of the state to boost the activities of construction industries. Lead and zinc deposits can be found at Enyigba and Ishiagu. There are also deposits of zinc at Oshiri and Uburu while Izzi has become a Mecca of miners including expatriates who are cashing into the deposits of lead and zinc oxide in the area. Although crude oil deposits had been speculated to be at Ugwu Ajim, Ogbu-Edda and Uwanna it is yet to be explored. It is the same with the coal deposit at Enohia, Ozizza and Ndibe which is yet to be tapped.

The Fertilizer blending plant in Onuebonyi in Izzi LGA comes as a huge relief for arable farmers in Ebonyi state. Several foreign investors continue to express their interest in partnering with the company. The Nkaliki Hatchery that produced poultry livestock and eggs has been grounded although with its structures still existing, it serves as an investment potential. The rearing of livestock like goats, pigs, chickens, cows and horses are also popular in the state. Cattle ranching takes place in the Onicha, Ohaozara and Ishielu local government areas.

The Abakpa Market, one of Ebonyi's major markets is always full of merchants and traders from various parts of the country. An ultra-modern market initiated by the Governor Elechi administration is near completion. The Abakaliki Shopping Centre being constructed is a gigantic edifice, strategically located in the heart of the city to provide a conducive environment for businesses to thrive. Various markets exist at the various major cities in the State. Abakaliki may not be as industrialized as other south-eastern cities, but the city has readily cheap labour. The resilience of many of the labourers in the state can be seen at the quarry sites and various building projects, where not only young men but women are involved in mixing the cement and concrete as well as brick laying. This cost-effective and readily available labour is indeed an advantage that the area may provide for potential investors.

### **2.2.3 Imo State**

Imo State came into existence in 1976 along with other new states created under the leadership of the late military ruler of Nigeria, Murtala Muhammad, having been previously part of East-Central state. The state is named after the Imo River. Part of it was split off in 1991 as Abia State, and another part became Ebonyi State. The main cities in Imo State are Owerri (the state capital), Orlu and Okigwe. The local language is Igbo and Christianity is the predominant religion. Imo State lies within latitudes 4°45'N and 7°15'N, and longitude 6°50'E and 7°25'E with an area of around 5,100 sq. km. It is bordered by Abia State on the East, by the River Niger and Delta state on the West, by Anambra state to the North and Rivers state to the South. Besides Owerri, Imo state's major towns are Isu, Okigwe, Oguta, Orlu, Mbaise, Mbano, Mbieri, Orodo and Orsu.

The population of the state during the 2006 census was 3,934,899 with a population growth rate of 3.2%. Using the population growth rate, the state's estimated population in 2016 was about 5,391,760.12 people. The state's population density varies from 230 persons per sq. km. in Oguta/Egbema area, to about 1,400 persons per sq. km. in Mbaise, Orlu, Mbano and Mbaitoli areas (Imo State Rescue Mission, 2012). This high population density has led to intensified pressure on land, forests and other natural resources, leading to increasing rural poverty which is characteristic of densely populated rural areas. Fallow period rarely exceeds one year and in some areas

continuous cropping is the rule. Low crop yield and loss of land to erosion have combined to induce people to migrate in search of jobs and even farmland in other parts of the country.

### **Economic Climate**

The state is rich in natural resources including crude oil, natural gas, lead, zinc. Economically exploitable flora like the iroko, mahogany, obeche, bamboo, rubber tree and oil palm predominate. However, with a high population density and continuous farming activities the soil has been degraded and much of the native vegetation has disappeared. This deforestation has triggered soil erosion which is compounded by heavy seasonal rainfall that has led to the destruction of houses and roads. The population of Imo state is predominantly rural. Some of the most densely populated areas of Nigeria are found in Imo state, where a direct relationship exists between population density and the degree of dispersal of rural settlement (Imo State Rescue Mission, 2012).

### **2.2.4 Kaduna State**

Kaduna state was created on 27<sup>th</sup> May, 1967 out of the former Northern region by the then regime of General Yakubu Gowon, while Katsina state was created out of it in the state creation exercise of 1987. The capital of Kaduna state is Kaduna, and it is located at the centre of Northern Nigeria. It has a political significance as the former administrative headquarters of the North during the colonial era. The state shares boundaries with Niger State to the West, Zamfara, Katsina and Kano states to the north, Bauchi and Plateau States to the East and FCT Abuja and Nasarawa state to the South. Kaduna State occupies 46,053 square kilometres.

The state's population during the 2006 census was 6,066,562 with a population growth rate of 3.0%. Using the population growth rate, the state's estimated population in 2016 is about 8,152,952 people. Zaria is one of the major towns in Kaduna state and is very rich in history. Queen Amina ruled Zaria and was known as a great warrior, her territories stretching as far to Bauchi in the east and extending as far south as the River Niger. She built a walled town wherever she conquered.

### **Economic Climate**

Agriculture is the main stay of the economy of Kaduna state with about 80 per cent of the people actively engaged in farming. Cash and food crops are cultivated and the produce includes: Yam, Cotton, Groundnut, Tobacco, Maize, Beans, Guinea corn, Millet, Ginger, Rice and Cassava. Over 180,000 tonnes of groundnut are produced in the state annually. The major cash crop is cotton which the state has a comparative advantage in as it is the leading producer in the country. Another major occupation of the people is animal rearing and poultry farming. The animals reared include Cattle, Sheep, Goats and Pigs.

Kaduna state is blessed with minerals which include clay, serpentine, asbestos, amethyst, kyannite, gold, graphite and siltimanite graphite, which is found in Sabon Birnin Gwari, in the Birnin Gwari local government. This is an important raw material used in the manufacture of pencils, crucibles, electrodes, generator brushes and other sundry parts. Kaduna state is a metropolitan as well as a cosmopolitan industrialized state with over 80 commercial and manufacturing industries. Goods ranging from carpets, textiles, reinforced concrete materials, bicycle assembly, toiletries and cigarettes in the state. Consumer goods produced range from dairy products to soft drinks, flour and groundnut oil.

Major industries in the state are the Federal Super Phosphate Fertilizer Company PLC, Ideal Flour Mills PLC, New Nigerian Packaging Company PLC, Peugeot Automobile Nigeria PLC, United Wire Products Limited, Buses and

Refrigerated Van Manufacturing Co, Kaduna Furniture and Carpets Company Limited, Electricity Metres Company Nigeria Limited and Rigid Pack Containers Limited, Zaria. There is also the National Leather Research Institute, Zaria, the Defence Industries Corporation of Nigeria and the nation's third petroleum refinery are also located in Kaduna State

### **Tourism**

Kaduna state has numerous tourist attractions and comfortable five star hotels such as Durbar and Hamdala Hotels, among others, Tourist attractions include the Nok Cultural Site at Kuwi in Jema's Local Government Area, the Matsirga Water falls in Kafanchan, the Legendary Lord Lugard bridge in Kaduna town, the Kerfena Hills in Zaria and the Palace of the Emir of Zaria. There are also modern parks and gardens.

## **2.3 Methodology**

Data for this study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were obtained through Key Informants Interviews (KIIs) and Focused Group Discussions (FGDs). Therefore, by shape and content, this study involved some level of desk review of different documents and reports with direct links to these focal states; especially, the main development plan of the States where available with operational documents of Voice to the People (V2P) project funded by the UK Aid.

In terms of the FGDs, four were conducted for each of the selected communities. They covered different segments of the society including men, women, youths, as well as vulnerable groups (widows, people with disability or the physically challenged, old people, etc.). This compartmentalization was to enable each group feel free to express their opinions about governance and participation in governance activities in their communities, local government and at the state level. The KIIs were conducted for selected informants including community leaders, religious leaders, the Chairman/Secretary of community unions, the Head of Personnel Management (HPM) and Director of Works at the Local Government level as well as the Director Planning, Research and Statistics (PRS) of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development and the Director (Finance) at the State level. In the end, a total of 32 FGDs and 52 KIIs were conducted across the four focal states of Abia, Ebonyi, Imo and Kaduna. All FGDs and KIIs were conducted between September 15, 2016 and October 15, 2016.

### **Justification for Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)**

Experiences from past studies have shown that the public especially in the Nigerian context do not always respond well to questionnaires when interviewed privately. Often, questionnaires for this kind of assignment are not completed, when completed not all questions may be responded to, and sometimes, required documents are not provided. Different reports presented for validation have met different criticisms because stakeholders believe that individual responses are always bias. This is either because those in position and knowledgeable to respond are too busy, or sometimes are reluctant to disclose information they consider rightly or wrongly or to be confidential. Thus this study depended more on review of documents, face to face interviews (KIIs) and Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) to help triangulation of opinion and responses.

Key informant interviews are qualitative in-depth interviews with people who know what is going on in the community, Local Government or at the State level. The purpose of key informant interviews for this study was to collect information from a wide range of people - including community leaders, professionals, or residents - who have first-hand knowledge about the community, the Local Government (LG) or the State. This required that assigned research assistant and supervisor helped to secure appointments and ensured that they followed up to

collect necessary information. This is necessary to support timely completion of the assignment, and helped avoid unnecessary travels from location just to collect single information that can be collected by research assistants and sent to the consultant after thorough review by the supervisors. Table 2 below presents the number of Research Assistants and supervisors used in the four focal states.

**Table 2:** Research assistants and supervisors used in focal states

S/N	Items	Abia	Ebonyi	Imo	Kaduna	Total
1	Research Assistants	4	4	4	4	16
2	Supervisors	1	1	1	2 <sup>7</sup>	5

Source: Situational Analysis for V2P extension project, 2016

## 3.0 Analysis of Results and Findings

### 3.1 Introduction

This section presents the analysis done with data generated from the survey in line with the instruments of this study. Recall that the overall goal of the project is to see and have states that are more accountable, transparent and evidence-informed governments that prioritise the sustainable delivery of public goods and services that better respond to citizens' needs. The specific objectives of the study include:

- To assess knowledge, attitudes and perception of citizens regarding key issues of exclusion and participation in decision-making processes.
- To produce a comprehensive assessment of how communities are structured or organised in the South East and Kaduna (where applicable) to engage in/with local and state governments.
- To identify opportunities, constraints and risks for governance and institutional reforms in Abia, Ebonyi, Imo and Kaduna states that will guide the design of programme interventions in those states.
- To identify the key governance issues in the Ebonyi, Abia, Imo and Kaduna states and based on findings recommend/suggest strategies to address such.
- Based on the above, identify governance issues that have traction across the southeast states and where it is feasible for citizens to engage.
- To identify state actors interests and incentives in these states.
- To understand why required reforms are not happening
- To acquire both qualitative and quantitative baseline data against project outcomes and outputs which can be evaluated during the course of the project
- To identify the preferred communication resources available to citizens/communities in the target states.

Based on the above objectives, two different instruments were developed and utilised for the Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) as well as the Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)<sup>8</sup>. The responses of the various communities were analysed as qualitative data. Qualitative data are words based on observations, interviews, (or documents or observing, asking, or examining). The data collection activities were carried out in a natural setting for a long period of time. Such data required some processing as raw field notes needed to be corrected, edited and typed, while tape recordings needed to be transcribed and corrected (Wildschut, 2006, p. 9)<sup>9</sup>. One major feature of well-collected qualitative data is the focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events

### 3.2 Overall Assessment of Knowledge and the Quality of Governance in Communities

Governance has emerged as one of the main themes of international development. Because governance is important, there is the need to assess its aspects in a systematic way. Governance consists of a range of different dimensions and so, in this assessment, the study operationalized and clustered governance into 2 principles, 4 criteria and 11 indicators as follows:

**Table 3:** Principles, criteria and indicators used in this study

<b>Principle 1</b>	Meaningful Participation
Criterion 1	Interest Representation
Indicator 1	<b>Inclusiveness:</b> Perception about the degree to which affected communities are able to feel a sense of ownership and involvement in the political process; especially the inclusion of the voices of the poor, women and marginalized.
Indicator 2	<b>Equality:</b> Perception about the degree to which affected communities believe rules are applied equally to everyone in the community, i.e. the extent to which participating interests are balanced.
Indicator 3	<b>Resources Management:</b> Perception about the economic, technical and institutional capacity of communities to represent their interests within the democratic system.
Criterion 2	Government Responsibility
Indicator 4	<b>Accountability:</b> Perception about the extent to which political actors are considered as responsible to the public for what they say and do.
Indicator 5	<b>Transparency:</b> Perception about the degree to which affected communities perceive the rules about openness and clarity are upheld in the public real.
<b>Principle 2</b>	Productive Deliberation
Criterion 3	Decision Making
Indicator 6	<b>Democracy dividends:</b> Perception about the extent to which the most popular wish or opinion of the people are upheld, i.e. the extent to which the existing system can be deemed to be functioning democratically.
Indicator 7	<b>Agreement with communities:</b> Perception about the presence of collective decision making arrangements, such as voting or consensus.
Indicator 8	<b>Dispute settlement:</b> Perception about existing system's capacity to manage conflicts in the absence of an agreement or challenges emanating from decisions made.
Criterion 4	Implementation
Indicator 9	<b>Behavioural change:</b> Perception about the extent to which implemented agreements or substantive outcomes result in changed behaviour regarding the problems that the democratic system is created to address.
Indicator 10	<b>Problem solving:</b> Perception about the extent to which the democratic system has solved the problems it was created to address.
Indicator 11	<b>Durability of projects:</b> Perception about extent to which the democratic system is deem adaptable, flexible and sustainable.

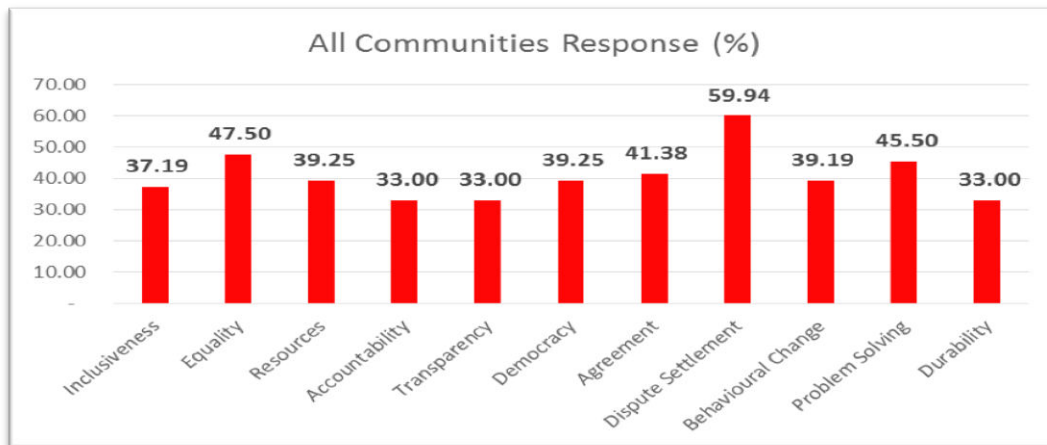
Peoples' utmost priority around the world is for governments that are honest and effective and can deliver on their needs and expectations. The extent to which these needs and expectations are realized form the opinions and perceptions about governance outcomes. Communities were therefore requested to rate the quality of governance in their localities between June 2015 and October 2016. Communities rated the 11 indicators on the following scale:

- low (1 or between 1 - 33 per cent)
- medium (2 or between 33 - 66 per cent)
- high (3 or between 66 - 100 per cent)

The results of the average scores are presented below (note that the scores are approximated to the nearest whole number where applicable. See also table 6 in the Annex).

Overall, the eight communities rated the following governance indicators as low: inclusiveness, equality, resources management, accountability, transparency, democracy, agreement, behavioural change, problem solving and durability (see figure 2 below). In other words, sampled communities across all focal states rated all key governance indicators except for 'dispute settlement' below 50%.

Figure 2: Rating of overall governance environment across selected communities

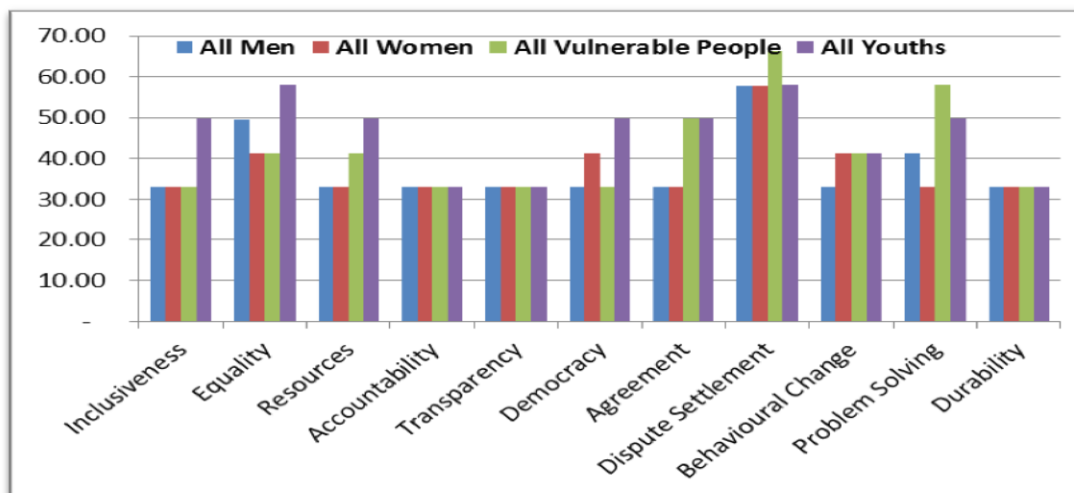


Source: Situational Analysis for V2P extension project, 2016

A further disaggregation of the general perception of the governance environment shows divergent impressions by different groups, however, the data still indicates less than 50% ratings by men, women, vulnerable people, and youths in most key governance issue. As shown in figure 3 below, all men rated inclusiveness, resource management, accountability, transparency, democracy, agreement, behavioural change, problem solving, and durability below 50%, but rated equality and dispute settlement above 50%, but less than 70% on average.

Quite similarly, all women rated inclusiveness, equality, resources, accountability, transparency, democracy, agreement, behavioural change, problem solving and durability below 50%, while only dispute settlement was rated above 50%. On the other hand, all vulnerable people rated agreement, dispute settlement, and problem solving above 50%, but rated inclusiveness, equality, resources, accountability, transparency, democracy, behavioural change, and durability below 50%. For all youths, the following governance indicators were rated above 50%: inclusiveness, equality, resources, democracy, agreement, dispute settlement, and problem solving. Meanwhile, they rated accountability, transparency, behavioural change, and durability below 50%.

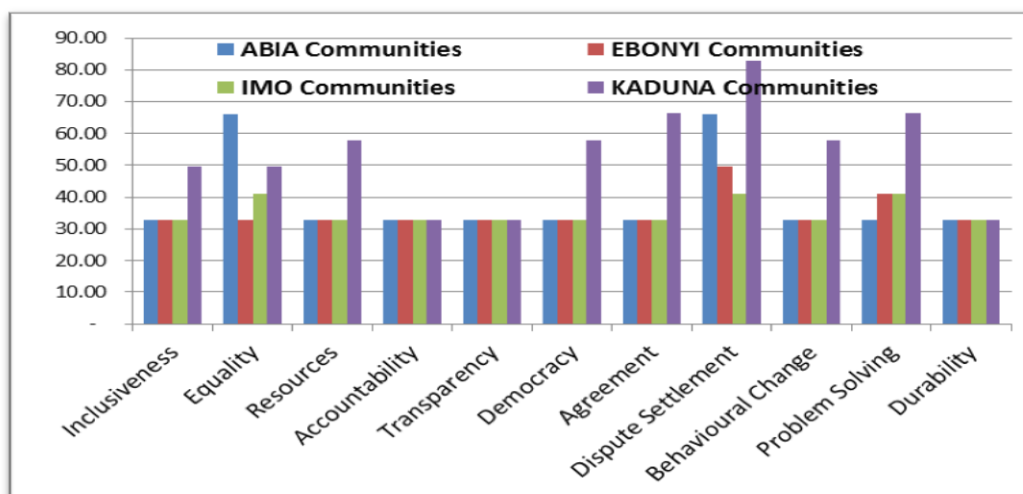
Figure 3: Rating of overall governance environment by categorisation in four States



Source: Situational Analysis for V2P extension project, 2016

Figure 4 presents the general assessment of governance quality at the community level. Aside from equality and dispute settlement which was rated above 50%, Abia communities rated inclusiveness, resources management, accountability, transparency, democracy, agreement, behavioural change, problem solving and durability at less than 40%. Ebonyi communities rated all the governance quality indicators less than 40% with the exception of dispute settlement which was rated at 50%. Similarly, all the governance quality indicators were rated less than 40% in Imo communities, with the exception of equality, dispute settlement and problem solving rated at 40%. In contrast however, the Kaduna communities rated accountability, transparency and durability of projects below 35%. Inclusiveness and equality were rated at 50%, while other governance indicators such as resource management, democracy dividend, dispute settlement and problem solving were rated more than 50%. In fact, dispute settlement in Kaduna communities was rated higher than 80%.

Figure 4: Community rating of overall governance environment

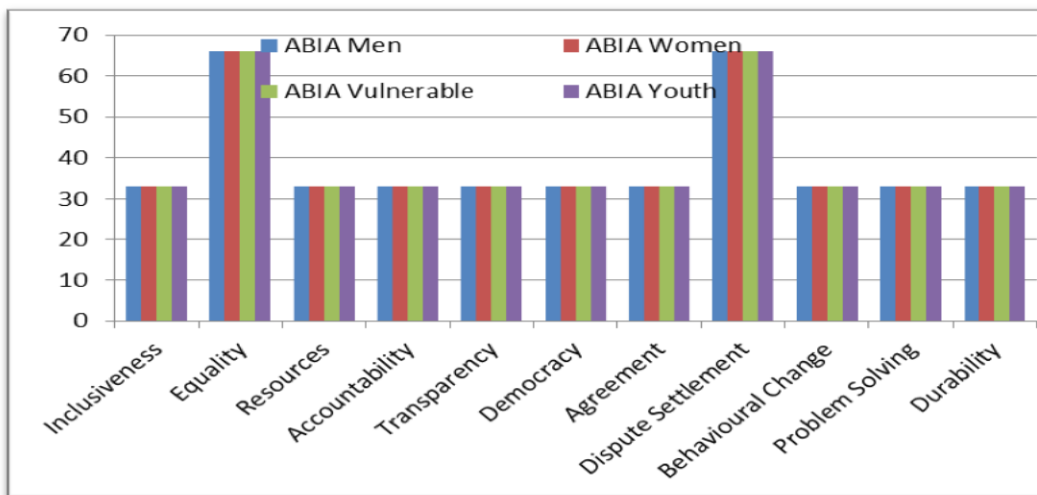


Source: Situational Analysis for V2P extension project, 2016



Abia state men, women, and youths rated inclusiveness, resources management, accountability, transparency, democracy dividend, agreement, behavioural change, problem solving and durability of projects below 40%, but rated equality and dispute settlement above 60%.

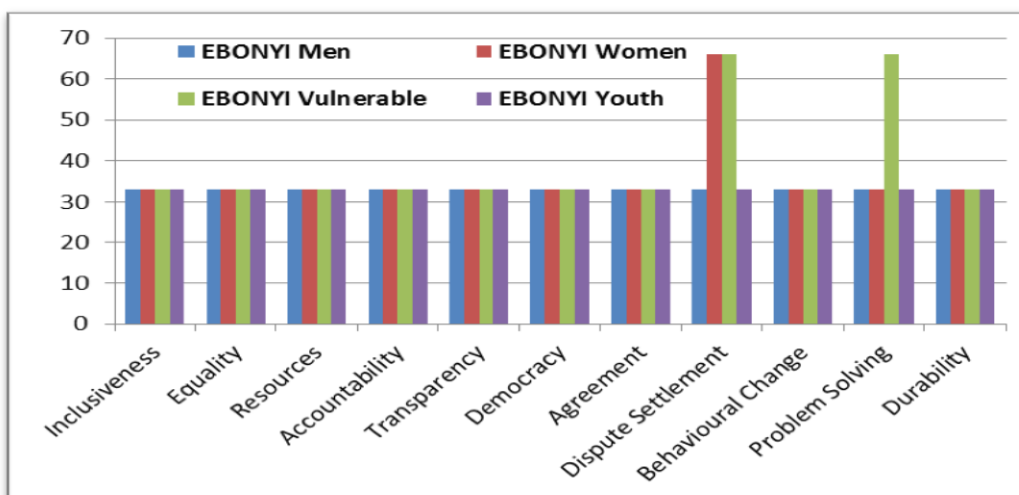
Figure 5: Rating of overall governance environment in Abia communities



Source: Situational Analysis for V2P extension project, 2016

In Ebonyi communities, men, women and youth were in agreement in rating inclusiveness, equality, resources management, accountability, transparency, democracy, agreement, behavioural change and durability of projects below 40%. See figure 6 below.

Figure 6: Rating of overall governance environment in Ebonyi Communities

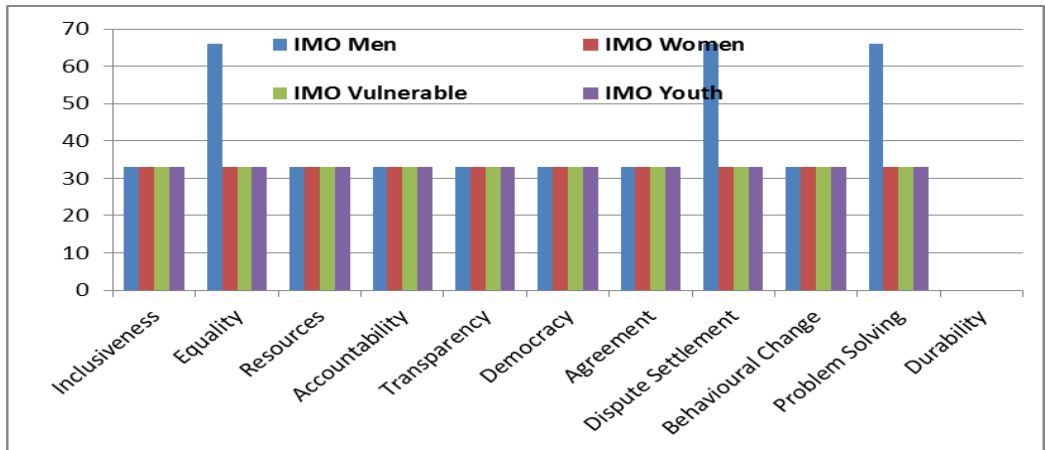


Source: Situational Analysis for V2P extension project, 2016

On the other hand, men and the youth rated dispute settlement indicator below 40% while women and other the vulnerable groups rated it above 60%. On problem solving indicator, only the vulnerable people rated above 60% while other groups rated it at below 40%.

In Imo communities, all governance quality indicators were rated less than 40% by all groups with the exception of men who rated equality, dispute settlement and durability of projects above 60%. See figure 7 below for details.

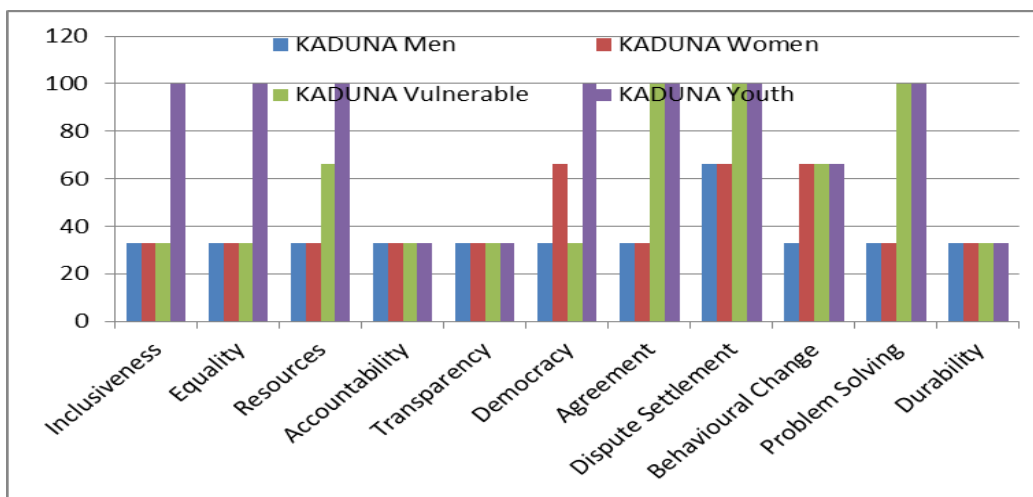
Figure 7: Rating of overall governance environment in Imo communities



Source: Situational Analysis for V2P extension project, 2016

In Kaduna communities, the youth seemed to have a more favourable assessment of the governance environment (see figure 8 for details). The youth rated the following governance indicators at almost 100%: inclusiveness, equality, resources management, democracy dividend, agreement, dispute settlement, and problem solving, while agreeing with the vulnerable people on agreement, dispute settlement and problem solving at almost 100%. The only agreement the youth had with other groups was in durability of projects, accountability and transparency, which were rated at below 40%. On the other hand, men, women and the vulnerable people rated inclusiveness, equality, accountability, transparency and durability of projects at below 40% while behavioural change were rated at above 60%.

Figure 8: Rating of overall governance environment in Kaduna Communities



Source: Situational Analysis for V2P extension project, 2016

### 3.3 Knowledge, Attitudes and Perceptions of Citizens

Evidence from both the FGDs and KIIs conducted across the four states showed that citizens have the understanding of key issues of exclusion and participation in the decision making process, however, there is a key concern. This is that most citizens do not believe they have the power to change anything or bring on board the kind of governance they desire. Poverty and inequality may be blamed for this perception as inferred from some of the responses gathered during the FGDs and KIIs. It is also evident that there is a wide gap between the decision makers and their citizens.

Even the key informants who were a little bit above board seemed helpless too. The information sharing mechanism is very weak across the four states, evidenced by most government interventions being unknown to their citizens. In Abia, Imo and Ebonyi states for example, there is this understanding that one can be persecuted for asking for his or her right when he or she can barely feed. An interesting perception from these three states is that once you can take care of yourself and family, you can fight to participate in governance. Kaduna citizens though not too far from that seemed more convinced that they can participate in decision making only that there is no such platform yet to help the citizens realise their dreams.

### 3.4 Assessment of how Communities are structured

Community structures across the four focal states differ. While the South-Eastern States of Abia, Ebonyi and Imo have strong similarities in structure, Kaduna state has different community structures. In Kaduna state for example, communities have strong traditional leadership that maintain strong control unlike in the South East States where the Igwe or Eze as the case may be does not have that strong grip on her citizens with bit and pieces of conflicts found spasmodically. That is not to say that citizens do not believe in their Igwe or Eze but the perception is that there are some that are not so strong and this gives rise to factions who are always ready to act as a strong opposition. This was witnessed more in Abia and Imo and less in Ebonyi State.

In the Southeast, there exist better institutional governance structures at the community level called the Town Union or Development Union as the case may be across the three states. These can serve as a good entry point for any advocacy that rests on governance because they have an umbrella organisation at the state level that can be very effective if well utilised, although not at the same level across the three states. While the Town Union or Development Union seemed stronger in Ebonyi and Abia states, that of Imo state seemed to have series of controversies trailing it, but regardless of this, it is still a good entry point and can be utilised to effect positive change for the citizenry.

Every community interviewed in the Southeast agreed that the women groups are also very powerful though there is a huge limitation to what they can do as they only operate at the local levels unlike the Town Union or Development Union that has an umbrella body at the state level. The attempt by the Imo state government to create what it called a fourth tier of government was most applauded by key informants in the state though it was also criticised for being a political tool, hence didn't see the light of the day.

In summary, the Town Union or Development Union can be a powerful tool for community participation in governance because it is home grown in the Southeast, while the traditional leaders can be very good entry point for communities in Kaduna state. Every key informant supported the idea of creating a Community Advisory Council (CAC), which key informants in Imo State believe, can do better than the Community Government Council (CGC) that was established for political interest. These Town Union or Development Union in the Southeast as well

as the traditional leaders in Kaduna State can be utilised alongside with the citizens to engage duty bearers (Local and State Government) for effective participation and desired change.

Many community groupings exist in the four focus states of Abia, Ebonyi, Imo and Kaduna. They include Town Unions, development associations, women groups, youth groups, religious groups, and cooperative societies, and are existing community platforms that seek to address development needs. However, these platforms are mainly sociocultural in nature and do not have adequate capacity to interface with the government on issues of openness, accountability and transparency. In cases where some of these existing community platforms have been able to make demands on the government, it has more or less been on an appeal basis rather than based on rights. For instance, in Obeaja (Abia State), the youth met with the Transition Committee Chairman over the electricity transformer and got a new transformer and cash of about N100, 000 to have it fixed.

While there are groupings along gender lines (e.g. men groups, women groups and youth groups) in Abia, Ebonyi and Imo communities, the women in Kaduna indicated that they have no existing platform of their own. They rely on their husbands to promote and protect their governance interests. In Sabuwa (Kaduna State), the men delegated their members to engage with the LGA and present their development issues; and the youths also took their development issues to the ward councillor, the Local Government Chairman and the State Government.

Issues of power relations or power mapping at the various states were also considered crucial for possible intervention across the focal states. **Annex 2** presents a detailed power relations actors' interest and incentives across the focal states. Aside the inherent nature of the existing community platforms, the communities identified some constraints that, hitherto, hinder these platforms from effectively influencing government to work in areas of governance, transparency and accountability. The constraints include the following:

- Lack of knowledge and skills on how to interface with government or ignorance on what to do
- Gender norms and cultural barriers, especially towards women (according to Abia women, “they feel that women should not interfere directly with government in the area of accountability and other governance issues”; while in Kaduna the women said; “we are always excluded from decision making, we follow orders from our husbands”)
- Political interests and divisions
- Lack of committed, patriotic and visionary leaders (suggesting leadership issues within the community platforms)
- Disability and vulnerability (according to vulnerable groups in Ebonyi communities)
- Failed political promises

In order to address the constraints above, the communities have identified ways of reforming and/or strengthening the community platforms as follows:

- Sensitization of communities especially women on their rights, thereby enhancing their dignity as women
- Strengthening and/or formation of associations to make inputs into and influence decision making
- Skills empowerment through trainings, e.g. education on rights and responsibilities, inculcating patriotic principles, selecting credible leaders, and allowing democracy to work
- Strengthening the existing platforms
- More commitments from members of the community.

### 3.5 Opportunities, Constraints and Risks for Governance and Institutional Reforms

Engagement could be formal or informal. Both formal and informal engagement can be understood as participation and are beneficial for a vivid and resilient democracy and governance and should be supported.

#### Participation in Governance Decision Making Process

Members of the communities from the different focal states of Abia, Imo, Ebonyi and Kaduna were unanimous in expressing strong opinions and beliefs that citizens should participate actively in governance decision-making processes. They reasoned that this is necessary not just because we are in democratic dispensation, but because they all play important roles in the communities and society at large; they are also capable of making contributions and gives them the opportunity to present their opinions and needs to the government for consideration. In addition, citizens' participation in governance decision-making process, they believe, provides an opportunity to hold politicians accountable and promotes inclusiveness. This point is interesting and noteworthy.

Unfortunately, there is no strong evidence that these communities have actually participated in governance decision-making process. While there is ample evidence that some group of citizens participate in decision making on community issues and at the community level, there is an overwhelming indication that members of these communities have never participated in political governance decision-making processes. According to the youths in Ebonyi state and women in Imo state, it is only during political campaigns and elections that politicians call and mobilize them to come and vote.

Similarly, there is strong evidence that these communities have not been contacted by any government (local, state or federal) on any governance or development issues in the past year. There are a few exceptions however, for instance, in Abia state where, according to the youths, information on fertilizer came from the Local Government, but only few privileged people heard about it and benefited. Also in Ebonyi state where, according to the men, a town hall meeting which involved selected government persons and the traditional rulers were held. This raises the issue of adequate and effective inclusiveness even in situations where there seem to be a deliberate effort by government to reach the citizens of these communities.

While there are varying opinions, among different groups, on who is not included in the decision making process, there is huge indication that vulnerable groups including the poor, disable, women, widows and other physically challenges persons are normally excluded in decision making at the political governance level across all communities in the four focal states. At the community level, no one is excluded except in matters peculiar to either men or women as in Abia State. However, in other communities across the four focal States, the general opinion is that the problem of exclusion in governance is rife.

It is therefore, not surprising that the communities are overwhelmingly unanimous in their desire and willingness to participate in political governance decision-making process in their communities, local government areas and states. In their opinion, they can only participate in governance decision-making process if they are well informed about government plans and actions. The communities expressed strong desire to have the opportunity of consultation with the government on programmes and projects so that they lend their voice on issues before decisions that concern them are taken at the political governance level.

Remedying debilitating patterns of inefficient, corrupt, non-transparent, and unaccountable governance can unlock developmental progress. This seems to be the feelings of the four communities who are unhappy about

unresponsive and poorly functioning governments especially at the local and state levels. Despite community appeals and political promises for improving governance, it has proved very challenging in practice. Political risks could arise in terms of loss of patronage resources and erosion of public support; while political benefits would be in terms of electoral or democratic dividends from improved economic performance and service delivery. Both formal and informal institutions can jointly and/or independently shape incentives for reforms.

The mobilization of organized communities and/or citizens builds support for reforms, and citizens' engagement in governance reforms increases with higher democratic governance literacy and capacity especially at the community level. This lack of capacity is evidenced in the fact that none of the communities in focus had successfully engaged their governments on governance and development issues of concern in the past.

### **Past Community Engagement Experience**

The incidence of alternative voices on governance issues is rare at the community level especially in the light of no evidence of community citizens' rejection of government policies, programmes or changes in the four focal states of Abia, Ebony, Imo and Kaduna. This attitude (non-responsiveness to poor governance) to less than desirable governance performance may not be unconnected to threat/fear, abandonment and the possibility of victimization/punishment. This point was highlighted in Ebonyi state by men and the vulnerable groups and in Imo state by the youths. In other communities, members have simply not experienced any situation where any segment of the society has opposed government policies or views.

Communities have largely not engaged the government on any recent governance or development related issues. The only recent engagement identified included Obeaja youths who pleaded for a transformer, Oshiri vulnerable groups who pleaded for road rehabilitation, and Sabuwa men, vulnerable groups and youths who pleaded for the rebuilding and equipping of their collapsed schools. Regrettably, most of these demands have received no positive outcome so far.

## **3.6 Governance Issues across the Focal States**

Responses from government and non-government actors (key informants) across the four states vary depending on the level of governance. At the LG level, there is this difficulty in distinguishing between a governance problem and a social problem. Their responses all moved towards a social problem, which in part is because of poor information management and the absence of any form of upward and downward feedback mechanism. The responses of all non-government actors tilted towards social and physical amenities like non-availability of portable water, lack of health and educational facilities, poor road network, non-extension of fertiliser distribution outlets in the local communities for local farmers, etc.

### **Governance Issues at the Community Level**

In the eight focal communities, citizens identified the following development needs that deserve government attention:

- rehabilitation or provision of roads,
- provision of modern markets,
- provision of modern and equipped health centres,
- rehabilitation or provision of secondary schools,
- provision of water and security

- provision of skills acquisition (empowerment) centres and employment
- provision of free education,
- provision of special amenities (especially for the vulnerable people),
- provision of credit and financial support, among others.

Unfortunately, there was no evidence that governments either at the state or local level are currently paying attention to these needs. Even in communities where some groups identified some issues that governments seem to be paying attention to, they are quick to point out that such developments are only happening in the cities or state capitals. Except in the two communities in Kaduna state where the vulnerable groups and the youth have reported improved security and the school-feeding programme, there is no recent government changes (policies/programmes) with a positive impact on the communities based on the responses of the key informants.

On the ease of accessibility of government documents to citizens, all the community groups were unanimous in their agreement that government documents are not accessible to the citizens especially at the community level. There seems to be an erroneous impression that government documents are normally secret documents. In Abia state for example, every woman interviewed pointed out that they had no knowledge of their rights to such documents. Political leadership and commitment are very fundamental for good and effective governance reforms. The community impression with regards to political promises, performance and use of resources is not exciting. According to the communities, government actors make empty promises they cannot fulfil, show no commitment to the welfare of the citizens, misuse public resources, are unreliable and to the citizens' highly incompetent. The communities feel they are powerless to check these poor performances.

Successful governance reforms require not just high levels of bureaucratic capacity but high levels citizens' engagement to ensure effective governance and ownership. The mobilization and training of existing or creation of new platforms/groups which address governance issues at the community level can build support for reforms. These groups including age grades, youth groups, men's groups, women's groups, development/town unions or associations, farmers' associations/groups, etc. These specific groups can be equipped to demand improved governance processes within their domains.

At the state level, top government officials have different opinions on governance issues. In Abia state, top government officials seem not to understand where to start because of stretched abandonment of policy and non-existent of clear policy direction since return to democracy. There is a general perception of waiting for "His Excellency and his team to tell us what to do and we start doing that". Most civil servants especially believe that's how government work is done in other words "a new normal". To them budget is a mere routine document produced and never used or consulted during projects and programmes implementation.

In Ebonyi state, there seemed to be a pattern that has existed where top echelons of government understood the need for policy direction and tried to fall in line even though they never fully implemented such policies. Unfortunately, according to some key informants, this trend is currently changing. During the last administration according to information gathered from some key informants, budgets used to be a "big deal" and people seem to respect that document during projects and programmes implementation. This is no longer the case now and the recruitment process hasn't helped any matter either. New employees enter the service without proper training and guidance, leading to inefficiency in the system. In fact, a Director General opined that both politicians and majority of the civil servants have no basic training in programming and programme implementation.

Imo state seems to have a matured civil service that shows high level of understanding of what can be done. Top government officials suggested that the state has been hijacked by the office of the Governor while instructions are dished out on a daily basis. In the state, the legislature is always at logger heads with the executive on frivolous issues that have no basis in governance. A quote from a top Government Official who pleaded to be anonymous says thus:

*“Budgets are better proclaimed to be non-existent though there are some documents with that title. Most times, passage by the legislature happens without the knowledge of anyone while sometimes they are never passed into law.”*

Kaduna state seem to have benefited a lot from State Accountability and Voice Initiative (SAVI) and State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability (SPARC) programmes of DFID, and hence have less issues in terms of policy and programming at the state level, but there is an effort by the current administration to dictate what these programmes and programming should be. Budgets are taken seriously on paper while you can expect policy switches at any moment without following the due process.

### **3.7 Governance Issues with Traction**

Governance issues with traction identified across the Southeast and Kaduna state have to do with the ease of accessibility of government documents or necessary information both in terms of livelihood matters and governance matters. All the community groups were unanimous in their agreement that important information like any form of micro credit scheme, fertiliser distribution mostly in Kaduna state as well as key government documents are not accessible to her citizens especially at the community level. All communities were also unanimous on the “dearth” of the local government and her functions and believe that reviving the local government to live up to expectation may be a boost to their livelihood and involvement in governance process.

There were clear impressions that government hides important information that can change peoples’ lives and make these available to those close to them as well as key documents that can help citizens hold government accountable. It is not surprising then that in all focal communities, there were unanimous agreement that the three most important key governance issues in need of urgent government action or intervention are; accountability, transparency and inclusiveness.

Community impression with regards to access to services, quality of services and inequity or marginalization is not any better. Basic public services are largely unavailable. Where they are available, like health centres (mostly one-room health centres), it is accessible but mostly substandard. Moreover, there is general impression (among men, women and the youth) that the vulnerable groups are marginalized when it comes to access to services.

### **3.8 Communication resources available to citizens/communities across focal states**

Communication resources available to different citizens’ group varies across the focal states and has been summarized in table 3 below based on the responses from different focal communities across the focal states<sup>10</sup>. The responses were replicated to provide a clearer view of some of their problems and how these communication resources were used as well as their effectiveness.



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**Table 4:** Communication resources available to citizens/communities across focal States

State	FGD	Sharing with other platforms/groups in or outside the community	Method of sharing information	Effectiveness of the method for sharing information	Suggestions on improving the method(s) of information sharing	Development issues that need to be communicated widely to all stakeholders in the community	Benefits of information sharing to the community	Channels of communication most widely used in the community	Controllers of access to communication channels in the community	Preferred communication channel(s)	Pitfalls to avoid communicating with various community stakeholders
Abia	Men	Yes, issues of oil well handled by ASOPECDAC; Fulani herdsmen; bad roads	Meetings and town criers	Very effective	Nothing	Security issues with regards to Fulani herdsmen and raping of women, bad roads, lack of modern health facilities and subsidized drugs	Awareness creation for taking necessary actions and precautions	Use of gong/town criers and church announcements	For men: Eze/Prime Minister; for women: women group leader; for youths: youth leader/secretary	Men (Ekwe, handsets); Women (Ekwe); Youth (Ekwe, SMS)	None
	Women	Yes, issues of oil well handled by ASOPECDAC; Fulani herdsmen; bad roads	Meetings and town criers	Very effective	Nothing	Security issues with regards to Fulani herdsmen and raping of women, bad roads, lack of modern health facilities and subsidized drugs	Awareness creation for taking necessary actions and precautions	Use of gong/town criers and church announcements	For men: Eze/Prime Minister; for women: women group leader; for youths: youth leader/secretary	Men (Ekwe, handsets); Women (Ekwe); Youth (Ekwe, SMS)	None
	Vulnerable People	No group/platform; yet to form one	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable	Security issues with regards to Fulani herdsmen, bad roads, lack of modern health facilities and secondary school	Helps people to know what is happening around and then take necessary action or precaution	Use of gong/town criers and church announcements	For men: Eze/Prime Minister; for women: women group leader; for youths: youth leader/secretary	Men (Ekwe, handsets); Women (Ekwe); Youth (Ekwe, SMS)	None

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State	FGD	Sharing with other platforms/groups in or outside the community	Method of sharing information	Effectiveness of the method for sharing information	Suggestions on improving the method(s) of information sharing	Development issues that need to be communicated widely to all stakeholders in the community	Benefits of information sharing to the community	Channels of communication most widely used in the community	Controllers of access to communication channels in the community	Preferred communication channel(s)	Pitfalls to avoid communicating with various community stakeholders
	Youth	Yes	Meeting in places as beer parlours and clubs	Yes	Call forum of all villages where issues should be tabled and discussed in the open	Fulani herdsmen problem, road issues, skill acquisition and entrepreneurship issues and health centres	None, because nobody makes official move to the best of our knowledge; due to ignorance	Ekwe, GSM; drum	Eze; village head; then all persons for the GSM	Men (Ekwe, handsets); Women (Ekwe); Youth (Ekwe, SMS)	None
Ebonyi	Men	Yes	Nil	Nil	Nil	Security	Yes, we can engage our representatives at various levels by inviting them to meetings and by communicating our decisions to them	The town crier	The leaders of the various groups, unions and meetings	Town crier	Communicating through a stranger
	Women	Yes	August meetings, Christmas meetings, Umu Ada and village meetings	Not at all effective. We discuss among ourselves and have no one to take our concerns to higher quarters	Nil	Education, employment, water and roads	Yes, though we need to be strengthened	Ekwe, church	The village association especially the Eze, youth, men and women groups	The women associations, the church; the women, youth and men leaders	Misunderstanding, victimization and intimidation
	Vulnerable People	No	Nil	Nil	Nil	Roads; electricity and water	Nil	Community town crier	Nil	Nil	Victimization if what one says is not in agreement with that of the

State	FGD	Sharing with other platforms/groups in or outside the community	Method of sharing information	Effectiveness of the method for sharing information	Suggestions on improving the method(s) of information sharing	Development issues that need to be communicated widely to all stakeholders in the community	Benefits of information sharing to the community	Channels of communication most widely used in the community	Controllers of access to communication channels in the community	Preferred communication channel(s)	Pitfalls to avoid communicating with various community stakeholders
	Youth	No	Nil	Nil	Nil	Security and employment of youths	Not applicable	Ezeogo / cabinet, village heads, family unity heads and individuals	Town criers	Ezeogo to the people or town union to the people	politicians and/or the government Political issues get quick response only
Imo	Men	Rarely	Town criers and the church	Very effective	Use megaphone instead of gong	Any development issue that concerns us	It keeps everyone knowledgeable about issues that concern us	Eze in council and Aladinma	The Eze controls both the message and the messenger of all the groups and to all the groups.	Each complements the other	Misinformation
	Women	Yes	Town criers, Aladinma and the Church	Yes	Use of bigger gong	Immunization	Yes, but there has not been any state issue that calls for mass mobilization	The church and the town crier	All information dissemination must be known to the Eze and or the parish council for the Catholics; whether it is for youth or women	The church is mostly preferred	Nil
	Vulnerable People	Yes	Town criers, Aladinma and the Church	It is effective	Use of bigger gong	Nil	Yes, but there has not been any state issue that calls for mass mobilization	The church and the town crier, one on one through Aladinma	All information dissemination must be known to the Eze and or the parish council for Catholics	One-on-one is mostly preferred for everyone because it is not everybody that goes to	Don't know

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State	FGD	Sharing with other platforms/groups in or outside the community	Method of sharing information	Effectiveness of the method for sharing information	Suggestions on improving the method(s) of information sharing	Development issues that need to be communicated widely to all stakeholders in the community	Benefits of information sharing to the community	Channels of communication most widely used in the community	Controllers of access to communication channels in the community	Preferred communication channel(s)	Pitfalls to avoid communicating with various community stakeholders
	Youth	Yes	Town criers, Aladinma and the Church	It is effective	Use of megaphone will be better	Every development issue	Yes, but it is difficult to identify in specific terms	The church and the town crier, one on one through Aladinma	Eze	The church	church. Some are blind or cannot walk the church Don't know
<b>Kaduna</b>	Men	Yes, we share information with groups within and also with other groups in other communities on issues that affect both communities, e.g. road	Communicate and arrange for meetings through phone or using the group messenger	It is effective	Help to extend the communication to more communities not just neighbouring communities	Infrastructure/ good road, improved health facility, improved school facilities	It has not yielded much benefit but it was able to gain the attention of the government to listen	Phone communications and the messenger	Traditional ruler, community association leader	Phone, community messenger (town crier)	Nil
	Women	Yes, on issues of bad roads, no school and lack of an equipped health centre	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	We were able to voice out our issues with the hope that they will be acted upon soon	Town crier, village head, men and youth	Town crier, village head, men and youth	Town crier	Exclusion of the vulnerable groups
	Vulnerable People	We don't know	Not applicable	Not applicable	Don't know	Road, education and health	Maybe yes, because security has improved	Town crier	Liman and Sarki	Town crier	Lack of commitment

State	FGD	Sharing with other platforms/groups in or outside the community	Method of sharing information	Effectiveness of the method for sharing information	Suggestions on improving the method(s) of information sharing	Development issues that need to be communicated widely to all stakeholders in the community	Benefits of information sharing to the community	Channels of communication most widely used in the community	Controllers of access to communication channels in the community	Preferred communication channel(s)	Pitfalls to avoid communicating with various community stakeholders
	Youth	Yes	By attending community meetings	Yes	Encouraging personal and collective sacrifices from members of the community	Road, education and health	Yes, through the sharing of information that we were able to defeat the security challenges in our community	Town crier	Religious and traditional rulers	Town crier	Misinterpretation of needs

Source: Situational Analysis for V2P extension project, 2016

### **3.9 Openness in Governance across Focal States: Results of the Sub-National Budget Transparency Survey (SNBTS) 2015**

An in-depth analysis of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN) as amended shows that Nigeria's fiscal decentralization process places the brunt of service delivery and the task of reducing poverty and inequality on the state governments. Closer scrutiny of figures from the Central Bank of Nigeria have found repeatedly that state governments spend approximately 45% of her capital expenditures in investments in infrastructure, property and other facilities for service delivery in Nigeria. With greater responsibility for state governments, there should also be greater scrutiny of Public Financial Management (PFM) within states. This is because budgets are the most powerful tool that a state government has to translate policies into concrete actions. State governments, however, have limited resources and are charged with the task of allocating these funds to a variety of sectors.

To fully understand the importance and the tangible benefits of budget transparency, we need to view public finance as an accountability ecosystem. In Nigerian states, the actors in this ecosystem are state governors along with Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), members in the State Houses of Assembly (SHoA), Auditor Generals, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and the media. Each accountability actor in the accountability ecosystem has a role to play to ensure that state government budgets are efficient, realistic, and linked to development plans. For State Governors and commissioners, budget transparency legitimizes government spending of public money by making budget information available to the public to influence and monitor. Budget transparency also gives CSOs and the media the opportunity to open constructive channels of dialogue between the state government and CSOs in order to make public spending more effective and efficient. Budget transparency and public hearings during the budget approval process in the SHoA give CSOs the ability to bridge the gap between government and the needs of the people. The role of the state auditor-general in the accountability ecosystem is to provide external budget oversight. Overall, budget transparency facilitates the work of all of these actors in their accountability roles.

The Sub-National Budget Transparency Survey is the first assessment investigating transparent, participatory budgeting and procurement processes across Nigerian states. The report compares the performance of all 36 Nigerian states, identifies best practices and recommends how states can be more open and participatory in their budgeting and procurement systems. The International Budget Partnership (IBP), a Washington-based international Non-Governmental Organization, developed the Open Budget Survey (OBS) to measure budget transparency, oversight of the budget, and spaces for public participation of national-level budget systems around the world. Given the importance of State governments in PFM and service delivery in Nigeria, Civil Resource Development & Documentation Centre (CIRDOOC) an NGO based in Enugu developed the Nigerian Sub-National Budget Transparency Survey (SNBTS) in partnership with the IBP to assess transparency and participation of budget systems and transparency of procurement processes in all 36 Nigerian states.

CIRDOOC partnered with local Civil Society Organizations in all 36 states to implement the Nigerian SNBTS. Partners utilized a multiple choice questionnaire, utilizing the OBS as a reference, to evaluate the public availability of key budget documents, public participation in the budget process and the public availability of procurement information for the period 2014-2015. Each response to the questions are used to derive the State Budget Transparency Index (SBTI) that describes the accountability structure in each state. The four focal states (Abia, Ebonyi, Imo and Kaduna) were part of the survey during the period and results of the survey from the four focal

states seem to be in line with the responses generated during the KIIs and FGDs. To ascertain openness and transparency, questions were grouped into four sections thus:

- Public Availability of Key Budget Documents
- Public Participation in the Budget Process
- Availability of Information on Public Procurement
- Legal Framework: Access to Information and Fiscal Responsibility

### 3.9.1 Public Availability of Key Budget Documents

Key budget documents surveyed for their availability include: State Budget Call Circular; State Budget Draft Estimates; State Budget Appropriation Law; State Citizens Budget; Implementation Reports: State Executive’s Quarterly Report, State Mid-Year Review and State Accountant-General’s Report (Year-End Report); as well as the State Auditor General’s Report. Table 5 below presents a summary of the four focal states performances.

**Table 5:** Key Budget Documents availability in Abia, Ebonyi, Imo and Kaduna States

S/N	Key Budget Documents	Abia	Ebonyi	Imo	Kaduna
1	State Budget Call Circular	PIU	PPA	PIU	PIU
2	State Budget Draft Estimates	PIU	PIU	PIU	PIU
3	State Budget Appropriation Law	PIU	PIU	PIU	PIU
4	State Citizens Budget	NP	NP	NP	NP
5	State Executive’s Quarterly Report,	NP	NP	NP	PIU
6	State Mid-Year Review	PIU	PIU	PIU	PIU
7	State Accountant-General’s Report	PPA	PPA	PIU	PA
8	State Auditor General’s Report	PPA	PPA	PIU	PIU
Total score (percent)		16	19	13	05

Source: SNBTS (2015): Note: PPA = Produced and Publicly Available; PIU = Produced for Internal Use; and NP = Not produced

The above table shows that in terms of availability of key budget documents across the four focal States, none of the states scored up to 40%, which confirms most of the information generated from the KIIs and FGDs. This implies that on average, the four focal states do not make key budget documents available to the public. It is noteworthy that these performances are below expectations of international best practice. It is expected that not only should the state government disclose its financial activities in its annual budget proposal but it should also issue documents at other times during the budget year to provide a comprehensive and updated picture of the government’s actions.

An interesting finding is the non-production of the citizens’ budget and quarterly budget reports across all the four focal states. The state executive should adhere to regular deadlines in an annual calendar for drafting the budget, presenting it to the state assembly for debate, executing the budget, and presenting its final accounts to the public and to the state auditor-general. Timely and regular reporting on each of these four phases of the budget process is essential. It also is important for the state assembly and state auditor-general to perform their critical roles in a timely manner throughout the budget year, especially when it comes to debating and approving the annual budget and reviewing the final accounts.

Above all, all of a state’s citizens should have the right, as individuals or in association in the form of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), to make and express judgments on the state’s budget. This requires that budget documents

be widely available. This is especially important for the State Executive's Budget Proposal, which should be available to citizens before it is adopted by the SHoA.

### **3.9.2 Public Participation in the Budget Process**

The desire to make budgets more participatory and transparent is part of a larger agenda to 'democratize' the formulation of macroeconomic policy frameworks. The design of macroeconomic frameworks and policies which take into account the voices and interests of women and poor people are critical in the fight against gender inequality and poverty. Macroeconomic policy-making often remains sheltered from broad public scrutiny and debate. This is due in part to the belief that macroeconomics is both a neutral subject, devoid of social content, and a technical subject best left to experts. However, the technical content of macroeconomic policies often disguises their social content. These policies are enacted within a context of institutional structures and power relations among economically differentiated social groups. Macroeconomic policies also produce a variety of social outcomes by determining which groups get what out of the economic pie. Scrutinizing public budgets is an important step towards understanding the social content of macroeconomic policies currently in place and democratizing the process of macroeconomic policy-making.

The second section of the survey looked at this process of public participation in the budget process seeking to find out the involvement of different stakeholders during the budget process (approval, execution and audit) across the four focal states. Under this index, Ebonyi State outperformed other three focal States with 28%, Imo scored 19%, Abia with 14% and finally Kaduna with 7%.

### **3.9.3 Availability of Information on Public Procurement**

The third section of the survey looked at the availability of information on procurement and the contracting procedures across the focal states of Nigeria. This is underscored by the fact that public procurement is essential in the process of delivering public goods and services. Most government works and services are implemented through the process of procurement. Good and accountable governance therefore thrives when the public procurement processes are governed by rules and effective institutions. To achieve this, procurement laws are usually enacted and procurement oversight institutions established to regulate the practice of public procurement within governance and private sector actors such as contractors and consultants. Also, if procurement is transparent, it requires an evaluation criteria clearly specified in advance in tender documents so that the award decision is made solely on the basis of criteria stated in the tender documents.

Evidence from the survey shown that apart from Ebonyi State, none of the other three focal States has a standard procurement law domesticated in line with the Public Procurement Act (PPA) of 2007 enacted at the federal level. It is equally interesting to note from the findings of the survey that publication of justification for awarding contracts to the selected contractor do not exist just as information on the channels for procurement review is never made publicly available in any of the four focal States. Only Ebonyi State has the Bureau of Public Procurement (a supervisory & regulatory body) established. There are no implementing rules, standard documents or such other tools to serve as guides and manuals in compliance with the Law requirements while the bidding processes seem to be guided by Official Circulars of the respective State Ministries of Economic Planning and Budgets Circulars and not the provisions in the law in line with UNCITRAL modern law. In the same vein the result of the survey show that neither information on alternative dispute resolution mechanisms related to procurement bid documents and



contract award decisions is made publicly available nor the information on the functioning of the procurement review system in any of the focal states.

#### **3.9.4 Legal Framework: Access to Information and Fiscal Responsibility**

The last section of the survey has to do with issues of access to information and fiscal responsibility. Here, states are expected to have a fiscal responsibility law that helps checkmate the “common pool problem”. This is where revenue drawn from every part of the economy and from the larger population funds expenditure programs that target narrow interest groups, thereby creating differences in benefits between the larger group of taxpayers and the smaller group of program recipients, with abundant possibilities for huge free riders.

With such situations, representatives of interest groups receiving targeted spending have an incentive to overspend compared to the socially optimal levels and abuse the system. To start with, a state is required to have a Fiscal Responsibility Law covering broad areas of organisational, transparency and accountability. Ebonyi is the only focal state that has a Fiscal Responsibility Law (FRL). None of the focal states has domesticated the State Freedom of Information Law with concrete access to information mechanisms nor has a State Access to Information Agency that ensures the application of the State Freedom of Information.

## 4.0 Recommendations and Conclusions

Improving governance is a tall order for every development partner, and it has to be done in collaboration with the communities and state actors and other interested partners especially those operating at the community level. To do that, there is clear need for a proper definition of the approach to be adopted for each individual state. In some states, the top-bottom approach can help achieve some results within the shortest period of time, while in others, the bottom-top approach may help in achieving some results.

For the Voice to the People extension, a proper analyses of the states that are closely homogenous at inception has provided insight, and from all indication across its focal states, it seems that both top-bottom and bottom-top approaches are needed for better, faster and more sustainable returns.

Communities across the focal states have identified ways of reforming and/or strengthening the community platforms as follows:

- Sensitization of communities especially women on their rights, thereby enhancing their dignity as women
- Strengthening and/or formation of associations to make inputs into and influence decision making
- Skills empowerment through trainings, e.g. education on rights and responsibilities, inculcating patriotic principles, selecting credible leaders, and allowing democracy to work
- Continuous encouragement/strengthening of existing platforms
- More commitments from members of the community

A combination of the above suggestions and understanding of critical issues including the communication resources available to the focal states as contained in Table 3.1 and the power mapping matrix in annex 2 are critical for any Voice and Accountability intervention in the states of Abia, Ebonyi, Imo and Kaduna. This information partly addresses the political economy of these states and possible ways of mitigating some of these issues while in the field.

The issue of women's participation and empowerment differs from state to state just as participation rate in each state depends on some religious or cultural practices. Documentation of achievements and lessons learnt from the project must be done regularly and compared with this baseline across the focal states, while a publication of 'Inclusive Governance Watch' is required to regularly document all achievements and lessons learnt from these communities to help in review of intervention.

## Annex

### I: Evaluative Matrix of Governance Quality in Four Focal States

Table 6: Evaluative Matrix of Governance Quality in Four Focal States

	CRITERION 1: INTEREST REPRESENTATION			CRITERION 2: GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY		CRITERIA 3: DECISION MAKING			CRITERIA 4: Implementation		
	Inclusiveness	Equality	Resources	Accountability	Transparency	Democracy	Agreement	Dispute Settlement	Behavioural Change	Problem Solving	Durability
<b>All Communities</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>
All Men	Low	medium	low	Low	low	Low	Low	medium	low	low	low
All Women	Low	low	low	Low	low	Low	Low	medium	low	low	low
All Vulnerable People	Low	low	low	Low	low	Low	medium	medium	low	medium	low
All Youths	Medium	medium	medium	Low	low	medium	medium	medium	low	medium	low
<b>ABIA STATE</b>											
<b>OBEAJA Community</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>
Men	Low	medium	low	low	low	Low	Low	medium	low	low	low
Women	Low	medium	low	low	low	Low	Low	medium	low	low	low
Vulnerable People	Low	medium	low	low	low	Low	Low	medium	low	low	low
Youth	Low	medium	low	low	low	Low	Low	medium	low	low	low
<b>UMUCHIEZE community</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>Medium</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>
Men	Low	medium	low	low	low	Medium	Low	medium	low	low	low
Women	low	medium	low	low	low	Medium	Low	medium	low	low	low
Vulnerable People	low	medium	low	low	low	Low	Low	medium	low	low	low
Youth	low	medium	low	low	low	Medium	Low	medium	low	low	low
<b>EBONYI STATE</b>											
<b>OSHIRI Community</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>

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	CRITERION 1: INTEREST REPRESENTATION			CRITERION 2: GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY		CRITERIA 3: DECISION MAKING			CRITERIA 4: Implementation		
	Inclusiveness	Equality	Resources	Accountability	Transparency	Democracy	Agreement	Dispute Settlement	Behavioural Change	Problem Solving	Durability
Men	low	low	low	low	low	Low	low	Low	low	low	low
Women	low	low	low	low	low	Low	low	medium	low	low	low
Vulnerable People	low	low	low	low	low	Low	low	medium	low	medium	low
Youth	low	low	low	low	low	Low	low	Low	low	low	low
<b>ECHARA Community</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>Medium</b>
Men	low	low	low	low	low	Low	low	Low	low	low	low
Women	low	low	low	low	low	Low	low	medium	low	low	Medium
Vulnerable People	low	low	low	low	low	Low	low	medium	low	medium	Medium
Youth	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	Low	low	low	Medium
<b>IMO STATE</b>											
<b>OBOWO Community</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>
Men	low	medium	low	low	low	low	low	medium	low	medium	low
Women	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low
Vulnerable People	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low
Youth	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low
<b>EZIAMA Community</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>
Men	low	medium	low	low	low	low	low	medium	low	medium	low
Women	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low
Vulnerable People	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low
Youth	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low
<b>KADUNA STATE</b>											
<b>SABUWA Community</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>high</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>Medium</b>
Men	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	medium	low	low	Medium

	CRITERION 1: INTEREST REPRESENTATION			CRITERION 2: GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY		CRITERIA 3: DECISION MAKING			CRITERIA 4: Implementation		
	Inclusiveness	Equality	Resources	Accountability	Transparency	Democracy	Agreement	Dispute Settlement	Behavioural Change	Problem Solving	Durability
Women	low	low	low	low	low	medium	low	medium	medium	low	Low
Vulnerable People	low	low	medium	low	low	low	high	high	medium	high	Low
Youth	high	high	high	low	low	high	high	high	medium	high	High
<b>ATTACKAR Community</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>low</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>high</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>medium</b>	<b>low</b>
Men	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	medium	low	low	low
Women	low	low	low	low	low	medium	low	medium	medium	low	low
Vulnerable People	low	low	medium	low	low	low	high	high	medium	high	low
Youth	high	high	high	low	low	high	high	high	medium	high	low

Source: Authors'

## II: Power Relations, Actors Interests and Incentives

Table 7: Power Relations, Actors Interests and Incentives

State	FGD	Key decision makers in the community	Most effective community decision maker who have engaged the government in past 2 years	Results of such engagements	Factors responsible for the effective engagement by community decision maker(s)	Factors hindering desired governance reforms in the community	Location /point of governance decision making	Major actors in governance decision making process	Perspective on appropriate behaviour for ensuring good governance	Desired future developments in the community	Willing to participate in the realization of these future developments	Perspective on how to participate in realizing these future developments or objectives
Abia	Men	Eze (king) and members of his cabinet	none	none - no engagements	not applicable	selfish and self-centered representatives, misappropriation of public funds;	in the offices of the leaders under tight security	elected officers and politicians	inclusive governance so that our voices will be heard and needs met; transparency /openness and accountability	engagement in decision making; employment; standard and well equipped health centre; market; secondary school	Yes	self-help projects; formation of cooperatives ; active engagement with the government
	Women	Eze (king) and members of his cabinet	none - no engagement	none - not effective	not applicable	selfish and self-centered representatives, misappropriation of public funds;	in the offices of the leaders under tight security	elected officers and politicians	inclusive governance so that our voices will be heard and needs met; transparency /openness and accountability	women engaged in decision making; employ us; standard and well equipped health center; market; secondary school for our children	Yes	self-help projects; formation of cooperatives ; active engagement with the government
	Vulnerable People	Eze (king) and members of his cabinet	no idea; no results	none	not applicable	selfish and self-centered representatives, misappropriation of public funds;	in their offices (i.e. leaders)	elected officers and politicians	inclusive governance so that our voices will be heard and needs met; transparency /openness and	engagement in decision making; employment; standard and well equipped health centre; market; secondary school	Yes	self-help projects; formation of cooperatives ; active engagement with the government

State	FGD	Key decision makers in the community	Most effective community decision maker who have engaged the government in past 2 years	Results of such engagements	Factors responsible for the effective engagement by community decision maker(s)	Factors hindering desired governance reforms in the community	Location /point of governance decision making	Major actors in governance decision making process	Perspective on appropriate behaviour for ensuring good governance	Desired future developments in the community	Willing to participate in the realization of these future developments	Perspective on how to participate in realizing these future developments or objectives
	Youth	Eze (king) and members of his cabinet	individuals, e.g Chief Felix Nwachukwu but by personal effort/pursuit	light; borehole; free school for primary school pupils	not effective	insensitivity of leaders to people's needs; self-centered	government offices; Eze's palace	leaders as said earlier	accountability inclusiveness and transparency	youth engagement in decision making; employment; loan for standard and well equipped health center, market and secondary school for our children	Yes	openness and fair hearing in decision making
Ebonyi	Men	Hon. Member of House of Assembly; LG caretaker; Ezeogo (Town Union President)	nil	none	nil	poverty; ignorance and division among the community	LG; State; development centers; they tell us what they have decided	nil	effective representation; humility in service; accountability and transparency	we want to be carried along in governance	Yes	attending meetings, contributing ideas and services when needed
	Women	Politicians: Deputy speaker of the House of Assembly, Chairman Development Center; Ezeogo Town Union President and their wives	nil	none	nil	poverty; ignorance and division among the community	LG; State; development centers; they tell us what they have decided	nil	effective representation; humility in service; accountability and transparency	we want to be carried along in governance	Yes	contributing ideas and services

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State	FGD	Key decision makers in the community	Most effective community decision maker who have engaged the government in past 2 years	Results of such engagements	Factors responsible for the effective engagement by community decision maker(s)	Factors hindering desired governance reforms in the community	Location /point of governance decision making	Major actors in governance decision making process	Perspective on appropriate behaviour for ensuring good governance	Desired future developments in the community	Willing to participate in the realization of these future developments	Perspective on how to participate in realizing these future developments or objectives
	Vulnerable People	political class; traditional rulers; the religious leaders; wealthy business individuals	Obasi Ali Odefa, the deputy speaker, the Development Centre Cordinator and the chairman	nil	nil	people have no voice and no representation to the government; community members are today divided along political camps	political level	political class; traditional rulers; the religious leaders; wealthy business individuals	Regular meetings between the politicians and the people.	We want interactions between the people and those who govern us. We wish to have good roads, electricity and water	yes	We want to be included as members of the development committee
	Youth	politicians only	none	none	not applicable	no new infrastructure ; old ones are abandoned to decay	government circle and offices, in their homes and hotel rooms	government officials	accountability	Good roads, stable youth empowerment, good schools and clinics	yes	participate in decision taking
Imo	Men	The Eze in Council and Aladinma	none	not applicable	not applicable	bad leadership, corruption and lack of vision	the palace for the community and government house for the state	The Eze in Council and the Executive Governor	form organizations that can engage in governance issues and try a recall process	good road network around the community	yes	provide voluntary services and other things require of us
	Women	Eze in Council and Aladinma	none	not applicable	not applicable	Selfishness, no good advisers	Eze's palace or at Owerri	Eze in Council and Aladinma	meet with them and discuss issues of concern in the community	factories or industries	yes	land and voluntary labour



State	FGD	Key decision makers in the community	Most effective community decision maker who have engaged the government in past 2 years	Results of such engagements	Factors responsible for the effective engagement by community decision maker(s)	Factors hindering desired governance reforms in the community	Location /point of governance decision making	Major actors in governance decision making process	Perspective on appropriate behaviour for ensuring good governance	Desired future developments in the community	Willing to participate in the realization of these future developments	Perspective on how to participate in realizing these future developments or objectives
	Vulnerable People	The Eze and Aladinma are the ones we know	The Eze and Aladinma	not applicable	not applicable	no idea	no idea	Eze and Aladinma	if we know what is happening, then we can ask questions	anything that can promote our welfare	yes	willing to do anything that will bring progress
	Youth	The Eze and Aladinma are the ones we know	The Eze because he is knowledgeable about political issues	no idea	not applicable	selfishness of politicians	house of godfathers	Eze and political godfathers	nil	good road networks and factories	Yes, of course	we can participate in any capacity required of the youths
Kaduna	Men	The traditional leader and his council members; Community development association officials; Religious leaders	The community development association officials; Alhaji Haruna; Liman Garba; Mohammed Bello; Alhaji Ya'u (mai-ungwa); Sale (mai-ungwa)	unfulfilled promises	able to bring government down to the community to see for themselves the issues they presented	community does have anyone in power or in higher authority	During LG council meeting	LG chairpersons/council and directors	fairness and justice	access roads; well-equipped schools; well stocked and staffed health center	Yes	Willing to go to any extent in engaging with government or individuals with community issue at any time
	Women	Religious leader (Imam and Ladan) and traditional leaders (sarki, Mai-ungwa, Hakimi)	Imam, Sarki and Mai-ungwa	No positive result except for security that has drastically improved; No more robbery or kidnapping	Because of their continuous engagement with the Local Government Area	selfishness	nil (not happy)	politicians	inclusiveness in all decision making	Good road, school and equipped health clinic	Yes	We have to have our own platform to engage the government and tell them our issues
	Vulnerable People	Liman and Sarki	Mal. Abubakar Yusuf, Fagachi Farmers	immunization and security	Because everybody including sarki respect him	Because the politicians only think of their own	LGA	Liman and sarki	fulfilling promises	better education; road; hospital	Yes	any how we are asked to participate

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State	FGD	Key decision makers in the community	Most effective community decision maker who have engaged the government in past 2 years	Results of such engagements	Factors responsible for the effective engagement by community decision maker(s)	Factors hindering desired governance reforms in the community	Location /point of governance decision making	Major actors in governance decision making process	Perspective on appropriate behaviour for ensuring good governance	Desired future developments in the community	Willing to participate in the realization of these future developments	Perspective on how to participate in realizing these future developments or objectives
	Youth	Liman (the religious leader), Sarki (the traditional leader) and youth leaders of various platforms	The liman; Mal. Abubakar Yusuf, Fagachi Farmers' Cooperative Society	Security improvement	The liman is not just a religious but also an educationist who teaches Arabic at the primary school. Hence, commands respect.	Because we do not have any appointed or elected representative in government to follow up on our case	localities From the LGA and Government house	The religious and traditional leaders	Providing for the people the basic needs which were promised during campaign	well-built and equipped schools; road; hospital	Yes	contributing within our capacity, physically and otherwise

## End notes

- <sup>1</sup> Kooimans, J. 1993. Modern Governance: New Government-Society Interactions, London and Newbury Park, SAGE Publishers
- <sup>2</sup> Other major non-State actors include but not limited to Land Lords, Heads of Associations, Cooperatives, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Religious Leaders, Community Leaders, Community Based Organizations, Women Associations and others.
- <sup>3</sup> A civic duty is an action or responsibility expected of every member of a society. Generally accepted examples include obeying laws, serving on juries in developed countries, paying taxes to the government, voting in elections and doing volunteer work. Many believe these civic duties are the basic tenets of citizenship (<https://www.reference.com/government-politics/five-civic-duties-71dc9f12d837d919>).
- <sup>4</sup><http://www.unescap.org/pdd/prs/ProjectActivities/Ongoing/gg/governance.asp>
- <sup>5</sup> These are the major characteristics of good governance as outlined by the United Nations when the World Leaders met and concluded that good governance is integral to economic growth, the eradication of poverty and hunger, and sustainable development.
- <sup>6</sup> In purposive sampling technique, the researcher chooses the sample based on who they think would be appropriate for the study. This is used primarily when there is a limited number of people that have expertise in the area being researched. In this case, the researchers choose communities and LGAs that different literature suggests an element of marginalization or not attracting what they should. Justification for their inclusion in the study is presented as table 2.1 above.
- <sup>7</sup> Note: Two (2) supervisors were used in Kaduna because of the distance between the two (2) focal LGAs.
- <sup>8</sup> See instruments in the annex of this report
- <sup>9</sup> Wildschut, L. (2006). Data collection methods: PG Diploma module 4. Stellenbosch, SA: Stellenbosch University.
- <sup>10</sup> Note that responses from two focal communities in every State were collapsed to form the response from the State

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Find out more about V2P on  
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### About V2P

Voice to the People (V2P) is a project supporting vulnerable communities in Kaduna State and the Southeast region of Nigeria to hold service providers, local authorities and state government to account, take part in the decision-making that affects their lives and raise their voices to demand the rights and services to which they are entitled.

It is delivered by a consortium of national and state organisations, led by international development agency, Christian Aid. The programme began in 2013 in 12 of Anambra's 21 local government areas. It was extended in 2016 to cover Kaduna and the rest of the Southeast region, including the whole of Anambra.

[voicetothepeople.org](http://voicetothepeople.org)

