

**OBAFEMI AWOLOWO UNIVERSITY, ILE-IFE, NIGERIA.**

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**POLICY SOMERSAULTS, POVERTY OF  
POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND  
CORRUPTION: OBSTACLES TO  
DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA**

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**An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Oduduwa Hall,  
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# **POLICY SOMERSAULTS, POVERTY OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND CORRUPTION: OBSTACLES TO DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA**

## **Preamble**

The Vice Chancellor, Sir, Distinguished Ladies & Gentlemen, I feel privileged to stand before you today to deliver the 307<sup>th</sup> Inaugural Lecture of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife from the Faculty of Administration, Department of Public Administration.

My case can be likened to the chorus of a song by Doris Day which goes thus:

*Que sera sera*  
Whatever will be will be  
The future is not ours to see  
*Que sera sera*  
What will be will be

I never dreamt in my wildest imagination of becoming a university lecturer, let alone a professor. My standing here before you today to present my Inaugural Lecture is, therefore, a special privilege from God who has used my husband, Professor Moses Akinola Makinde, as His instrument of positive change in my life.

I started my career as a confidential secretary in the mid-60s after the completion of my secondary education in 1965. At a point in my career as a secretary, my husband was always drumming it into my ears that I have great potentials to join him as an academic later in my life. The way to the fulfillment of his wish for me was opened in 1983 when he went on Fulbright Fellowship to Ohio University, U.S.A. Our children (Akinola, Olumide and Kayode) and I accompanied him to the United States of America where he persuaded me to enroll for a degree programme even though my own intention was to work and make money with which I planned to get some gadgets for our home back in Nigeria. I got an admission into the Ohio University after performing brilliantly in

the prescribed test for foreign students. I immediately enrolled in the Faculty of Education to read Education/English and my performance got me on to the Dean's list in that first year.

We came back home after one year and I got an admission into the Faculty of Education in the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University) to continue with my degree programme in 1984, having brought my transcript from Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, U.S.A. By the reason of my age among the young students, I became an automatic auntie to almost all my mates except a few mamas like me in the class. By 1987, I completed my first degree programme with First Class Honours in Education/English. My husband was excited and very happy. He then persuaded me to go for a higher degree in order not to waste the first class degree that I had, always telling me that with my first class degree, I was a professorial material. I agreed to go ahead on the condition that he would give me N200 a month throughout the programme. This was just to discourage him from persuading me from going further. To my disappointment, he agreed and I applied for and got admission to do M.Phil (Public Administration) in Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife, but ended up doing MPA. While still in the public service with an MPA degree, I was appointed as Special Adviser (Administration and Protocol) in 1992 during the administration of the Late Alhaji Isiaka Adetunji Adeleke of blessed memory - courtesy of my husband's involvement as a member of the "Think Tank" in the political activities of the State at that time, even though he is from Ekiti in the then Ondo State. He actually turned down the position he was given and recommended me instead. In November 1993, however, all civil servants-turned politicians were retired by General Sani Abacha and that brought an end to my career in the State public service.

My journey into the academics started in March 1994. I was only 45 years old when I was retired even though I was not tired. I was advised by my husband and my children to go back to school and this I did by applying to do a PhD degree in the department where I had my MPA, but was told that the MPA was not acceptable for

the PhD programme, and so, I had to do an M.Sc as my second Masters degree. I was fortunate to have been given an appointment then as a Lecturer Grade II in the Department of Public Administration. The appointment was on contract having retired from the civil service. After my M.sc, I enrolled for my PhD which I bagged in 2008 at the age of 60 years. Surely, age was not a barrier! By this, I became an inspiration to those, especially mothers, who thought that they were too old to study.

Today, I give all glory to God for this great opportunity to stand before this august audience to deliver this Inaugural Lecture as a Professor of Public Administration at this great citadel of learning, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, in the State of Osun.

## **Introduction**

I have chosen the topic of this lecture as a result of my research into policy matters, especially the problems militating against successful implementation of policies in Nigeria. Nigeria is noted for formulating beautiful policies in the various sectors of administration, which include education, health, agriculture and poverty alleviation, among others. Policy making is one of the major functions of government; hence it remains the focus of this lecture. Various studies and practical experiences have shown that most of these policies have failed to achieve the desired results. They fail at the implementation stage and this has been a recurrent source of inhibition to national development as brought out in Makinde (2003) "The Implementation of the Better Life and Family Support Programmes and Women's Empowerment in Osun State, Nigeria". This problem is what I refer to as poverty of policy implementation, resulting in policy somersaults and which has constituted a big obstacle to development in Nigeria.

## **Development**

Development depends on the perspective from which it is being considered, as it means different thing to different people in different contexts. Some of the indices of development are human growth, income, and access to social amenities which can be

summed up as human development. Human development, by the United Nations Document (1996), emphasizes the “measurement of human development by life expectancy, adult literacy, access to all three levels – primary, secondary and tertiary - of education, as well as people’s average income, which is a necessary condition for their freedom of choice”. Human development incorporates all aspects of a person’s well-being, ranging from health status to his economic and political freedom.

*Chambers Dictionary* (online) defines development as “good change”. This definition presupposes that there is also “bad change”. Therefore, in line with the *Chambers’* definition, development means progress and not recession or retrogression. It is a normative concept whose definition will vary from individual to individual, parties and countries depending on standards or rules of behaviour set by individuals, parties or countries. Mabogunje (1995) views it from the perspective of wealth creation while Agagu (citing Thomas, 2000:5) defines development as “escape from underdevelopment. Makinde (2013) in “Globalization as a Constraint to Development in Africa: The Nigerian Experience” defines development as a process of change, positive change, which is crucial to any developing nation. A nation is considered developed when it succeeds in the delivery of social services to its people. It is undeniable that development in any country involves improvement in the standard of living of the people. However, for the purpose of this lecture, development shall be considered from the perspective of Michael Todaro’s identified three basic core values for understanding the inner meaning of development. They are: *sustenance, self-esteem and freedom.*

Sustenance is the ability to meet basic needs such as food, shelter, health care and protection (security). Self-esteem has to do with a sense of worth and self-respect such as dignity, honour and recognition while freedom is an expanded range of choices for societies which include freedom from oppression, material wants as well as greater protection from environmental disasters.



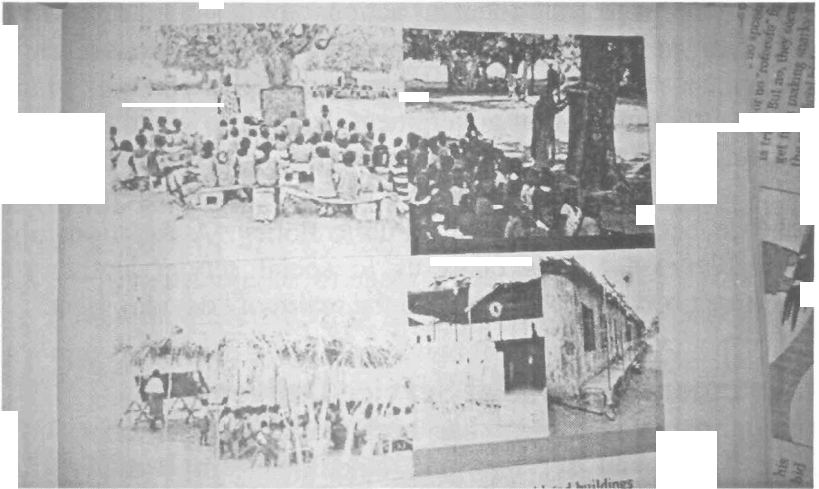
Development in this Lecture shall, however, be discussed from the perspective of Todaro's (2003) three basic core values that will enhance the practical guideline for understanding the inner meaning of development, as discussed earlier. Meeting these needs is expected to be the responsibilities of government, meaning that government has a big role to play through the provision of social amenities in order to ensure sustenance, self-esteem and freedom for the people. These values will determine the social services to be provided by government in order to ensure development in the country. This responsibility involves coming up with good strategies. This is where government policies come in. Of course, the provision of these services will require adequate strategies, which can be seen from the perspective of policy making.

A good strategy has been defined by Rumelt (2011) as an underlying structure called "a kernel" which has three parts – diagnosis, a guiding policy, and coherent action. Diagnosis defines or explains the nature of the challenge while a guiding policy deals with the challenge, and coherent actions are designed to carry out the guiding policy. Strategies according to Rumelt, involves two major processes namely, formulation and implementation. It is at this stage of strategy that government decides on what and how to provide for the people. The functions of government as regards development are well discussed by Makinde (2015) in her work – "Interface between politics and Public Policy: A Relationship of Inseparableness". This takes us to social service delivery by government because it falls within the realm of "development".

## **Government and Social Service Delivery**

The Nigerian government has been going through crises in its delivery of social services and amenities. In a study titled: "Corruption and its Implications for Social Service Delivery in Nigeria" carried out by Makinde, Popoola and Ologunde (2008) it was revealed that government has failed in many areas in the provision of social amenities to the citizens.

Unfortunately, no day passes by without complaints about the quality of virtually all the facilities provided by government in the education sector, security sector, alleviation of poverty sector, as well as the health sector. Starting with the education sector, it appears that this sector - at all levels - suffers from inadequate funding and inadequate personnel and infrastructure. This has resulted to those who can afford to send their children outside the country to do so for their proper education. Ghana is benefiting tremendously from this anomaly in our education system as Nigerian students in Ghana spend large sums of money in various Ghanaian institutions (Okotoni, 2017). This is the cumulative effect of poor funding, lack of maintenance culture, dilapidated building and other vices that characterize public schools at all levels in Nigeria, which can be traced to policy failure. It is an open secret that education in Nigeria has been witnessing gradual but steady decline in quality in the last few decades. The picture below shows Nigerian pupils learning under trees and dilapidated buildings.



**Figure 1: Nigerian pupils learning under trees and dilapidated buildings**

The health sector in the country does not fare better due to similar problems identified with the education sector as affirmed by *Africa Recovery* (2017) which, *inter alia*, remarks:

Healthcare also suffers from inadequate funding. Most health institutions lack basic facilities such as medicines and dressings while government health spending averaged just 4.5% of the budget.

In addition to the above, doctors and other medical professionals and paramedic workers embark on incessant strikes, resulting in loss of lives. It is not surprising, therefore, that most of our leaders regularly travel overseas for treatment of their ailments! They travel to Great Britain, Germany and other European and Asian countries for even minor medical attention. President Buhari came back from such treatment after spending 47 days of “medical leave” in Britain from January 19 to March 10, 2017. He embarked on another medical vacation on May 8, 2017 and returned on August 19, 2017 after spending 103 days in London. If Nigeria had good health care facilities one may ask, why should the President and Commander in-Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria go that far to seek medical attention at a great financial cost to the Nigerian people? Several years ago, former President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida had to travel to Germany to treat “radiculopathy”, a disease, which could be treated in Nigeria if there were necessary facilities and good incentives to retain highly qualified Nigerian medical personnel who reside abroad. Other countries are benefiting from the expertise and experience of Nigerian doctors who have checked out in search of greener pastures to these countries to practise their profession. For example, a spectacular open fetal surgery whereby a baby was removed from her mother’s womb, operated upon and returned to the mother’s womb after the surgery, was carried out recently by Dr. Oluyinka Olutoye in Texas, United States of America. Dr. Olutoye is one out of many products of Obafemi Awolowo University Medical School who are doing exploits all over the

world in the field of medicine. This simply shows that Nigeria has men and women in the medical profession but they are handicapped because of inadequate equipment, conducive environments, necessary infrastructures and proper incentives.

The Federal Government has commended a Un. based Nigerian surgeon, Dr Oluyinka Olutoye, for the remarkable work he did when he removed a baby from its mother's womb and returned it back



**Figure 2: Dr. Oluyinka Olutoye – the Surgeon**

In fact, the *Guardian* of 21<sup>st</sup> August, 2017 reported the request made by the National Medical Association (NMA) that Buhari should equip Nigeria's hospitals like U.K's.

As regards shelter, many are still found living under bridges and uncompleted buildings due to their inability to own a house or rent an apartment. The level of poverty, coupled with high costs of building materials, has disabled many Nigerians from having their own personal houses.

There is also high rate of unemployment as copiously discussed in Makinde's (2011) study titled "An Assessment of the Impact of National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) on the People of Southwestern Nigeria: An Empirical Study". In addition to the identified problems above, it also appears that government has not been able to provide security, especially with the incidences of Boko Haram attack, Fulani Herdsmen attack, kidnapping, "adult-

napping”, rape, armed robbery, as well as ritual killings being on the increase. Although government is trying to combat the menace of Fulani herdsmen by trying to come up with an arrangement to create grazing zones for them in all states of the federation, the plan is already attracting negative reactions from the people of Nigeria. This resistance has been discussed in a study carried out by Makinde & Popoola (2016) titled “Public Policy and Change Reactions from Citizens in Nigeria”.

For the second value, self esteem, it is on record that many public servants and pensioners are not getting paid, as at and when due while in the area of the third value, freedom, government appears to have failed in providing the needed freedom from environmental disaster and material wants.

The social delivery system of government has attracted a lot of condemnation from the people because of erratic electricity supply, as well as inadequate water supply in many cities and villages. Strange enough, there are policies and policy programmes put in place for the provision of these facilities but some of the institutions/agencies that are meant to carry out the implementation have failed to do so. These institutions come under the public service which is an important governmental institution that plays the crucial role of formulating and implementing public policies, with great efficiency and without prejudice. The role of public servants as the implementors of the various policies of government makes them part of the success or failure of public policies made towards ensuring development.

## **The Nigerian Public Service**

The Nigerian public service comprises the civil service, Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) and the parastatals. The parastatals are those establishments that are not in the main stream of the civil service. They include government corporations such as those responsible for the provision of electricity, water, telecommunication, petroleum products, as well as health care facilities, such as the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS),

among others. Generally speaking, the public service, at the federal, state and local government levels, is responsible for the activities of government institutions and employees who are involved at the levels of formulation and implementation of policies aimed at providing social services to the citizenry. The public service of any country is regarded as a transformational institution because of its timeless responsibility of implementing public policies and programmes and rendering of essential services to the masses. The above statement underscores the importance of the public service and the responsibility imposed on those serving in it. The big question is: "Has the Nigerian public service been able to live up to this expectation?" It is a capital NO due to many reasons, chief of which is corruption. The negative response is revealed in a study carried out by Makinde and Adesopo (2010) on "Ethical Violations and Local Governance in Nigeria". Mr. Vice Chancellor, Sir, the failure of the public service to implement public policies has been one of the major causes of policy somersaults. Permit me to briefly discuss public policy and policy somersault.

## **Public Policy and Policy Somersault**

What is public policy and what is policy somersault? Public policy, according to Thomas Dye (1972), is whatever government chooses to do or not to do. Public policy is also the means by which a government maintains order or addresses the needs of its citizens through actions defined by its constitution. For the purpose of this Lecture, public policy is what the government of Nigeria chooses to do or not to do in order to maintain order and to address the needs of the people. In this Lecture, policy and programme will be used interchangeably. To understand policy somersault, we need to know what somersault means. The *Free Dictionary* on the internet defines somersault as an acrobatic stunt in which the body rolls forward or backward in a complete revolution with the knees bent and the feet coming over the head. It is also defined as complete reversal, as of sympathies or opinions. The second definition suits our purpose in this lecture. Therefore, we can define policy somersault as a complete or near

complete reversal of policy objectives and/or programmes, that is, policies not achieving intended objectives.

## **Poverty of Policy Implementation**

Poverty of policy implementation occurs when the desired result on the target beneficiaries is not achieved. Such a problem is common in most developing nations. In fact, wherever and whenever the basic critical factors - communication, resources, environment, dispositions or attitudes, and bureaucratic structures - that are very crucial to implementing public policy are missing or inadequate, whether in developing or developed nations, there is bound to be implementation problem. These factors are inter-related and they interact with each other to aid or hinder policy implementation. By implication, therefore, the implementation of every policy is a dynamic process, which involves the interactions of several variables as mentioned above.

Honadle (1979:16) tried to identify the problem associated with policy implementation as that of social carpenters and masons who fail to build to specifications and thus distort the beautiful blue print. Here he was equating policy with a building plan. Honadle said:

Implementation is the nemesis of designers; it conjures up images of plans gone awry and of social carpenters and masons who fail to build to specifications and thereby distort the beautiful blue prints for progress which were handed to them. It provokes memories of "good" ideas that did not work and places the blame on the second (and second-class) member of the policy and administration team.

The above quotation shows the importance that is attached to policy implementation and those that are responsible for implementing these policies. It also shows that no matter how

beautiful the blueprint of a programme is, a defective implementation will mar it.

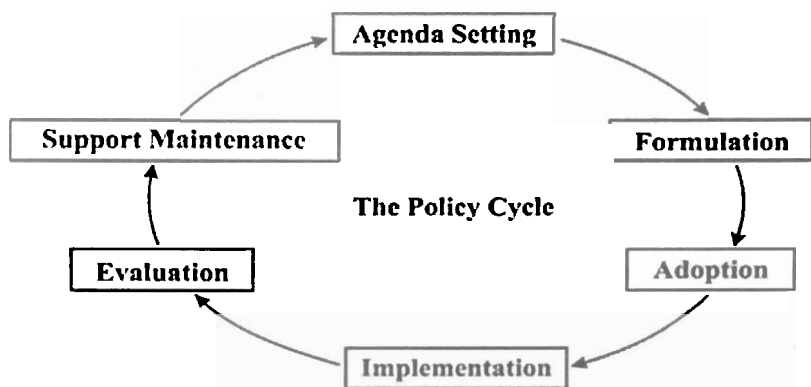
As clearly brought out in a study by Makinde and Ologunde (2006) – “Policy Implementation Problems in Nigeria”, little attention is paid to the subject of policy implementation by policy decision makers while it is often taken for granted that once a policy is adopted by government it must be implemented and the desired goals achieved. The above lapses have often resulted in poor policy implementation, which in effect, gives rise to implementation gap.

There is policy failure when there is a sizeable gap between a policy decision and its implementation. Such a gap is characterized, for example, by the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer in spite of stated policy goal to the contrary. Implementation gap thus manifests in the widening of the distance between stated policy goals and the realization of such planned goals (Egonmwan, 1984). Perhaps the most important point to emphasize in respect of policy implementation is the extent to which success or failure in implementation depends on the activities already carried out at the policy formulation stage. For instance, a resounding failure might occur if, because of the sophisticated techniques adopted in the analysis of alternatives that culminated in a policy choice, the implementation is taken for granted. Other variables as discussed above have to be taken into consideration.

Adamolekun (1984) suggested that the best way out is to approach the implementation process with maximum flexibility, taking into consideration the fact that many assumptions and probabilities characterize policy formulation techniques. As a matter of fact, he clearly stated that the formulation and implementation of policies are not completely distinct phases of activities and that there is no definite end to policy implementation. He arrived at this conclusion as a result of new demands that usually emerge after new tensions might have been generated as a result of implementation of new policies. Sometimes, new demands emerge



that have to be transmitted to the policy making machinery; they are then processed and transformed into one or more policies that, in turn, have to be implemented. And this may become cyclical. (See diagram below for policy process cycle)



**Figure 3: Policy Cycle**

## **Causes of Policy Somersaults and Poverty of Policy Implementation**

Policy somersault and poverty of policy implementation can be traced to the problems at the various levels of policy process in addition to other causes which shall be discussed under the following headings: problems at the policy formulation stage, problems at the implementation stage, problems at the policy evaluation stage and the problem of corruption, among others.

### **1. Problems at the Policy Formulation Stage**

At the level of policy formulation, there may be wrong identification and choice of problems for policy redress, resulting in distortion in the estimate of the scale, the magnitude and the scope of the problem. For example, when there are policy demands on the issue of decline in the standard of education, there may be exaggeration or suppression. Depending on who is handling the situation, either of the two – exaggeration or suppression – will have negative consequences on the area of

setting goals and making provision for goal attainment. This means that such a policy will be wrongly directed. Simply put, the policy is experiencing a somersault right at the first stage of policy process. Another problem area at this stage is the issue of clarity of goals. The way goals are stated and packaged is important for policy success. The housing policy formulated during President Shehu Shagari Administration (1979-1983) is a clear example. The slogan then was "Housing for all in Year 2000". The Year 2000 suddenly became a magic year! How could such a goal be achieved when the word "all" was not clarified. Was it all adults – males and females? Did the word "all" include children and babies? One can see why the policy failed because there was no way it could even be evaluated for impact on the target beneficiaries.

## **2. Problems at the Implementation Stage**

At the implementation stage there can be poor support or poor cooperation from the necessary agencies, political leaders, beneficiaries and the citizenry. Sometimes, the environment could be hostile to policy implementation – ranging from social to economic to political. An example of hostile political environment was played out with the Shagari housing policy. The agency (Ministry of Lands & Housing) responsible for the provision of lands for the project in those states not controlled by the then National Party of Nigeria (NPN), especially in the then Oyo State of Nigeria which belonged to the opposition party – the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) - did not cooperate with the Federal government as it failed to give the needed support for the policy to succeed. Rather than provide lands in areas that would attract patronage of the houses built by government, lands were provided in the bush, thus making the purchase of such houses unattractive to the citizens in the state. Only the then Ondo State appeared to give some measure of cooperation when compared to other states. Other problems at the implementation stage include poor programme leadership, poor management, inadequate resources, corruption, contractual failures, poor implementation conception, poor design, and indiscipline, as well as shortfalls in state revenues

which were clearly brought out in the study titled “The problem of policy implementation” carried out by Makinde and Ologunde in 2006, which also revealed that problems can arise from ethical violations. Ethical violations come in different forms, which include bribery and misappropriation of funds and such others like nepotism, conflict of interest, among others. All these are elements of corruption described as that which flow from negative emotions, the appetitive aspect of man and his desire for physical or worldly pleasures (Makinde, 1988). All the factors discussed above are potentially capable of derailing policy implementation leading to policy somersault.

### **3. Problems at the Evaluation Stage**

The importance of evaluation of programmes or policies cannot be overlooked because this is the stage where their success or failure can be determined. Policy evaluation is a critical stage in policy process. It provides information on the level of success of policy. At the stage of policy evaluation, the evaluator may find it difficult to evaluate a programme because many programmes do not have information base on their various activities, services, inputs and operations. Without information base, how can a programme be evaluated. Where there is no proper evaluation, it will be difficult to know whether a policy has achieved its set goals. In addition, many programme managers do not engage in systematic analysis to determine efficient performance and impact which will facilitate programme decisions. Some of the programmes do not have measures, criteria or any means for the measurement of performance, while some of them do not even have impact assessment measure and do not consider impact assessment in the determination of the probable effects of programmes on the real life environment.

### **Other Causes of Policy Somersault**

Mr. Vice Chancellor, Sir, apart from problems at the policy process stages, other causes of policy somersault include, among others, discontinuity in government. Makinde (2011) discussed the issue of discontinuity in detail in her study titled: “An Assessment

of the Impact of National Poverty Eradication programme (NAPEP) on the People of Southwestern Nigeria: An Empirical Study “where she discussed the way the First Ladies embarked on new policies/programmes as soon as they come on board. For example, the Better Life Programme (BLP) was put in place in 1987 by Late Mrs. Mariam Babangida when her husband General Ibrahim Babangida was the Military President of Nigeria. After her exit, the Family Support Programme (FSP) came into existence in 1994 after General Sani Abacha became the Head of State in November 1993. After Mariam Abacha came Mrs. Fati Abubakar who initiated her own programme and suspended that of Mrs. Abacha. Her own programme was named “Women’s Right Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA). With the exit of Mrs. Abubakar, WRAPA metamorphosed into Child Care Trust (CCT) under the late Mrs. Stella Obasanjo. The pet project of the wife of the successor of Obasanjo – Turai Yar’Adua was “Women and Youth Empowerment Foundation”. Dame Patience Jonathan also had her own pet project which she named “Women For Change Initiative” while the present First Lady, Aisha Buhari has her own project called “Project Future Assured” (PFA). The above scenario only reflects discontinuity of programmes in Nigeria. Each First Lady, rather than continue with the predecessor’s programme, preferred to embark on a new one. The above scenarios are well captured by Emma Elekwa (2016) when he stated that:

Our major problem in Nigeria is that each time a new government comes into power, there is always a setback as it reverses the policies of previous governments, especially if they are not from the same political group (*Daily Trust* October 3, 2016).

Another cause of implementation gap is the failure of the policy makers to take into consideration the social, political, economic and administrative variables when formulating public policy. A policy maker in a Muslim dominated community who formulates a policy that offends against the tenets of Islam is likely to face

implementation problems. Such a person has not considered the socio-cultural variable. The same is true of political and economic variables. A policy that runs contrary to the manifesto of the government in power may suffer at the implementation stage because it may lack support, both financial and administrative. Also, failure to take the economic variable into consideration may also spell doom to policy implementation. Lack of funds will only result in the inability of the policy implementors to function, as they should. In essence, policy makers must be able to consider the environment – social, economic, political and cultural - in which they are formulating policies if they are to avoid implementation gap.

In addition to the above, there is what Egonmwan (1991) called “plan indiscipline”. This occurs when originally planned projects are abandoned without convincing reasons, thus resulting in distortion of original plan. Abandonment of projects may also arise from ego tripping, change of regimes which results in lack of continuity as explained earlier.

Egonmwan (1984) also identified some other problems that affect policy implementation in developing countries some of which are:

- (a) inadequate definition of goals;
- (b) over-ambitious policy goals; and
- (c) choice of inappropriate organizational structure in implementation of policies.

Inadequate definition of goals makes a policy to lack clarity, internal consistency and compatibility with other policy goals, with the result that the successful implementation of such a policy becomes problematic. This is a problem of communication. Goal definition varies in developing countries as people disagree about the objectives of a given programme or people do not care to define such objectives because the objectives are not to their advantage (Egonmwan, 1984:242). In some other instances, the policy makers assume that they know the needs of the target groups and therefore see no reason for clarity of goals.

With regard to over-ambition in policy formulation in Nigeria and some developing countries, many policies tend to be over-ambitious and sweeping in nature. The taking over of private schools by the Federal government was an over ambitious policy. Another example was Nkrumah's ambitious rapid development programmes for Ghana when he was the Prime Minister of Ghana after her independence. Nkrumah was motivated to embark on very ambitious programmes in the early 1960s. The construction of Akosombo Dam for rapid industrialization of Ghana was a good example. Although the Dam was successfully constructed, part of the programmes that were to follow flopped because Ghana ran out of money due to a drop in the price of cocoa on which the country's budget was based. If, at the planning stage, consideration had been given to the fact that the source of income for Ghana depended on international market forces, which may go up or down, perhaps the project would have been pruned down to a size that would have been manageable, whichever way the market forces went. From the example of Ghana given above, we should note that the scope and comprehensiveness of some policies may experience implementation bottlenecks arising from any, or a combination, of the following: lack of appropriate technology for implementation, inadequate human and material needs, over-stretching of available resources for maximum visibility and impact at the end of which nothing concrete may be achieved.

The financial tragedy that befell Ghana has also befallen Nigeria whose source of income is mainly on oil. With the slump in oil price in the international market, many of Nigeria's policies have somersaulted, thereby failing to achieve the desired goals. A good example of an over-ambitious policy is the "free education for all" in the south-western states in Nigeria. The rate at which private institutions are being established in this part of Nigeria shows that the public has lost confidence in public schools due to its ineffectiveness. Even many of those who are sometimes considered as illiterates in the society now prefer to send their children to fee-paying primary and secondary schools. They seem to have lost confidence in the free primary and secondary

institutions. This is a pointer to the inability of government or its agents to successfully implement the free education policy due to many factors ranging from financial to political.

It should be noted that for policies to be successful they should involve target groups and they should allow for participatory system, whereby policy makers plan with the people rather than for the people in meeting their felt needs. Such participation will give the target groups a sense of belonging as well as get them committed to the successful implementation of the policy. Unfortunately, most of the time, the target beneficiaries were not involved at the planning stages as revealed in the study of the Better life Programme carried out by Makinde in 2003. This eventually had resulted in implementation gap and implementation failure.

Another critical cause of policy somersault is corruption which is robustly discussed in Makinde (2013) "Global Corruption and Governance in Nigeria" as well as in Makinde (2013) "Globalization as a Constraint to Development in Africa: the Nigerian Experience" where it was concluded that corruption has greatly contributed to governance failure in Nigeria and, by extension, underdevelopment.

## **Corruption**

Mr. Vice Chancellor, Sir, there has been much hues and cries about the prevalence of corruption in the Nigerian public sector, including its bureaucratic set-ups. In 2016, Transparency International ranked Nigeria as 136<sup>th</sup> out of the 176 countries measured. This is however an improvement from that of 2013 where Nigeria was ranked 144<sup>th</sup> out of 177 countries measured. In his Inaugural Address in 1999, President Obasanjo identified corruption as the bane of development in Nigeria. Also, in his keynote lecture to the Joint Conference of the ICPC and National Assembly Legislators on Anti-corruption, Makinde (2010) defines corruption from the philosophical point of view as DECAY. Hence he advocates that a corrupt person should be seen as

smelling with putrid odour, like the one coming from a decomposed body of dead people, animals or plants. From Makinde's definition and analysis, it appears that a corrupt person is a smelling person while a corrupt society, government, or institution is to be seen in the same light.

In an apparent frustration as a result of scandalous revelations of monies stolen by public officials which shows the depth of how corruption has ravaged the country, Abdulsalam Jubril claimed:

Hardly a day goes by that one does not find sensational headlines in the print and electronic media of how monies meant for the development and advancement of the country was embezzled by greedy public officials. The huge sums allegedly embezzled by these public officials and their collaborators are so mind-boggling that it is sometimes difficult to accept as true.

([www.opinionnigeria.com](http://www.opinionnigeria.com)).

The situation still exists today because hardly does a day pass by without reading such news in the dailies.

Corruption may be incidental, institutional, or systemic as highlighted in Makinde, Popoola and Ologunde (2008) "Corruption and its Implications for Social Service Delivery in Nigeria". Incidental corruption is confined to malfeasance on the part of individuals. An example is the case of corruption involving James Ibori. However, when corruption is institutional, it involves institutions such as the police service, the Judiciary, the National Assembly, the customs or even the bureaucracy which are becoming more notorious for corrupt practices everyday. The judiciary which was looked upon as being the last hope of the common man appears to have joined the league of those who are being accused of institutional corruption. In his comment on the allegation of corruption leveled against some Judges in Nigeria, Senator Shehu Sani claimed that the three arms of government – Executive, Legislature and Judiciary – are now bugged by



corruption (*Premium Times*, 2017:7). To buttress this statement, Sani went further to say:

With mountains of allegations of corruption in the kitchen cabinet of Mr. President; with mountains of allegations of corruption in the Parliament; with mountains of allegations of corruption in the Judiciary, now we are having a three Arms of corruption.

Systemic corruption, on its part, is that which concerns the society at large. For example, giving and receiving “brown envelopes” for expected or received favour appears to be an acceptable practice among Nigerians nowadays, unlike in the past when such actions were frowned upon. In most cases, such an action is no longer viewed as anything bad. When corruption now pervades the entire society and in the process becomes routine and accepted as a normal means of conducting everyday transactions, it is described as ‘systemic’ or ‘entrenched’ corruption which affects institutions and influences individual behaviour at all levels of political and socio-economic systems. There is a new type of corruption emerging under the systemic corruption. It involves parents who would do anything including buying “*origo*” (i.e. examination papers before the conduct of examination) for their children to ensure that they get the needed marks, especially in WAEC, NECO and JAMB examinations.

We must not be unmindful of the fact that women have also contributed to policy somersaults and poverty of policy implementations as a result of corruption on their part while holding sensitive positions. One would have thought that participation of women in governance would enhance policy success, but the greed of some of these women has contributed immensely to policy failures in Nigeria. It is therefore important that this lecture touches on women and corruption in the Nigerian Public Service.

## **Women and Corruption in the Nigerian Public Service**

Mr. Vice Chancellor, Sir, the recent embracement of women into public and bureaucratic life has come with a rethink over the old belief that corruption can only be found within the male office holders. This rethink has arisen as a result of various allegations of official corruption against women in high offices. A recent study carried out on women and corruption in the Nigerian public service by Makinde (2015) revealed that many women in government have continually been linked with high profile corrupt practices, which have made that old belief mentioned earlier to become untenable. It is not my submission, however, that all the women who have held public office in Nigeria were corrupt. However, a sizeable number of them have been accused of corruption in recent times, while some have been declared as being good role models in the society. Among the women who have lived above board in the history of Nigerian women in high positions is the late Professor Dora Akunyili who performed to the admiration of the people within and outside Nigeria when she served as the Director-General, National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (*NAFDAC*), the position she occupied with an almost impeccable record. This is contrary to her counterpart who headed the Nigerian Stock Exchange (*NSE*), Ms. Ndidi Okereke-Oyiunke who proved that what a man can do a woman can do and possibly do better, especially in the sphere of corruption. Under her administration, millions of Nigerian investors lost trillions of naira under very dubious circumstances (Mohammed, 2012).

Women who were accused of corrupt practices include Cecilia Ibru, Patricia Olubunmi Etteh, Diezani Allison-Madueke and Stella Oduah, among others. Cecilia Ibru was the Managing Director of the former Oceanic Bank of Nigeria Plc. (now Ecobank). She was convicted of stealing nearly 200 billion naira of depositors' funds. She, however, had a plea bargain and she was made to part with a substantial part of the stolen money. Patricia Etteh was the first female Speaker of the National House of Assembly. She was alleged to have awarded contracts for the renovation of her official

residence and that of her deputy at an inflated sum of N628 million without going through due process. She was indicted by a nine-man panel of inquiry and eventually forced to resign from her position as the Speaker. Stella Oduah was the Minister of Aviation who was accused of squandering N255 million of public money on the purchase of two BMW armored cars. Ademoyo (2013) sees the action of Oduah from the perspective of gender equity which he refers to as “equity in gender representation and corruption”.

Diezani Allison-Madueke, the former Minister of Petroleum Resources, was accused of mismanaging a huge amount of money from the proceeds of petroleum. Although different figures have been quoted, she has been ordered by the Federal High Court in Ikoyi, Lagos, to refund \$153m to the federal government (*Sahara Reporters*, January 6, 2017). I want to believe that this is just a small portion of her loot. *The Nation* of July 15, 2017, page 7, has also reported that -

The US Department of Justice has gone to court seeking the forfeiture and recovery of approximately \$144 million of Nigerian assets allegedly laundered in and through the United States. The department filed a complaint alleging that Nigerian businessmen Kolawole Akanni Aluko and Olajide Omokore, conspired with others to pay bribes to former Minister for Petroleum Resources, Dieziani Allison-Madueke.

Sometime ago, a huge sum of money was traced to Dieziani as well as properties worth billions of naira (*The Nation*, February 11, 2011). Dieziani, from the record of her loot, obviously, towers above her female colleagues in corrupt practices. In fact, the *Nation* (August 9, 2017) had a screaming headline on Dieziani that reads: “EFCC traces N47b, \$467m to Ex-Oil Minister, Dieziani”. Also, in the *Nation* of August 11, 2017 there was the headline

claiming that just a part of Diezani's loot can build six world class airports!!! What a nerve?

Other female top political office holders who were accused of corruption include Professor Adenike Grange (the Minister of Health) who was accused alongside 12 others of corruption involving about ₦300 million being unspent Ministry of Health funds allegedly shared by the accused persons under the direction of the Minister. Iyabo Obasanjo-Bello, the daughter of former President Olusegun Obasanjo, was implicated in this scandal as she was alleged to have received ₦10 million out of the ₦300 million booty, purportedly to finance a foreign trip by the Senate Committee on Health, a trip which she never undertook ([www.nairaland.com](http://www.nairaland.com)). Of recent, Olajumoke Akinjide, a former Minister of State of The Federal Capital Territory (FCT), was remanded in prison custody by Justice Joyce Abdulmaleek of the Federal High Court, Ibadan for "unlawful conversion and stealing of N650m in the build up to the 2015 general election" (*Sahara Reporters*, 22/06/2017).

This lecture tries to show that the Nigerian public service has suffered depreciation and degradation in terms of service delivery as a result of high level of corruption among its top public officers. Unfortunately, the women who should be looked upon as being in positions to salvage the situation because of "their milk of kindness" have tragically, ironically and disappointedly demonstrated that what a man can do a woman may do better even in the area of corruption! These women have greatly contributed to the ethical decay in the public service (Makinde, 2015). Therefore, one can say, with a loud voice, concerning some women in the Nigerian public service – SO FAR, SO BAD!

As discussed earlier, the rate at which women are engaging in corrupt practices in recent times makes one to feel that they are catching up with their male counterparts, if not doing better. Mr. Vice Chancellor, Sir, at this stage let us look into the factors responsible for corruption in the Nigerian public service.

## **Factors responsible for Corruption in the Nigerian Public Service**

Many factors can be attributed to the incidences of corruption among public servants in Nigeria. These factors can be grouped into three namely: political, social and economic. Looking at it from the political perspective, the problem of god-fatherism readily comes to mind. Also, lack of political will to prosecute corrupt people especially those in the same ruling party as evidenced in the case of Diezani whereby President Jonathan was quoted as saying “We won’t probe Diezani” (*The Nation*, February 11, 2011) is a serious political factor. Also, corruption in the judiciary leading to unbelievable judgments is also an issue under this factor. The case of John Yakubu Yusuf, a former Assistant Director in the Police Pension Office who stole N32.8bn police pension fund, and who was fined a very ridiculous amount of N250,000 for each of the three count charges leveled against him totaling N750,000 or 2 years jail term leaves a sour taste in the **mouth! The judgment can best be described as “handshake ruling:”** and not even “a slap on the wrist”. Other political factors include non-enforcement of rules and regulations, appointment of wrong people into positions of authority, election malpractices, and immunity for some public office holders.

The social factor could be linked to the social value of the society. The Nigerian environment is such that celebrates thieves and dishonest people who have money, the source of such money notwithstanding. For example, James Ibori was celebrated in his community after returning from prison in Britain. Also, under the social factor is religion which also plays a crucial role in encouraging corruption. Why on earth should a church celebrate a person like Ibori? These days, most churches and mosques no longer care about the sources of the money being donated by members of their congregation. Once money flows in, prayers flow out to the donors, even if they are armed or pen robbers.

The economic factor can be traced to poverty among the citizenry. Such poverty can arise as a result of unemployment which is

rampant in the country, coupled with irregular or delayed payment of salaries for employees as well as gratuities and pensions to pensioners. The irregular payment of entitlements has made some public officers to steal while still in service in order to “save for the rainy day” when their gratuities and pensions would not be paid on time, or at all.

### **Some Somersaulted Policies:**

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, let us briefly look into some of the policies that appear to have somersaulted. They include policy on poverty alleviation, and policy on education. Starting with policy on poverty alleviation, it is on record that since independence, many programmes, which include Operation Feed the Nation (OFN: 1979), the National Directorate of Employment (NDE: 1986), the Better Life Programme (BLP: 1987), People’s Bank (1989), Community Bank (1990), and the National Poverty Alleviation Programme (NAPEP, 2001), had been established by various governments at one time or the other to tackle the problem of poverty and food insecurity. Makinde (2003) “The Implementation of Better Life Programme and Family Support Programme and Women Empowerment in Osun State, Nigeria”; and Makinde (2008) “An Appraisal of the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) in Selected States of Southwestern Nigeria” concluded that in spite of all the above-mentioned programmes, poverty is still very visible among Nigerians. In addition, the programmes somersaulted as a result of poor design, insufficient or unrealistic attention paid to their implementation and monitoring, as well as top-down poverty reduction strategy.

In the education sector, there have been policy somersaults as evidenced by comments by people and by samples of what are on ground which include frequent policy changes and poor implementation strategies as discussed earlier. According to Omolewa (2007), crisis in education started manifesting itself when government went all out to implement the Universal Primary Education (UPE) without adequate planning put in place. UPE

was launched in 1976 but the policy on education itself appeared in 1977, a year after implementation of the programme. It is clear that when the implementation comes before formulation, there would be confusion. That is simply putting the cart before the horse! According to Omolewa, needs assessment was not properly done, thus resulting in absence of adequate statistical data. For example, on the launching of UPE, according to him, 3 million children showed up as against 2.3m prepared for. This surely is a clear case of underestimation, the consequences of which are inadequate classroom spaces, teachers, and equipment.

Another policy on education that somersaulted was the government take-over of all voluntary and mission schools whereby government took full responsibility of running the scheme throughout the country. It is an open secret that this policy has somersaulted as revealed by the poor maintenance and poor condition of many of these schools.

### **Effects of Policy Somersaults, Poverty of Policy Implementation and Corruption on Development**

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, we may ask: in what ways have policy somersaults, poverty of policy implementation and corruption constituted an obstacle to development in Nigeria? We will look at this from the perspective of the three core values identified by Todaro namely, *sustenance, self-esteem and freedom*.

If sustenance is the ability to meet the basic needs (food, shelter, health care and protection), the situation in the nation does not give us a pass mark. Lack of, or inadequate, sustenance has brought untold hardship to the people of this country. The efforts of government at providing basic needs appear to have been frustrated through corrupt practices. Improved food production through the provision of fertilizer to farmers has been frustrated by corrupt officials who divert fertilizers meant for farmers to other places for sale. Attacks on farmers by Fulani Herdsmen in the North and in some parts of the South have also affected food production in the affected areas resulting in food insecurity.

Construction of roads has been abandoned by contractors because of inadequate funds. Perhaps some of the contractors have given out a substantial amount of money, sometime between 10-30% of the contract sum, as bribes. This is evident in the poor condition of most of our roads as a result of kickbacks from the original money earmarked for road construction.

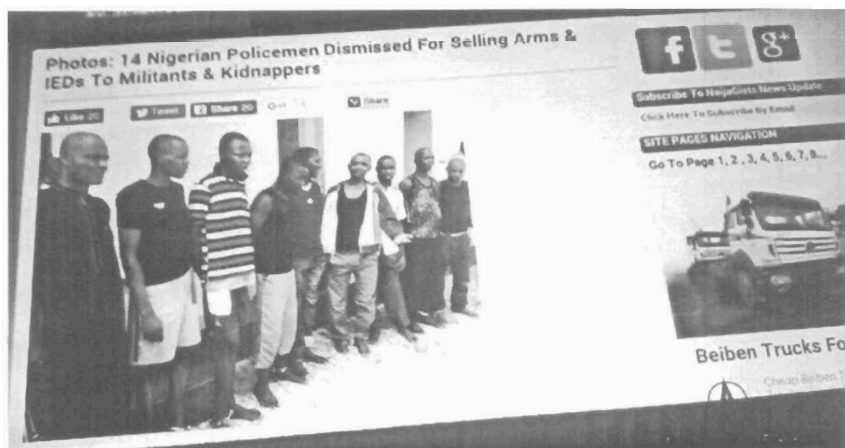


**Figure 4: A sample of the bad roads in Nigeria**

In the health sector, it has been reported that some of those responsible for buying hospital equipment bought substandard ones and, in some cases, refurbished equipment which they passed as new. This accounts for the reasons why our leaders have to travel out for medical attention while other citizens die unnecessary deaths at home in Nigeria. It is an open secret that billions of dollars meant for military equipment were embezzled thereby rendering the efforts of government to combat the menace of insurgents like Boko Haram ineffective. The Sambo Dasuki arms deal (Dasuki gate) involving \$2bn is a good example. Because of corruption, the purpose of government at ensuring security for the people cannot be achieved, and the security of the people, therefore, cannot be guaranteed.



This insecurity has been extended to schools where students are being abducted for ransom. The abduction of the Chibok girls and the kidnapping of the students of Lagos State Model College, Igbonla, in Lagos State are still fresh in our memory. What do you say about the frightening dimension to security as occasioned by the massacre of worshippers at St. Paul's Catholic Church, Ozubulu in Anambra State, on Sunday, August 6, 2017 (Channels News, 10 p.m., August 6, 2017)? Also, the killings by the Badoo cultists in Ikorodu, as well as the Fulani herdsmen attacks are some of the consequences of inadequate provision of security. Unfortunately, the herdsmen are sometimes better equipped than the police. This may not be a surprise because the police have been accused of making weapons available to criminals (NaijaGists.com).



**Figure 5: Dismissed Police officers accused of making weapons available to criminals**

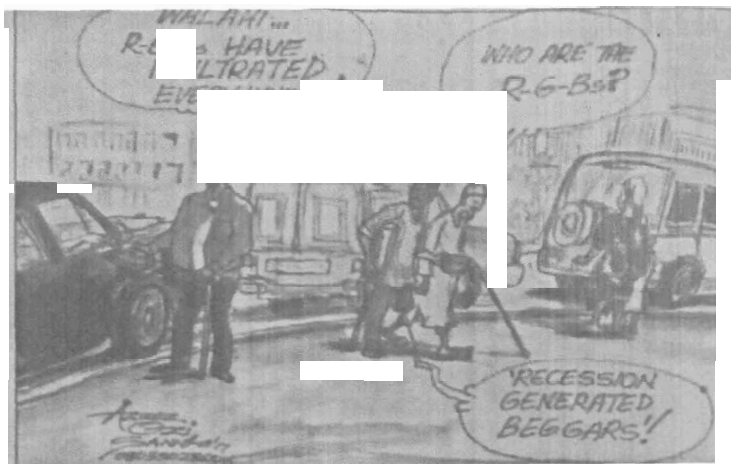
Makinde (2013) stressed the effects of security challenges on development in her study titled "Security Challenges in Nigeria: Implications for Socio-economic development". The study confirmed that security challenges have contributed negatively to the socio-economic development in Nigeria as these challenges have resulted in increase in the cost of governance and also in

citizens being prevented from carrying out their legitimate businesses.

As for self-esteem which denotes dignity for the people, honour and recognition, the story appears to be the same with regard to the issue of sustenance. For example, many pensioners have been turned to beggars and many workers who are receiving half salaries have also turned to beggars, just doing “fine *baara*”. (See photograph of pensioners who have turned railway station into homes and a cartoon showing a new category of beggars referred to as “Recession Generated Beggars” - RGBs.)



**Figure 6: Pensioners who have turned railway station into homes**



**Figure 7: New category of beggars – ‘Recession Generated Beggars’ (RGBs)**

One may ask: where are these people’s self-esteem? There has been loss of self esteem, as well as psychological trauma for many children who have to drop out of schools as a result of the inability of their parents to pay their school fees. Some of these children sometimes become miscreants in the society. This, of course, leads to increase in the rate of criminal activities.

Still on self esteem, when there is no money, people would not mind doing anything just to make money even if it involves going into crimes like armed robbery, political thuggery, kidnapping and the like. A woman was reported to have sold her 2-month old baby for N200,000 and a half bag of rice!

A 20-year old woman, Chioma Fidelis, has confessed to selling her two months old son, Favour Fidelis, for a half bag of rice, three chairs, cement and the sum of N200,000. ... The 20-year old woman said hardship and the circumstances in which she got pregnant led her into the crime

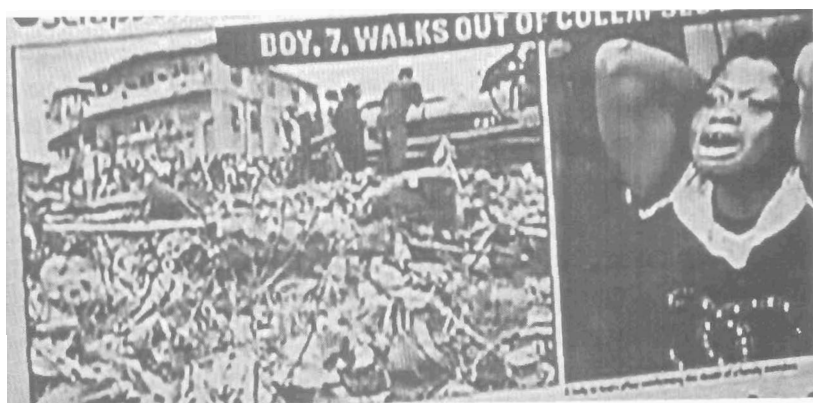
What else can people not do when times are hard!

It is a known fact that government has been trying to provide jobs, as well as pay salaries and pensions, but the plans have almost always gone awry because of the greed of some people who would rather siphon the money meant for these purposes. Unfortunately, because it appears that the federal government is not even prepared to go all out to punish culprits, corruption continues to thrive while the people continue to suffer. One may ask, what happened to that man who stole billions of naira meant for police pensioners? He got a “handshake judgment”. In the *Nation* of 6<sup>th</sup> July, 2017, p.1, it was reported that governors were even angry at EFCC for trying to recover \$3m refund from ‘one of their own,’ Governor Abdulazia Yari of Zamfara State. What a country! Again, this core value which is one of the requirements for achieving development in any country does not exist.

Looking at the third core value (freedom) as identified by Todaro, it is clear that freedom as a value has been negatively affected by policy somersaults, poverty of policy implementation and corruption. If freedom is an expanded range of choices for societies, and this freedom includes freedom from oppression, material wants, as well as greater protection from environmental disasters, then there is a problem. From the look of things, there is oppression everywhere. When things are not working the way they should – no adequate supply of electricity, no adequate water supply, no jobs, no good roads, no security, no good medical services, no qualitative education and, most importantly, no money – there is the phenomenon of oppression.

As regards protection from environmental disasters, there have been reports of collapsed buildings perhaps due to corruption at the stage of the plan approval, and sometimes at the time of inspection

to determine the suitability of such buildings for habitation. This has resulted in unnecessary deaths and serious injuries.



**Figure 8: A collapsed building in Lagos**

There is also the problem of water pollution in the Niger Delta region in spite of laws against environmental pollution. With the three core values unmet as a result of policy somersault, poverty of policy implementation and corruption, we can conclude that development in Nigeria has been greatly inhibited.

### **Concluding Remarks including my Research Efforts and Services within and outside the University:**

Mr. Vice Chancellor, Sir, we have made a journey into the policy terrain by trying to bring out the problems that make them to somersault, problems that bring about poverty at the implementation stage and topping these with problem of corruption, all of which contribute, in no small measure, to obstacle to development in Nigeria. The findings cannot be ignored if there should be development in its real sense in Nigeria. Our policy recommendations must address these issues.

The above discussion has tried to explain why policies somersault and why there is poverty of policy implementation in Nigeria. It is

apparent that policies are rolled out regularly in Nigeria with majority of them not achieving the desired results most of the time.

For any government to be judged as having provided the ingredients for development for the citizens of its country – *sustenance, self-esteem* and *freedom* – there must be evidence of bridging the gap between the intention of a policy and the actual achievement of that policy. This is where it becomes necessary for any policy maker, be it government or Non-governmental Organization (NGO), to take the issue of policy implementation seriously even right from the formulation stage. Towards a successful policy implementation, therefore, consideration should be given to the following in order to prevent policy somersaults and poverty of policy implementation:

- (a) Target beneficiaries should be involved at the formulation stage in order for them to have an input in what affects their lives. This will also give them a sense of belonging and, therefore, a sense of commitment.
- (b) Attention should be paid to both the manpower and financial resources which will be needed to implement the policy.
- (c) There must be effective communication between the target beneficiaries and the implementors of policy programmes.
- (d) The culture of discontinuing a policy once there is a change of government should be discouraged because, even though government comes and goes, administration continues.
- (e) Provision should be put in place for adequate monitoring of projects, as poorly monitored projects will only yield undesired results.
- (f) The quality of the leader will go a long way to affecting implementation of policies in a way that will be devoid of implementation gap.

- (g) Leaders must lead by examples and must be knowledgeable and willing to learn more to improve their skills at handling policy matters.

As regards the problem of corruption, the following steps are recommended:

- (1) Efforts should be geared towards reduction of poverty among the people. Poverty can lead to corruption as it can also lead to diseases. Although poverty is not the cause of all diseases, there is a symbiotic relationship between poverty and diseases in the sense that an increase in poverty leads to a corresponding increase in diseases (Makinde & Makinde, 2006). In view of this symbiotic relationship between poverty and diseases, government should take appropriate steps towards ensuring that programmes targeted at alleviating poverty are well formulated, implemented and regularly evaluated for achievement of purpose.
- (2) Regular and prompt payment of salaries and emoluments of workers is highly recommended in order to reduce the incidences of loss of self-esteem and corruption among public officers.
- (3) Regular and prompt payment of gratuities and pensions should be made in order to bring self-esteem to our senior citizens, as well as prevent their unnecessary and untimely deaths.
- (4) Regular payment of salaries to workers, and regular payments of gratuities and pensions to retirees would most likely discourage public officials from stealing with the aim of “saving for the rainy day”.
- (5) There must be the political will on the part of governments to tackle the problem of corruption through enforcement of rules and regulations, not minding whether or not offenders belong to the government in power.
- (6) Adequate punishment must be meted out to offenders, instead of the “handshake” judgments given by some

judges to serious offences. In addition, the judiciary needs to be overhauled in order to remove corrupt judges.

- (7) Nigeria can borrow from the Asian countries where they have zero tolerance for corruption. We are not saying that the offenders should be executed (like in China), but those found guilty of embezzlement should forfeit ALL their ill-gotten wealth to the government, and such persons be put behind bars for at least 25 -30 years, if not for life.
- (8) No plea bargain should be allowed. Plea bargain only encourages looters to steal more, so that at the end of it all they will still have something substantial to fall back on after paying the bargained amount. For instance, if the plea bargain is calculated on percentage of total money stolen, then the bigger the money stolen the bigger the percentage to be kept by the plea bargainer.
- (9) On the part of government, there should be transparency and honesty in the utilization of seized loots for the good of the citizens, the owners of the looted wealth.
- (10) Whistle blowing should be encouraged while whistle blowers should be protected through appropriate legislation and they should be well compensated. A fake whistle blower, however, should be prosecuted and put behind bars.

I have been in the academic system for more than two decades (1994 to date). My research focus has been more in the area of policy process which I find to be very interesting and challenging. It has opened my eyes to the need not only for the young students interested in Public Administration to study public policy process, but also adults, especially politicians who Yehezkel Dror (1989) admits need training and re-training in the area of policy making.

My research efforts, as shown in this Inaugural Lecture, have been in the areas of policy analysis and implementation, poverty,



corruption, gender issues and ethics in government. I also attended conferences locally and internationally where I presented papers. Besides my teaching and research works, I have the privilege to mentor young minds academically. Despite the fact that I started my academic career rather late, I had successfully supervised three PhD candidates, six M.Sc., and many MPA, MBA and DPA candidates. Some of these men and women are doing well in their various careers – administrative and academic.

I have served the university in various capacities which include membership of Faculty Board of Administration, Faculty Review Committee, Ag Head of the Department of Public Administration for two academic sessions; Fellow, Center for Gender and Social Policy Studies, Member Ceremonials Committee, 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of O.A.U, 2002 and Fellow, Postgraduate Hall.

Outside the university, I have served as external examiner for PhD and M.Sc in both government and private universities. I was a Visiting Senior Lecturer in the University of Lagos in the Department of Political Science while currently, I am in Adeleke University, Ede, in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration as a Visiting Professor. I have also served as member of Accreditation Team appointed by the Nigerian Universities Commission (NUC) to some Nigerian universities. In 2007, I was one of the coordinators and instructors of the integrity education programme sponsored by the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) tagged “Training the Trainers”, a programme targeted at local government workers in Osun State as a means of sensitizing them on the need to shun corruption in their various local government offices.

Some of my distinctions and awards include Dean’s Honours List, Faculty of Education, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, U.S.A; Justice of the Peace, Osun State; Special Marshal, Osun State; Fulbright scholar, Center for Advanced Feminist Studies, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, U.S.A (1997/1998 academic session), and Honorary member of the Nigerian Institute of Management (NIM). I feel proud and highly

honoured to say that I am the first female Professor of Public Administration in Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, and also the first female Professor to give an Inaugural Lecture in the Department of Public Administration, OAU, Ile-Ife.

## **Appreciation and Acknowledgements**

Mr. Vice Chancellor, Sir, permit me to conclude this lecture by appreciating all those who have, in one way or the other, contributed to what I am today, especially my academic career. I give glory to the Almighty God for making me what I am today. He has been all in all to me and I am therefore very grateful. My appreciation also goes to the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, for giving me the opportunity to develop myself to the level of Professor of Public Administration. My special appreciation goes to those who mentored me in the persons of Professor Dele Olowu, Professor Olu Okotoni and the late Professor E.J. Erero of blessed memory, and of course, the man who facilitated my employment into the department, the late Professor Bamidele Ayo.

I want to sincerely thank those wonderful people with whom I have the opportunity to work in the Department of Public Administration, namely, Professors Olu Okotoni, Anthony Oladoyin, Ishaq Omoleke, Ayo Adesopo. Others are Drs. Ike Fayomi-Awodele, Olufemi Popoola, Christiana Ogbogu, Kunle Benson, Taiwo Olaiya, Afees Hassan, Randy Sakpere, Theophilus Agboola, Dare Ayeni, David Apeloko, Ify Igbokwe and Seyi Alamu; Messrs Ayo Bello, and Bolanle Shiyانبade.

I appreciate all members of non-academic staff in the Department of Public Administration – Mr. D. Odetayo, Mrs. E. O. Olaosebikan, Mrs. F.F. Agboola, Mrs. B. O. Aremu, and Mr. R.S. Eyaife.

I also appreciate my colleagues in the Faculty who have contributed, in one way or the other, to my academic journey in the Faculty of Administration in this university, and to the success of this Inaugural Lecture. These include all the professors in the

Faculty of Administration and all other academic and non academic staff in the Faculty.

To all my academic children, especially my past and present students, I say a big thanks to them. I appreciate my past M.Sc., MPA and DPA students who have given me a unique name – ***Mama Gbogbolomo***. I love the name. God bless you all. I appreciate the Committee set up for this Inaugural Lecture headed by Dr. Femi Popoola with his team – Drs A. Hassan, Neye Olasanmi, Seyi Alamu, Wunmi Siyanbola, Ify Igbokwe, Oroleye and Messrs. Bola Siyanbade, Ayo Bello and George Oluwalasinnu.

I cannot but remember my parents – Pa Julius Orisadare Asaolu (***Baba Soja***) of Ule Alaye in Ilesa and Madam Christiana Olufunmilayo Asaolu (***Iya Soja***) of Iwoye-Ijesa, both of blessed memory – for bringing me into this world and for imparting the fear of God in me. I thank my siblings – Brother Anthony Asaolu (a.k.a. ***Laledo Ijesa***) and my younger brother Dr. Vincent Olajide Asaolu of LAUTECH, Ogbomosho. I also thank their wives and children who have been wonderful to me.

My gratitude also goes to all my in-laws from Ado-Ekiti, especially Pastor & Pastor (Mrs.) Ebenezer Makinde of Mowe in Ogun State and their children, and also Dr. Amos Makinde of the Department of Botany in this University and his wife Toyin and their children for their support. My Wards, Tunde and Olamide, I appreciate you for your assistance and cooperation. God bless you.

To my immediate family, I owe a deep sense of gratitude to my husband, Professor Moses Akinola Makinde, who saw to it that I did not waste the gift of God in my life. We have been together for more than four decades and we are still going strong in body and spirit. I surely owe a lot to this Ekiti man who has supported and accompanied me on my academic journey to this memorable day. I also appreciate my children, Akinola, Olumide and Kayode, and their wives (my beautiful and wonderful daughters) and my wonderful and amiable grandchildren. I thank my children for

their all-round support and I thank God for making me a grandmother through them. I love you all and I pray that the Lord will bless and keep you and bless the works of your hands. May God greatly enlarge your coasts.

## **The Final Words**

Mr. Vice Chancellor, Sir, Ladies and Gentlemen, we hear policy, policy, and policy everywhere and we complain of policy failures every time. When these policies fail to bring the desired development, the blame is usually put on the government alone. Critically looking at the causes of policy somersaults, poverty of policy implementation and corruption, it is quite clear that all the blame cannot be put on government alone. We are all guilty! This answers the question posed by Professor Olu Okotoni in his Inaugural Lecture (2017) titled “Governance Crises and State Failure in Nigeria: Are we all guilty?” You and I contribute to these problems in one form or the other. How? You may ask.

When we ask for illegitimate financial favours from those in power, we contribute to whatever corrupt practices they commit. When we feel that getting a contract is a sure way to wealth and fail to carry out the contract job as it should be done but keep a substantial part of it as kickback, we contribute to corrupt practices. When we fail to give correct advice to our policy makers and executors because of personal gains, we contribute to policy somersaults. When we encourage corrupt politicians by honouring them with chieftaincy titles in our community, or giving them honorary doctorate degrees in our universities, we contribute to corrupt practices. When we steal 50% of money meant to carry out a project, thereby making proper execution of such a project a failure *ab initio*, we contribute to poverty of policy implementation. What we are saying is that there cannot be development when the people do not cooperate positively with government and vice versa. Policy success is the sum total of the commitment of the government and the citizens towards prevention of implementation gap arising from corruption and

poverty of implementation of policies. When we get committed to doing what is right, Nigeria will experience development and the people will experience *sustenance, self-esteem* and *freedom*.

Now, where and how have you contributed to the underdevelopment of Nigeria and where and how have I contributed to this underdevelopment as a citizen of Nigeria? Think and keep on thinking.

Mr. Vice Chancellor, Sir, ladies and gentlemen, I have landed.

**I thank you all for coming and for listening.**

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