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**ADMINISTRATION, LAW AND
POLITICS: THE TRIPARTITE HOLY
ALLIANCE OF GOOD GOVERNANCE**

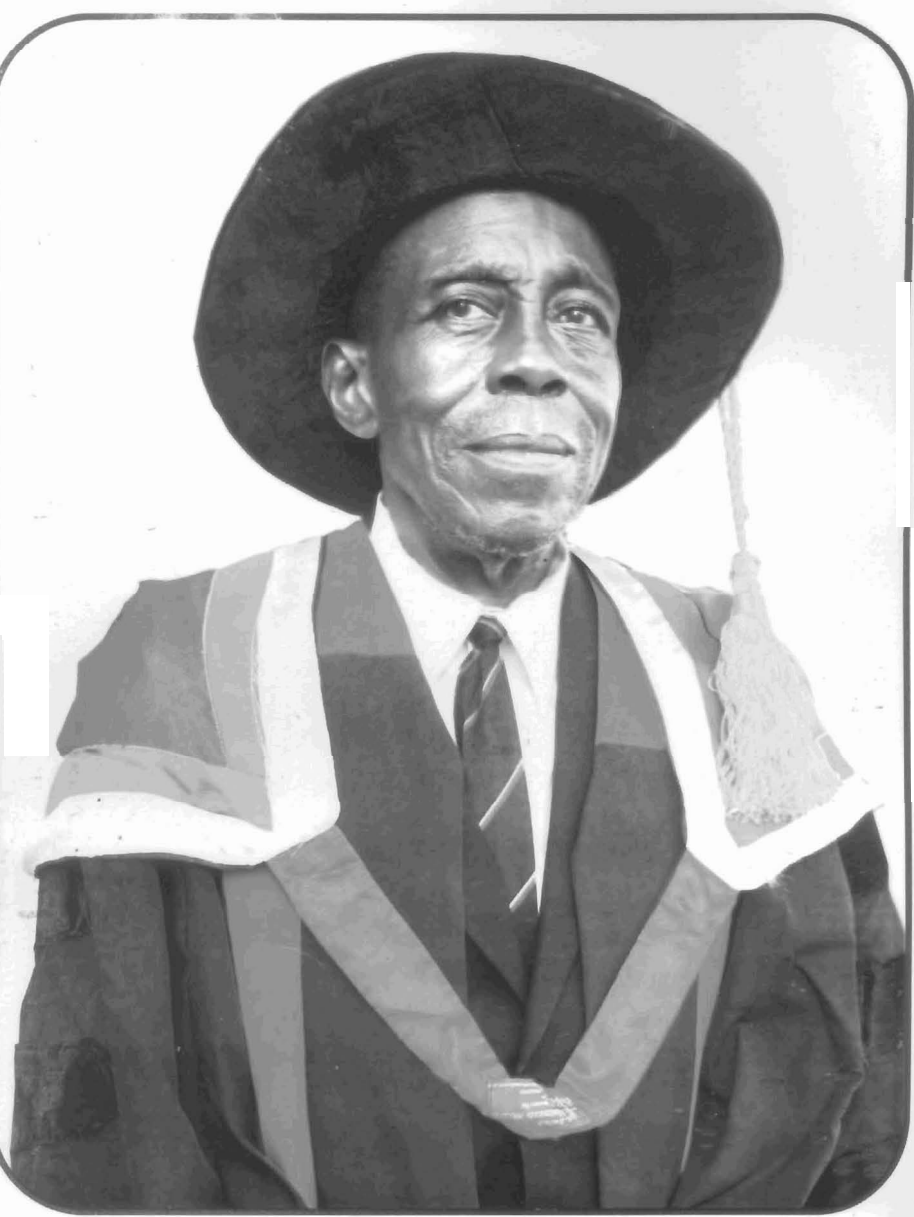
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Administration, Law and Politics: The Tripartite Holy Alliance of Good Governance

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THE NIGERIAN ADMINISTRATION



Introduction

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, I am pleased to thank Almighty Allah, the dominion of heaven and earth and what is in between them, the uncommanding commander who permitted me to stand before this audience today to deliver this inaugural lecture of O.A.U, Ile-Ife, *Alhamudu Lillah*.

This lecture entitled, Administration, Law and Politics: The Tripartite Holy Alliance of Good Governance is informed by my academic background and subsequent intellectual enterprises, which afforded me the opportunities of eclectic knowledge in the cognate disciplines of Administration, Law and Politics. My background which is B.Sc Political Science followed with M.Sc Sociology and supported by LLB, BL, and LLM in Law and consequently crowned with Ph.D Public Administration. The second factor that informed this inaugural lecture rests on Nigeria's experience of governance since her independence in

1960. Succinctly put, Nigeria has not experienced good governance, which can justify the legal and political rationale for the establishment of any state which is social service delivery to the citizens within its territorial jurisdiction, and finally my intellectual focus which centred on Administration of Public Enterprises in Nigeria. To this end, it is necessary to query the Nigerian political elites why Nigerians have been denied of good governance and social service delivery. Part of the responses to this is central to this lecture.

Conceptual and Empirical analysis of the Variables

This inaugural lecture deals with the relationships between two variables that are employed to manage the state affairs. These are concepts of

- (i) Administration
 - (ii) Law and
 - (iii) Politics
- } Independent Variables

Governance: On the other hand, governance constitutes a dependent variable. In brevity, the lecture examines the nexus between the Independent variables earlier mentioned and the dependent variable of governance. It answers the question: To what extent does governance as a concept depend on the independent Variables of Administration, Law and Politics? Can governance succeed effectively and efficiently in the absence of the trio variables within the state jurisdiction?

Perhaps, the first port of call is to discuss or analyse the concepts of Administration, Law, Politics and Governance, which cut across this Inaugural Lecture.

Concept of Administration

Administration whether in the private or public sector is ubiquitous and can be defined as management of human and material resources of an organisation (micro or macro) with a view to achieving organisational goals or objectives set for the organisation.

This concept implies managing, organising, supervising, monitoring, controlling, motivating, discipline and coordinating human activities and behaviour within internal and external environment of the Organisation. Administration can also be used as a corporate administrative body in an organization referring to the management, such as University Administration frowns at cultism among the students or Jonathan Administration was said to have removed oil subsidy without adequate consultation with the peoples' representatives that is, the National Assembly. In a resumé, Administration can be conceptualised as an Institution or as managing an organisation or an enterprise. Another concept which is also related to administration is management which is more commonly used in the private sector to refer to administration of human and material resources in a productive enterprise. The concept can be interchangeably used with administration. However, it is also used in the public sector to connote the decision/policy making group within an organisation, for example the "management staff" in the Civil Service from Salary Grade Level 13 and above. This group coordinates, takes crucial and far reaching decisions that are germane for the effective and efficient management of the organisation.

On a general note, the concept of administration is ubiquitous, meaning that it features everywhere whether in the micro or macro enterprises such as family, ward, community, local government council, state, Federal Government, international organisations, such as Economic Community of West African States, (ECOWAS), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), African Union (AU), and the United Nations Organisation just to mention a few. Unarguably, it is a trite fact that, there is no any human organisation where the rudiment of the concept of administration is not available.

This now leads me to examine another relevant concept to this lecture and this is the concept of organisation. This has become necessary bearing in mind that administration is not carried out in a vacuum but in an Organisation. Just like administration, organisation is found everywhere in human society. It is an

irrefutable statement of fact that administration cannot be carried out in a vacuum. Hence, the need for organisational structure where components of administration are addressed. In the words of Etzioni (1964), "Organisation is a human invention" meaning that organisations are created by human beings and perhaps this lends credence to Omoleke (2011), when I asserted that our society is an organisation. I went further:

We were conceived and born in an Organisation; nursed in the Organisation; grew and developed in the organisation, educated and socialised in the organisation; employed and work in an organisation; we spend much of our leisure time playing and praying in an organisation; we married and procreated in the organisation; and we are going to die in an organisation as destined; organisation will bury us and finally we are going to account for our activities in various organisations before the Almighty Manager of a divined Organisation, hereafter.

By creating a large number of human actions, an organisation creates a powerful tool, which combines its personnel with its resources weaving together leaders, experts, workers, machines, capital and raw materials. The organisation at the same time, continually evaluates how well it is performing and tries to adjust itself accordingly in order to achieve its set goals. All these allow organisation to serve the various needs of society and its citizens more effectively and efficiently.

This leads us to examine few problems of modern organisation of which all tiers of government are not left out. The main problem is how to construct human groupings that are rational and at the same time, produce a minimum of undesirable side effects and a maximum of satisfaction. In short, organisations are social units or human groupings deliberately constructed to seek specific goals. Local Government Councils, Universities, Hospitals, Corporations,

Prisons, Schools, Mosques and Churches are good examples. I now address the characteristics of organisation. Organisations are characterised by:

1. Division of labour, power, communication, responsibilities and divisions which are not random or traditionally patterned but deliberately planned to enhance the realisation of specific goals;
2. The presence of one or more centres which control the concerted efforts of the entire organisation and direct them towards its goals; these power centres must also review continuously the organisational performance and re-pattern its structure where necessary in order to increase their efficiency,
3. Substitution of Personnel: This implies that unsatisfactory labour or skill can be removed and others assigned their duties and tasks. The organisation can also recombine its personnel through transfer and promotion.

I now briefly examine organisational goals, nature of goals and how they are set.

Organisational Goals

The goals of organisation serve many functions. They provide orientation by depicting a future state of affairs which the organisation strives to realize. Thus, they are set down guidelines for organisational activities. Goals also constitute a source of legitimacy which justifies the activities of an organisation and indeed its very existence. Moreover, goals also serve as standards by which members of an organisation and outsiders can assess the success or failure of the organization. That is, its effectiveness and efficiency or otherwise.

The Nature of Goals

As I have earlier asserted in this lecture, an organisational goal is a desired state of affairs which the organisation attempts to realise. However, if the goals is attained or reached, it ceases to be a guiding image for the organisation and it is assimilated into the

organisation or its environment. Take for instance, the main goal of local government council is to bring about grassroots development.

Goal Setting

Virtually all organisations have a formal structure and explicitly recognised, sometimes legally specified organs for setting the initial goals and for their amendment. In practice, goals are often set in a complicated power-play involving various individuals and groups within and without organisation and by reference to values which govern behaviour in general and specific behaviour of relevant individuals and groups in a particular society. However, there are many factors that enter into the struggle to determine organisational goals. Organisational departments often play a prominent role in the process of determining the goals of an organisation. Personalities within and outside the organisation are another determinant of organisational goals.

Having discussed the concept of Administration in relation to governance, the next major concept to governance in this lecture is Law.

The Law

No concept can be more central to political discourse of a state than the legal status of a state, but for the legality of a State, her existence and ability to be recognised in the community of States would remain debatable. The legal status of a sovereign state gives rise to its ability to assert its territorial integrity as well as exercise control and dominion over the people and resources within the geographical boundaries of the state. Although the term, State has been notoriously difficult to define yet there appears a consensus as to what constitutes the legality of the State. Many attempts have been made in the past to define the concept of law as evident in legal theory which the law scholars will term Jurisprudence. As we are concerned in this lecture with the roles and functions of law in a State Administration/Governance, it is therefore sufficient here to define law of a state as rules of conduct and principles which are enforced by duly constituted courts (Judiciary). This definition undoubtedly has few limitations especially to the scholars of

jurisprudence or science of law for it does not explain where the courts derive their authority to lay down the law.

Furthermore, the concept can be used in a general sense or technical sense. Thus we can talk of divine law, organic law of demand and supply. In a technical sense, law can be defined as a body of rules and regulations enacted to guide human conduct or action which are actionable among the members of a given state or society. It can also be regarded as a control mechanism within a group of people. Law is dynamic.

Features of Law

Law can thus be summarily defined as a body of rules and regulations designed and enacted to guide human conducts or actions which are enforced among the members of a given state or society having geographical boundaries. Law thus has the following features.

Perhaps a layman may regard law as the State Constitution ignorantly disregarding other sources of laws like international conventions and treaties, criminal codes, precedents or decided cases, statutes and customs which some may not be written or documented. Unarguably, sources of law are multifarious. However, the facts still remain that the constitution of a state, written or unwritten is still the grundnorm or father of laws from where other sources of law derive.

Ostensibly, laws are conduct, regulatory instrument designed and enacted by man to govern himself and his environment. This is unlike the divine law or Islamic sharia law as contained in the Holy Quran, the Sunnat as well as Moses laws in the Bible.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, since man-made-laws emanate from the society, the laws are also amenable to amendment or repeal subject to the consensus of the peoples' representatives in Congress, National Assembly or the Parliament, as the case may be. Notwithstanding, the Constitutional provision for amendment must be followed strict sensu.

Although religion, ethics, conventions and customs go a long way to enhance man-made-laws unlike the Divine laws which are immutable because they were designed by the Almighty, the uncommanding commander - God, whose authority is unquestionable.

As earlier pointed out, law consists of norms, values and customs enacted into law. Take for instance, in the African traditional norm, it is offensive and disallowed that somebody should steal what does not belong to him. In the same vein, in modern time, the rules of criminal code forbid stealing and anybody who breaches the law shall be sanctioned if found guilty. See Sections 388 and 390 of the Criminal Code Act Cap 77, LFN 1990 when it states:

Any person who steals anything capable of being stolen is guilty of a felony and is liable, if no other punishment is provided, to imprisonment of three years.

Arising from the quotation, any breach of law is actionable if found guilty, and such action is punishable in line with the law through the organised state Institutions such as the Police, Law Courts, Tribunals, and Prisons. This element of punishment distinguishes law from moral or ethical rules which are rarely enforced and if enforced at all, it only attracts social ostracism or opprobrium or loss of social integrity in the eyes of the members of the public. Another important feature of law is that it has a territorial jurisdiction where it guides and regulates the conduct of a particular people. Take for instance, Northern Nigeria is guided and regulated by the Penal Code and Criminal procedure code while in the Southern Nigeria, it is the Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Act that are applicable. Furthermore, before the Land Use Decree 1978, now the Land Use Act as amended, the Land Tenure System in the Northern Nigeria was different from what obtained in the South.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to add that Law is not rigid but amenable to changes. When new technology is discovered, then the law moves with it and legislature creates new laws to cope with the new technology. Let me briefly grope into few functions of law specifically.

Functions of Law

Ordinarily, law is enacted to protect lives and property and maintain order and security in any given society, which are the sole responsibility and rationale or essence of the creation and existence of a state. Conversely, even during war, law still has a function to perform and that is, playing the role that at least a minimum standard of rules of behaviour is observed by the belligerents. Unarguably, the essence of law is to maintain order, and this laudable objective, that is, orderliness, governs all other political, economic and social objectives of any state, failure which, the objectives or goals of a State may not be realised unless the law is interpreted, scrupulously enforced without fear or favour and voluntarily complied with. Anarchy therefore is a similitude of Hobbesian state of nature and is symptomatic of absence of law and/or its breakdown. Thomas Hobbes (1651) described the state of nature as:

No arts, no letters, no society and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.

In short, Hobbes described the state of nature as lawless. So Law attempts to strike a balance between competing interests. For instance, when a case is decided and when rights are determined according to the dictates of law, then justice can be said to have been done. See Aregbesola V. Oyinlola (2011). Another good example of the need for proper understanding of the law and its role in governance is where law has established fairness, justice and equity and that was in the treasonable felony trial of Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Federal Government (1963) where the trial justice said “my hands are tied”, meaning that inspite of his

sympathy for the Elder Statesman, he was constrained by law to convict him.

Law also guarantees freedom with some limitations, as leaving the freedom totally unrestricted would impinge on the freedom of others. It follows that where your rights end another man's rights begin. This brings us to universally agreed principle that a minimum area of personal liberty must be enjoyed by citizens of any country in order to guarantee a normal human life and that such liberty must not be encroached upon by the State without adequate remedy. These Rights are Fundamental Human Rights entrenched in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, (CFRN). See Section 33 (1) of 1999 Constitution as amended in 2011. It states:

Every person has a right to life and no one shall be deprived intentionally of his life, save in execution of a sentence of a court in respect of a criminal offence, of which he has been found guilty in Nigeria.

Also Section 34(1) adds that:

Every individual is entitled to respect the dignity of his person, and accordingly:

- (a) No person shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment;
- (b) No person shall be held in slavery or servitude and
- (c) No person shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour.

As pointed out earlier, Fundamental Human Rights are not absolute as they are still restricted in some ways to ensure freedom of others. This implies striking a balance between conflicting interests. For instance, your right to worship does not mean you have to disturb the peace and quiet life of others or your freedom of speech does not license you to speak and cast aspersion on others or write malicious and false statement on another person's

character and personality. Also, freedom of speech does not allow you to be vociferous or license you to defame the character of other personalities. All these are actionable in law. I will now attempt to look at the nexus or correlation between law and statehood.

The Law and Statehood

Law and State are like Siamese twins that can hardly be separated. In fact, a state is regarded as an entity so called when it has territorial integrity in which particular quanta of laws are administered and enforced. The territorial boundaries of a state are therefore the limit of its geographical locations where the laws of the state must be obeyed without question. I now address the concept of state.

The State

The State refers to an independent political society occupying a defined territory, the members of which are supposed to be united for the purpose of resisting external force and preservation of internal order. However, no independent political society can be termed a state unless it professes to exercise the functions of internal and external security. Furthermore, as civilisation becomes more complex, population increases and a social conscience arises, the needs of the governed call for increased attention, taxes have to be levied and paid to meet these needs, justice must be administered, commerce regulated, educational facilities and many other social services must be provided. Hence a fully developed modern state, responsive and responsible, is expected to address a vast mass of social problems, either by direct activity or by supervision or regulation. In order to carry out the enumerated functions, a state must have agents or organs/institutions through which it can operate.

The appointment or establishment of these organs, the nature of their statutory functions and power, their relation interse and between them and private citizens form a large part of the

Constitution of a State (The Law), hence the constitution forms principally the law of any state.

The Constitution of a State, (the Grundnorm)

Constitution can be used in two different connotations; the abstract and the concrete. The constitution of a state in the abstract sense is the system of laws, customs and conventions which define the composition and powers of the organs of the state and regulates the relations of the various state organs to one another and to the private citizens. On the other hand, a constitution constitutes in a concrete sense the document in which the most important laws of the state are authoritatively ordained. A country such as Britain, there is no written constitution in the concrete sense whereas Nigeria has a written constitution.

It is noted that various countries adopt different types of constitution that suit its governance, such constitutions can be divided into; written and unwritten, while others adopt flexible and rigid constitution. Examples of countries with unwritten constitution are; Britain, New Zealand, and Israel etc., while countries like Nigeria, United State, Ghana have rigid and written constitution.

Nature and Scope of Constitutional and Administrative Laws

Constitutional and Administrative laws are instruments of governance, Constitutional law deals with distribution and exercise of the functions of government and the relations of government authorities to one another and the individual citizens and groups in the society. Its scope includes rules and regulations governing the citizens and the law making authorities themselves as nobody is above the law. The law also covers the functions of the Executive, the Judiciary and the legislature as Institutions of governance.

More specifically, Constitutional law embraces the procedure for electing President; Governors; and the National and State Assemblies' members; their powers; and prerogatives; the relationship between the chambers; the status of Ministers; Commissioners and position of the civil servants who serve under

them to implement the policies of the government formulated by career officials; the police; the armed forces and power to control them; the inter-governmental relations among the tiers of government; treaty-making power; citizenship; the raising and spending of Public money; the Judiciary; the legislature and the Executive; the procedure for amending the Constitution and Civil liberties, etc. Basically, Administrative Law's concern is centred on the management of institutions based on due process; the rules and regulation guiding the managers and staff; the rights; duties and obligations of the employers and the employees as well as the relationships of the parties etc.

The Politics

Perhaps it is better to define politics as a starting point of discussion of the third segment of this inaugural lecture. Politics is an activity that deals with power, rule and authority. The Politics may be defined as "decision-making or authoritative allocation of values. Politics understandably occurs in human groups. Politics like administration is found in any human group whether micro or macro organisation such as churches, trade unions, clubs and universities. Be that as it may, what then is a political system? In the words of Dahl (1969), a political system is any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule or authority. For example, a democracy is a political system in which the opportunity to participate in decisions is shared among all the adult citizens, while a dictatorship is a political system in which the opportunity to participate in decisions is restricted to a few hands.

The components of politics are power, influence, legitimacy and authority. Since Politics is the field in which human excellence can show itself in its full growth, (Leo Strauss, 1953 cited in Appadorai 1968). I now analyse the attributes of Politics.

Power

Power, influence and authority are common place words that are intimately related to politics and people share them with the political practitioners and political science scholars. Power has

many dimensions as we hear of power to govern, electric power, the power of purse, judicial power, spiritual power, economic power, state power, national power, presidential power, black power, and student power etc. In France for example, the central power is sometime referred to “le pouvoir” that is, the power.

Unarguably, these concepts – power, influence and authority are crucial to political analysis. The analysis of power in relation to politics is not merely a theoretical enterprise but a matter of the greatest practicality and reality. According to Dahl (1969) how one acts in political life depends, very heavily on one’s beliefs about the nature, distribution and practices of “power” in one’s political system. For instance, if one acts on the belief that power is dispersed widely in the community when in fact, it is highly concentrated or if one acts on the assumption that power is tightly held, when in fact it is dispersed to variety of individuals and groups who must negotiate, bargain, persuade, or cajole in order to get along, then one as a governor or president is likely to make serious political blunders.

Nothing is more likely to lead to bad political strategies than to misunderstand ‘power’, to misperceive the “power structure”, to be misled about “power” is to be misled about the prospects and means of stability, change and revolution. Thus, this perception of power is central to the circumstances that could explain why African leadership failed to achieve political credit in their governance. Perhaps this explains why Yahya Jammeh of Gambia refused to vacate presidential office until the Economic Community of West African States’ intervention. His own is a wrong perception of politics inspite of his glaring defeat in a democratic election yet he held tenaciously to office. This is absurd.

Once again, in the words of Dahl (1969)

The graveyards of history are strewn with the corpses of reformers who failed to utterly reform anything, of revolutionaries who failed to win power, of revolutionaries who

successfully seized power and failed to make the revolution they intended, of anti-revolutionaries who failed to prevent revolution – men and women who failed not only because of the forces arrayed against them but because the pictures in their minds about power and influence were simplistic and inaccurate.

Arising from Dahl's analysis, most African leaders and even some of the developed countries' leaders perceive power and are still perceiving power as simplistic and inaccurate. Consequently, their interpretation and perception of power and influence often lead to their political failure in governance. Examples are facile, Bamuzu Gandi of Malawi, Idi Amin of Uganda, Abacha, the military dictator in Nigeria, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Gaddafi of Libya and Yahya Jammeh of Gambia just to mention a few. Having discussed an element of politics, we turn to another variable and that is influence.

Influence

To start with, influence is a relation among individuals, groups, associations, organisations and states etc. Power is often defined as a special case of influence involving severe losses for non-compliance and that is why I asserted earlier in this lecture that power and influence are intimately related. Also related to concept of power is coercion which is a form of power that exists whenever "A" compels "B" to comply by confronting him with alternatives involving severe deprivation. This type of power is often invoked by the military leadership as instrument of governance (force and coercion).

Another concept that is related to politics is authority. Simply put, legitimate power or influence is generally regarded as authority. Take for instance, if A commands B and B feels that A has a perfect right to command him and which B has a complete obligation to accept. Influence or power of this command is said to be legitimate hence A has authority.

Acquisition of Legitimacy

Ordinarily, leaders in a political system try to ensure that whether governmental means are used to deal with conflict, the decisions arrived at are widely accepted not solely from fear of violence, punishment, or coercion but also from a belief that it is morally right and proper to do so.

Be that as it may, my next concern in the third segment of this lecture is the concept of governance which is premised on the thorough understanding of the three concepts already analysed, that is, Administration, Law and Politics. In a nutshell, governance is a dependent variable and is a function of sound knowledge of:

- (i) Administration
- (ii) Law and
- (iii) Politics

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, I intend to flash back to the Nigeria's experiences during the civilian and military administration to confirm whether Administration, Law and Politics were established and utilised in governance.

Civilian Administration (Colonial Governance)

It would be recalled that colonial administration was abinitio imposed on Nigerians without the majority consent of the Nigerians. Worse still colonial governments and their administrations employed a foreign system of law totally alien to Nigeria's culture and thus gradually eradicating traditional ethics, behaviour, and legal system. Hence, the behaviour of members of Nigerian society was influenced by foreign culture of stealing, bribery, corruption, armed robbery, rape, etc. which under traditional culture attracted ostracism and disgrace/opprobrium. Although, constitutions were adopted such as, Richard's 1946, Macpharson 1951, Littleton 1954, etc. but they were subverted.

In a similar vein, the post-colonial governance was based on constitution, especially, Independent Constitution, Republican Constitution and of course the 1999 Constitution as amended in 2011. However, inspite of 1960 Independent Constitution,

governance was replete with irregularities, such as, when the House of Assembly was turned to a battle field using “Maze” as a gun, e.g, Western House of Assembly, the crisis which fermented ground for a declaration of emergency and consequential appointment of Majekodunmi as an administrator for Western Regional Government.

Furthermore, post-colonial governance was also characterised by subversion of law, political indecency (operation wet e, in 1962) that is burning of political parties opponent houses through the use of thugs and consequently crisis in the west spread to the rest of the country, which called for military intervention on January, 15 1966.

The Military Rule

Ordinarily, the military intervention and governance are aberration as illustrated in CFRN 1999 as amended. Section 2 states:

The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall not be governed, nor shall any person or group of persons take control of the government of Nigeria or any part thereof, except in accordance with the provision of this constitution.

In addition, the military governed by suspending the grundnorm (constitution) and substituted it with decrees and edicts. The military rule is always arbitrary, tyrannical, coercive and forceful. Perhaps no other person has examined the evils of use of force in governance than that political philosopher, Edmund Burke (1729) when he remarked:

The use of force alone is but temporary, it may subdue for the moment but does not remove the necessity to subdue again, and a nation is not governed which is to be permanently conquered.

The lesson the military administrations and in general any political regime can learn from Edmund Burke is that the use of force in the

conduct of public administration can only be temporary and it erodes the credibility and legitimacy of such regimes. While it is recognized that the military administrations initiated social and economic measures to improve the lot of Nigerians, the use of force and coercion tended to blur the good intentions. My research disclosed that the use of coercion and force discredited the military administration.

Also, the catalogue of political, social, and economic atrocities and inequities perpetrated by the military administrations may force one to wonder and doubt how the military organisations in politics and governance can acquire legitimacy and sustain it. One may also find it difficult to regard military administration as an instrument of socio-economic development as its performances in relation to the objectives or goals with which the original plotters set for themselves were at variance.

My research revealed that the original plans of coup plotters are at variance with the performances of the regimes. Example is not far fetched, once the civilian or any military regime has been ousted, coup leaders often sought to justify their seizure of political power by pointing to the economic, political and social problems the politicians or previous administration had failed to resolve. A good example was expressed on July 29th, 1975 when Nigerians witnessed another coup det'at which installed General Murtala Mohammed. The reasons justifying the coup were sentimentally worded as to convince Nigerians to lend support to the new regime. The coup leader claimed.

After the civil war, the affairs of the state which hitherto was the collective responsibility of all, was now characterized by lack of consolation, indiscipline and neglect. Public at large became so disillusioned by this development. This trend was clearly incompatible with the philosophy and image of a corrective regime.

He accused General Gowon Administration of insensitivity and inaccessibility to official advice and public opinion. In the same

vein, the then Brigadier Abacha justified the military junta intervention in 1984 when he asserted:

There is inadequacy of food at reasonable prices for our people who are fed up with endless announcement of importation of food stuff. Health services are in shambles, as our hospitals are reduced to mere consulting clinics without drugs, water and equipment. Our educational system is deteriorating at alarming rate. Unemployment figures including graduates have reached embarrassing and unacceptable proportion. In some states, workers are being owed salary arrears of eight to twelve months.

Yet, there was little or no positive change then.

On a final note, the military like any other regime, must cultivate a more salutary image if the soldiers are to govern on the basis of legitimacy and credibility. Whatever positive contributions the military had offered in terms of development in the political arena of Nigeria, appear to have been undermined by its day-to-day use of force and coercion which undercut its legitimacy. This assertion lends credence to Welch (1971) when he remarked:

The military rulers of Africa often lack bargaining skills. Having banned the political parties, and usually lacking the abilities to build parties afresh, the African military deny themselves fundamental bases of support. They cannot build legitimate political institutions through the use of force.

Hence, the military administrations' prospect for a successful and result oriented governance may remain uncertain, as the use of force and coercion has tendency to de-legitimise any regime, be it military or democratic administration. Political decay thus, seems to await those who substitute coercion and violence for authority.

Finally, the political, legal and administrative implications of the weak application or misplaced priority of the independent variables and their applications to governance may result to social, political and economic decay and retrogression.

Application of the Independent variables

In summary, it would appear that the colonial and post-colonial Nigerian governance did not utilize the three important variables of administration, law and politics effectively; instead these regimes substituted them with the following subversion of laws, ethnicity, religious sentiment and ethical misbehaviour.

Concept of Governance and State Administration

Governance is a concept which refers to exercise of political power, influence and authority and which carries along with it administration and law. It connotes the manner in which political power is exercised to achieve state objectives of service delivery to the citizens within the state jurisdiction (Omoleke and Olaiya 2013).

Furthermore, Omoleke (2009) lends credence to the above assertion that:

To govern implies harnessing human and material resources, compliance with the law that is the Constitution, listen to and accept advice, allow freedom of expression, accept guilt and ready to make corrections.

The foregoing conceptual analysis is in tandem with the view of the World Bank (1989) that:

Governance is defined as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. Good governance for the World Bank is

synonymous with sound development management.

Arising from the World Bank and Omoleke's views the end product of governance that is, development which is also a function of good administration, that coordinates human and material resources, ability of the governor to comply with legal template and equity in the authoritative allocation of social values without political sentiments, ethnic consideration and religious chauvinism and chicanery.

Any leader that is capable of harnessing and utilising the three concepts' provisions effectively (Administration, Law and Politics), is very likely to succeed in governance as good governance will rest on the effective application of the three concepts.

If the President, Governors and chairmen of Local Government Councils are able to utilise the three concepts effectively, the resultant effect is that they will be able to establish the following characteristics of good governance:

- (i) Participation of relevant stakeholders in decision making;
- (ii) Devolution of powers and service delivery;
- (iii) Taking and enforcing decision as laid down by rules and regulations,
- (iv) Developing internal capacity of government and non-governmental organisations in respect of financial and institutional management;
- (v) Increased level of transparency and accountability in provision of services,
- (vi) Eradication of poverty and squalor by identifying and targeting the poor, the aged, the physically and mentally challenged and the unemployed;
- (vii) Networking of government bureaucracy through effective coordination among the sector's stakeholders to provide a template for harmonisation of the social service delivery and

- (viii) Effectiveness and efficiency in the actions of government and other stakeholders.

Other elements of good governance identified by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (UNESCAP, 2009) are:

- (a) Citizens' participation in governance,
- (b) Rule of Law,
- (c) Transparency in governance,
- (d) Responsiveness of leaders to the needs of the people
- (e) Consensus that is, the will of the people as a base of authority for the government.
- (f) Equity
- (g) Effectiveness and efficiency and
- (h) Accountability

Obviously, the UNESCAP's template has been summarised by Omoleke (2009), who asserted that Administration which involves responsiveness of leaders to the needs of the people, effective and efficient management and accountability, all fall within the realm of Administration.

Law on the other hand, has also been recognised as an important variable that determines governance, that is, the rule of law and equity without which governance may be a failure and lastly, politics which has also taken a place in UNESCAP (2009) template which are citizens' participation in politics, majoritarian opinion and the will of the people as basis of politics.

In other words, Administration, Law and Politics have embraced the UNESCAP's template for good governance just as Omoleke has asserted that the concepts of Administration, Law and Politics are the independent variables upon which governance rests.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, Administration, Law and Politics constitute the tripartite holy alliance of good governance in any country and once any of the three is defective or not well applied,

governance is in question and the following characteristics emerge. Consequently, political and governance decay follows instead of political and social and economic development. They are;

- (i) Trust in government becomes low;
- (ii) Quality of administration is defective;
- (iii) Government economic policies do not adapt quickly to changes in the economy;
- (iv) The public service becomes weak because of incessant political interference,
- (v) Quality of budget, financial mobilisation and management becomes low,
- (vi) Government decisions are not effectively implemented
- (vii) Excessive rigmarole and redtapism become the order of the day,
- (viii) Inequitable distribution of goods and services;
- (ix) Inconsistent policy direction
- (x) Inequitable revenue mobilisation and
- (xi) Selfish interest takes precedent over public interest.

One may conclude that previous governments in Nigeria are characterized with one or a constellation of the analysed shortcomings of governance.

Summary

What I have attempted in this lecture is to examine what determine good governance. During the course of my presentation, I was able to grope for independent variables such as concepts of Administration, Law and Politics upon which good governance rests. In a resumé, without adequate knowledge of Administration, which is used to harness human and material resources to achieve organisational goals (state goals). Law which directs Administrators (President, Governors, Chairmen, Vice Chancellors and leaders of micro and macro organisations) to do the right thing by following due process and politics which enable the same groups of leaders earlier mentioned to allocate value equitably irrespective of differences in religion, ethnicity or geographical zones or any other primordial sentiments, governance is in question.

Once the tripartite instruments (Administration, Law and Politics) are present and adequately employed, good governance is likely to emerge hence the citizens' needs are likely to be met, and the State Administrators' performance will be indelible. The other way round, is likely to be a failure hence political and economic decay ensue.

Perhaps, there are traits of political and economic decay in Nigeria for the past few years of governance because the three independent variables were trivialised by those in charge, e.g. galloping inflation, bad roads, epileptic supply of electricity, devaluation of naira, poor health services and unemployment etc.

Research Focus and Academic Achievements

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, my research efforts and publications have contributed to knowledge in the area of management of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) which is a core area in the field of Public Administration. The work focused on social services delivery to citizens through the establishment of the SOEs. This has become relevant as one of the parameters of feeling the existence of any governmental administration which is the provision of social services for citizens' consumption, (health, education, electricity, food, agriculture and water) just to mention a few.

In addition to my academic excellence and research effort, I focused on administration of state own enterprises (SOEs), including management of health care service delivery in Nigeria. The thrust is on social service delivery to Nigerians through governments' establishment and management of the (SOEs), (Omoleke and Adesopo 2005).

Furthermore, the research on state own enterprises established that *abinitio*, the enterprises performed well in early 1980s in Nigeria as they then achieved their statutory objectives. However, my research effort revealed that consequently some of the enterprises became moribund and eventually collapsed. The research firmly

identified internal and external hostilities (underfunding, corruption and heavy politicization), as the bane of their malfunctioning and collapse (Omoleke 2008). This condition prompted the owners of the enterprises to opt for privatisation policy as against publicisation management (Omoleke and Bisiriyu 2005). My research investigation further affirmed that although, privatisation policy is a global trend but it appears the policy especially in Africa and Nigeria in particular tends to favour the political and economic elites rather than the grassroots (Omoleke 2011).

My research effort also contributed to knowledge in the areas of state own enterprises in the health sector, when it was discovered that effective implementation of health policy is grossly undermined by the following factors (underfunding of hospitals; poor motivation of human resource therein; obsolete infrastructure and hospital equipments; cultural believes; and brain drains among others), (Omoleke 2010). Lastly, my health research discovered that Fulani pregnant women in the Northern Nigeria when delivering their babies, they should not shout or cry as this is against their culture, whereas, the reveres holds through in the Southern Nigeria (Omoleke 2009).

Contribution to Knowledge

My contribution to knowledge is evident in my teaching assignment of a considerable number of postgraduate students that I have supervised/produced. The contribution is also reflected in my research efforts in the area of Health and Welfare Administration. Specifically, in March, 2008, a Ph.D. student, Ike Nwede of University of Phoenix, United States of America called me and informed me that he saw my work on internet which was relevant to his Ph.D. thesis and solicited for my consent to use it and requested further for intellectual assistance in the area of Primary Health Care Policy implementation which I willingly consented. Furthermore, in my intellectual value, the Health Review Foundation of Nigeria invited me to contribute a chapter to its book entitled "Primary Health Care in Nigeria: 30years after

Alma Ata Declaration”. The invitation was honoured as a contribution to knowledge.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, evidences of my eclectic knowledge are, I. I was invited by a Company in London on air space management in 2009;

2. An undergraduate student of Oxford University, United Kingdom solicited for my academic assistance on air space research method;

3. Air Commador Sandra of the Nigeria Air Force also appreciated my paper on air space management;

4. A Postgraduate student of Delta State University also appreciated my intellectual enterprise;

5. Stanley Ogu, of University of Nigeria, Nsukka also recognized my paper; and

6. (Barr.) Isaac Adejumo, a Ph. D. Law students of University of Ibadan also solicited for my intellectual assistance on air space management.

Furthermore, the Nigerian Medical Association, Osun State branch also invited me to its annual week 2006 to deliver a paper titled, “Human Resources Development and Utilisation in the Health Sector”. In like manner, the Department Public Health, College of Health Sciences, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife in conjunction with the Department of Public Health, University College Hospital, Ibadan invited me to contribute a chapter in a book titled, “Reproductive Health as a Leading Author on Human Resources Management”. As a contribution to my research effort I have also published a book titled, “Administration of Health and Welfare Services in Nigeria: Policies and Issues”, which draw the attention of health policy makers, health professionals and students of health care services delivery in Nigeria.

In addition to international and local recognition of my intellectual enterprises, so far, I have published four books in the areas of:

- (1) Public Enterprises
- (2) Health, and Welfare Administration
- (3) Legal and Governance Issues
- (4) State Administration and Governance

Finally, as a demonstration of my academic achievement and excellence, 36 published journals (Local and International) are in my indelible academic records up to date. I have produced 7 Ph. D. graduates in Public Administration while 3 are still pending, in addition to numerous undergraduate students, MPA and M.Sc. under my supervision respectively.

Conclusion

The focus of this inaugural lecture is on the tripartite instruments of governance which constitute independent variables that is (Administration, Law and Politics) while Governance constitutes dependent variable. In brevity, the lecture submits that the constellation of the values of Administration, Law and Politics if well explored and utilised will go a long way to determine good governance. The lecture asserts that whether the organisations are micro or macro one, there is need for the leaders to utilise the three concepts effectively if he desires good governance.

Closing Remark

I have held some important positions within and outside University administration. In the first instance, I was the head, Department of Public Administration between 2009-2010; Faculty of Administration Health Committee member; Representative of Faculty of Administration in Faculty of Art Board meetings; Department of Public Administration Examination Committee; Associate Lecturer, College of Health Sciences 2007 to date; Member of University Senate; Member of Task Force Committee on Conference Centre. Externally, I have been an external examiner to the following tertiary institutions; i) Babcock University, Ilishan, Ogun state; ii) Lead City University Ibadan; iii) The Polytechnic Ibadan; iv) The Polytechnic, Saaki; v)

Oduduwa University, Ipetumodu; vi) Fountain University, Osogbo. Finally, a guest lecturer at Nigerian Medical Association Akure, Ondo state on 26th of October, 2016 and Annual Medical Week of NMA Osun State Branch.

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4. Professor M. O. Okotoni of Faculty of Administration
5. Professor I. O. Aransi of Faculty of Administration
6. All Professors in the College Health Sciences; and
7. All Professors in the Faculty of Administration as well as Professors in the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.

And of course, my appreciation goes to my late parents, Alhaji Nasiru Sanusi Omoleke and his late wife, my mother Khosaenat Nasiru. May Allah be pleased with them. I wish to acknowledge all members of the Inaugural Lecture Committee chaired by Professor Kehinde Owolarafe for their committed role. I wish you all God Blessing, Amin.

Furthermore, I must recognise my eldest son, Dr. Abdul Sameeh Akinwale Omoleke, and his younger ones Fridaos Omoleke, and Sultoon Akintunde Ayobami Omoleke and their mothers living and

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