INAUGURAL LECTURE SERIES 272

LOCALISM, COMMUNITARIANISM AND THE LOGIC OF GRASSROOTS DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA'S POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

By

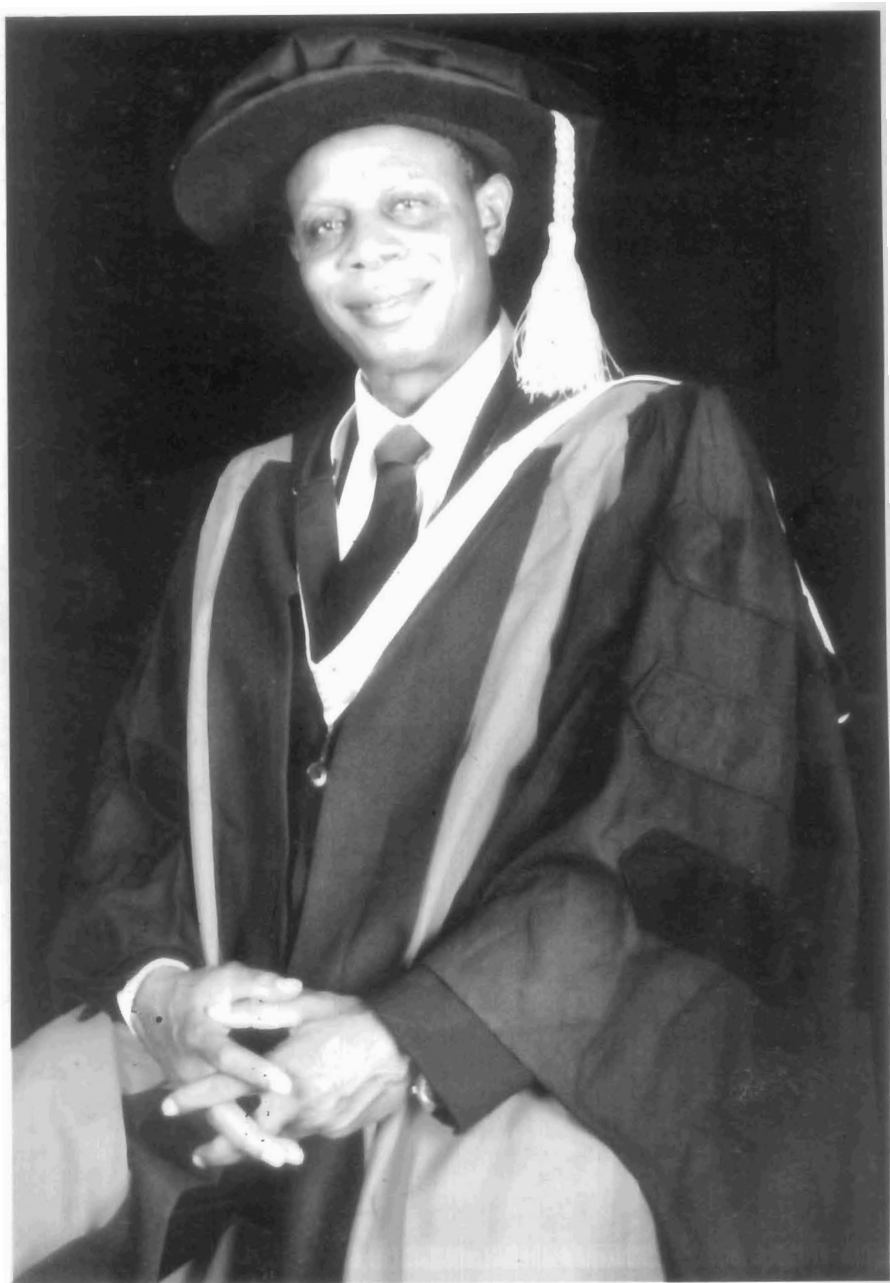## ADEKUNLE MESHACK AWOTOKUN
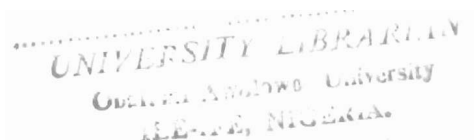*Professor of Governance and Legislative-Executive Studies*

ADEKUNLE MESHACK AWOTOKUN
Professor of Governance and Legislative-Executive Studies.

LOCALISM, COMMUNITARIANISM AND THE LOGIC OF GRASSROOTS DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA'S POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Oduduwa Hall, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria On Tuesday, 24th February, 2015

By

ADEKUNLE MESHACK AWOTOKUN
Professor of Governance and Legislative-Executive Studies.

Inaugural Lecture Series 272

LOCALISM, COMMUNITARIANISM AND THE LOGIC OF GRASSROOTS DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA'S POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Introduction

Mr. Vice-Chancellor Sir, principal officers, fellow scholars from far and near, friends from all walks of life, Great Ife students, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, it is with utmost gratitude to God, the giver (author) of life, and to the authorities of this great citadel of learning, that I inaugurate another lecture in the Faculty of Administration in the Department of Local Government Studies in particular, this being the third of its kind in the Department of Local Government Studies. Professors Oladimeji Aborisade and Dele Olowu had come to address this distinguished audience many years ago.

My Vice-Chancellor Sir, I have had a triangular, academic fora, which had spanned several decades. I started as a young ambitious student at Ahmadu Bello University, Samaru Zaria in the seventies, and with a high conviction of unparalleled scholarship in the academia of South Western Nigeria, I decided to attend University of Ibadan for my Master's degree in Political Science; However, at the University of Ibadan, something kept ringing in my psyche that my scholarship would be incomplete until I attend the University of Ife, now Obafemi Awolowo University. It was this conviction that saw me enrol for my Ph.D at the Department of Public Administration of this great University, hence my triangular academic adventure.

The choice of this topic localism, communitarianism and the logic of grassroots democracy has been a product of my passion as a person and a scholar for the cause of the downtrodden, the wretched of the earth or what is commonly referred to as the grassroots. This is further encapsulated within the broad spectrum of the concept of Public Accountability and Answerability in the course of stewardship of both appointed and elected officials, knowing full well that public office is a trust.

Those who are familiar with my scholarship will attest to the fact that I am not given to jaw breaking terminologies, but I have had to choose localism and communitarianism as nexus to knit and link my works which I have engaged in since I joined the services of this University in November 1984. In a way, it can be conceived as a broad philosophical overview of my intellectual engagement which has spanned three decades running.

My research effort can be summed up in three main (but inter-related) areas in the discipline of Political Science namely: One, Capacity building in Nigerian Local and Public Administration; Two, Governance and Democratisation; and lastly, Legislative and Executive Studies. In my works in capacity building, I have had to grapple with the issue of building sufficient capacity at the local government level to enable them play the roles for which they are created. i.e. providing efficient and effective government at the local level. I have also made valuable contributions to knowledge in the area of governance and democratisation. My intellectual pursuit in this area is borne out of concern over political instability which has been the hallmark of our post-independence life in Africa generally and Nigeria in particular. Perhaps on the most ambitious terrain is how African nations (and Nigeria in specific terms) can fashion its own internally-inspired democracy using local communities as building blocks (hence the reference to the term localism and communitarianism in this discourse). My contribution in the Legislative and Executive studies has largely stemmed from my doctoral thesis (Ph.D) undertaken in the Department of Public Administration of this University titled Legislative Control of Executive in Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979-1983. The work has since been further amplified to incorporate the defunct third republic under the military presidency of General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida and the botched Interim National Government (ING) under Chief Ernest Shonekan. This effort culminated in a book length work published in the United States and titled *Governance and Legislative Control in Nigeria: Lessons from the Second and Third Republics*. My sabbatical leave in 1996/1997 academic session enabled me to take a post- doctoral fellowship provided by the Ford Foundation grant to travel to the

University of Florida Gainesville. Hence, the opportunity provided a propitious climate for research and scholarship. Let me hasten at this juncture to mention the support of Professors Dele Olowu, Olu Okotoni, Bamidele Ayo (of blessed memory) and John Erero (of blessed memory) who were the main coordinators of Local Institutions and Socio-Economic Development (LISDP) through which the Ford Foundation grants were channeled.

Be that as it may, ladies and gentlemen, let me quickly go to the main thrust of our gathering today after the much necessary digression, which I feel is necessary in order to situate where we are today. If we do not know where we are coming from, we may never know where we are, let alone understand where we are going. Where am I going? I intend to excurse the concepts localism and communitarianism.

Premise
It is important to stress from the outset that the logic of colonialism and its policies in Africa (Nigeria inclusive) were antipodal to democracy. The colonialists (even though from countries where liberal democracy is in vogue) never practised democracy, at least in the liberal sense in their administration of the colonies. Where else would the political elite imbibe or be schooled in the necessary democratic culture necessary in governance? Indeed, in Nigeria for instance, the recivilisation process has been an exercise in jest. What is being witnessed today is a relay race of autocrats, many of whom have aversion for internal democracy within their parties, let alone fostering it at national level.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, indeed what our own demilitarisation (transition from the military to civilian government) has produced so far is democracy without democrats. It is against this backdrop that the inaugural lecture of today has been established.

Of Localism and Communitarianism
Every political behaviour, action or inaction is derived from a local content and context. Hence the localisation of every politics. The human intervention of political action has sought to promote what ordinarily would have been a local affair to a national issue, hence

the nationalisation of political action. The political action across ethnic and national boundaries is known to have given rise to the study of International Relations. Every crisis, be it the Congo crisis, war of liberation in Southern Africa, Darfur in Sudan, normally originate from a given community or locality.

It is for this reason that I feel very strongly that the political elites who are trusted with socio-economic and political engineering of the society must necessarily synchronise, aggregate and integrate the collectivity of local objectives, tendencies, needs, wishes, aspirations and inspirations in order to galvanise changes over time. There cannot be any meaningful transformation of a nation without systemic interpretations of all the afore-mentioned variables. In the main, the concept 'democracy' which has been universally defined as the government of the people, for the people and by the people depicts localism. Localism is about the people and appropriate interpretation of the peoples' reaction. It is this set of human beings that are found in rustic communities, with little or no governmental attention, the grassroots, villagers, the wretched of the earth etc. Their political mêliéu are called different names depending on where they are located, e.g. local boroughs (U.K), counties (U.S); local soviets (Russia); parishes (U.K); local councils (Nigeria); communes (France) etc.

'Localism' or local invariably connotes a sort of compares. It involves drawing an analogy with other places so to speak. It denotes limitation or restrictiveness, according to King (1988). For her, the restrictive character of a localism is manifested in the constraints (limitations) imposed by geography. Geographical boundaries are often dictated by nature with human interference. Human interference can be dictated by ethnic affinity, political consciousness/preference, religious dictate and affiliation etc.

Hence it is no wonder why the ordinary English of 'localism' will ordinarily and implicitly refer to a particularistic interest in something that is restrictive (limited) to a geographical milieu. Such milieu is usually limited in space and operation. It could connote having lofty ideas for something that is narrowly based or provincial. According to Wikipedia-the free encyclopedia (2007),

4

localism in generic usage may refer to a tendency of local groups (cultures, nations, communities etc.) to be narrow or parochial in their world view and dismissive or judgmental of concepts which emphasise broader concepts of community, such as globalisation, globalism and universalism.

In the context of our discourse which can be situated within political discourse, localism may refer to a tendency which gives priority to inward perception of a political phenomenon in order to solve its questions. Localism refers to the ability to tap local resources (men and materials) to ameliorate the objectionable living standard of the grassroots in order to add values to their existence. In a sense it may be likened to what Oakerson (1999) titled 'Governing Local Public Economies'. Localism, in a sense is a governing paradigm where people govern themselves for themselves (Ostrom 2002).

Localism and communitarianism are two sides of the same coin. Communitarianism is a political process that believes in shifting attention from the public domain towards individuals. It believes in indispensability of communities in fashioning their destinies. In other words, communities can collectively priorities and aggregate such needs without violence to the existing order. It is for the government to synthesise it in the budget for implementation. According to Etzioni (1993), the central tenet of communitarians is that a society can revive itself without going puritanical or totalitarian by suppressing perceived excesses of the people. In a way, communitarianism is all about re-inventing or re-engineering our communities through creating moral, social and public order which will eventually restore these communities along the pre-colonial values or what people nostalgically refer to as the 'good old days'.

People need a concerted effort, to defend themselves against the encroachment of the state in things which they held sacred in their culture. Hence, the communities will benefit from the cooperation of kins, friends, neighbours to convince the state about the invincibility of their will. In a way, the state may constitute a threat to the emergence of a communitarian society, if it is founded on

excessive control mechanism. The' pre-colonial African communities metamorphosed from nuclear familism to extended, thereby culminating in communal societies. The communal sense formed the basic concept of its government and governance. However, there was colonial intervention in African socio-political affairs which has inevitably led to socio-economic and political dislocation of our norms and values, which informed to a great extent our political structure. Hence, the genesis of African political ills.

The Prognosis of African Political ills
Since the attainment of political independence by many African States in the 1960s, there had been clear evidences of inability of the political class to govern and sustain statecraft. This problem is exacerbated by the character and nature of the post colonial states in Africa, which has been patiently characterised as authoritarian, absolutist, repressive, personalistic, corporatist, hegemonic (al), patrimonialist, corrupt, abusive, lawless and inequitable (Ikelegbe (2005), Callaghy (1978), Chazan (1988), Nyan'oro & Shaw (1989), Decalo (1992), Mandani (1995), Chabal (1998), etc). This has inevitably resulted in unrelentless slide of the African nations into political and socio-economic doldrums. Until recently, many of these African States have had their military class saddled with the question of governance which in fact had created more problems than what it had anticipated.

A systemic diagnosis (if you like prognosis) of Africa's political ills has always generated an inconclusive debates. Many scholars as well as left wing political class have blamed her problems on neo-colonialism, racism, slavery, colonialism (western imperialism), centralisation etc Ayittey [1991], Rodney [1979], Sawyer [1992], Diamonds [1989], Joseph [1991], Ostrom [1988], Wusch and Olowu [1995], Ake [1995] etc). In the main, what sounds like the real challenge currently is how scholars and practitioners can exorcize all these afore-mentioned variables, which in most cases appear to be extreme positions, and advance the course of intellectualism, scholarship, and governance beyond these variables to meet the challenges of the 21st century state craft.

My intention to beam my academic searchlight on the Nigerian component are many, out of which I will highlight three main reasons. One, charity they say begins from home; being a Nigerian national, I have, over time, written extensively on Nigerian project. Two, Nigeria remains the most populated African and black country in the world. It also inhabits over twenty percent (20%) of the world black population. Thirdly, I intend to have an intellectual excursion to the African countries, and Nigeria with its varied ethnic nationalities (at least over four hundred ethnic nationals) will be a convenient base for such a takeoff. In order to appreciate the internal dynamics of grassroots democracy, it will perhaps be apposite to begin with its genesis if only to convince all and sundry that it is a natural government and perhaps God ordained.

The Evolution of Grassroots Democracy in Nigeria
Nigeria consists of an agglomeration of different people from varied ethno-linguistic backgrounds. Within its (Nigeria) frontiers, according to Crowder (1978), were the great Kingdom of Kanem-Borno, with a known history of more than a thousand years, the Sokoto caliphate which for nearly a hundred years before its conquest by Britain had ruled most of the savannah of Northern Nigeria; the kingdoms of Ife and Benin whose art had become recognised as amongst the most accomplished in the world; the Yoruba Empire of Oyo, had once been the most powerful of the states of the Guinea coast; and the city states of the Niger Delta, Dike (1956) which had grown partly in response to European demand for slaves and later palm-oil; the largely politically decentralised Igbo-speaking people of the South-East, who had produced the famous Igbo-Ukwu bronzes and terracottas; and the small tribes of the Plateau, some of whom are descendants of the people who created the famous NOK terracottas.

Ladies and gentlemen, it will be difficult for me, if not impossible, within the scope and time allotted, to discuss the pre-colonial grassroots political organisation of one group in detail let alone all the groups. I will venture to analyse the pre-colonial grassroots political organisation along regional paradigm. Even within the regional setting, I cannot but generalise as details will be too infinite to contemplate.

7

The South-East and South-South

Be that as it may, let us start with the South-Eastern and the South-South. With diverse ethnic nationalities encapsulating these regions, only Igbo, Ibibio, Ijaw and Ogoja will come under the purview of our consideration. Afigbo (1972) identified two types of political systems namely democratic village republic and the constitutional village monarch. While the pre-colonial political system of the hinterland, Igbo, Ibibio and the Ogoja was reminiscent of the former type (democratic village republic), the coastal Ndigbo, Efik and Ijaw can be subsumed under the second variant i.e. constitutional village monarch. It is however, instructive to note that the two variants essentially share some basic commonalities (characteristics). Every village organisation was basically autonomous and therefore enjoyed divinely considerable, unfettered independence, except in time of inter-village warfare when the conqueror made some demands on the vanquished.

Secondly, each of the political organisations was few in number which in a way made inter-personal relationship and administration, manageable and efficient respectfully.

Thirdly, the political authority in both systems was widely dispersed among the lineages and kinship institutions, age-grades, secret and title societies, oracles and diviners and other professional groups.

Fourthly, the two systems were identified with fusion of legislative, executive and judicial functions of government in some persons or group of persons.

Finally and perhaps, most importantly, is the fact that the two political variants believed primarily in the potency of the ancestral spirits in the governing process. In spite of the fact that the government transactions were not formalised, people were not in the habit of denying or violating collective decisions reached. Indeed, Anene (1966) opined that no study of the Igbo is intelligible without a clear appreciation of the pervasive reality of the supernatural world. Among the Ndigbo, religion, law, justice

8

and politics are intricately intertwined. It was also believed that all these were handed over from one generation to the other by the spirit world. For Anene (1966), the spirit world comprised of hierarchy of gods, the most important being the god of the land (Ani). 'Ani' is widely believed as the unseen President of the localised community. Hence for a community in Ndigbo to be so recognised, there must be recognition accorded the god of the land through construction of its shrine.

Democratic Village Republic

The first variant of political engineering i.e. Democratic village Republic was the widest among the peoples of South Eastern extraction. The government consisted of council of senior age-grade in the community. It was a federation consisting of leading men who met in council. We must quickly interject that the society under this system was cephalous without a monarch or institutionalised leadership, kingdoms, empires, large scale city in the sense of Benin its immediate neighbour or Yoruba its distant neighbour. The ancestral spirits among the Ndigbo was held in high esteem in the various communities. The ancestral spirits was a point of reference in every community; disputes were arbitrated or mediated through its medium. Achebe (1982) has amply demonstrated in his literary work that it was most unlikely that any Ndigbo community will engage in war without consulting the oracle to determine the opinion of their ancestors. In a nutshell, ancestral spirits played a pivotal role whether in peace or war periods in the political process of the Ndigbo, Ibibio, Ijaw and Ogoja peoples.

Constitutional Village Monarch

The second variant known as constitutional village monarch was based on the existence of a monarch whose authority was inspired on the sanctity of the past. In other words, chieftaincy qualification of royal lineage was through ascription (hereditary) and therefore not opened to every member of the society. Other lesser or secondary chieftaincies in council with the monarchs were also hereditary. Neither the king nor lesser chiefs had any power of their own outside the norms of the society and had to rule in

council. Indeed, Meek (1937) felt that Onitsha constitutional monarch was not as a king as a President of a bureaucratic society. The Ndigbo of Onitsha and Oguta are usually identified with constitutional village monarchs. Their uniqueness must have been occasioned by their proximity, influence and historic affinity with the Edo monarch of Benin Kingdom.

It is important to remark that as constitutional village monarch, Onitsha and Oguta political structures were well-designed, and the hierarchical structure and functions were well-articulated. For instance in Onitsha, Obi was at the apex of political organisation. Immediately under him were three set of ministers of cabinet rank called *Ndichie*. The most senior among these three were *ndichie ume* with six memberships. Obi governs in council with the afore-mentioned six titled high chiefs. Immediately below them were *ndichie okwa* and *ndichie okwaraza* in descending order. But the most fascinating of the whole system is perhaps the fact that the sovereignty of the village resides with the general assembly of all adults, with Obi as chairman to coordinate the activities of the assembly. This can be diagrammatically represented.

Obi of Onitsha

Ndichie Ume

Ndichie Okwa

Ndichie Okwaraza

Village Assembly Sovereignty supreme organ
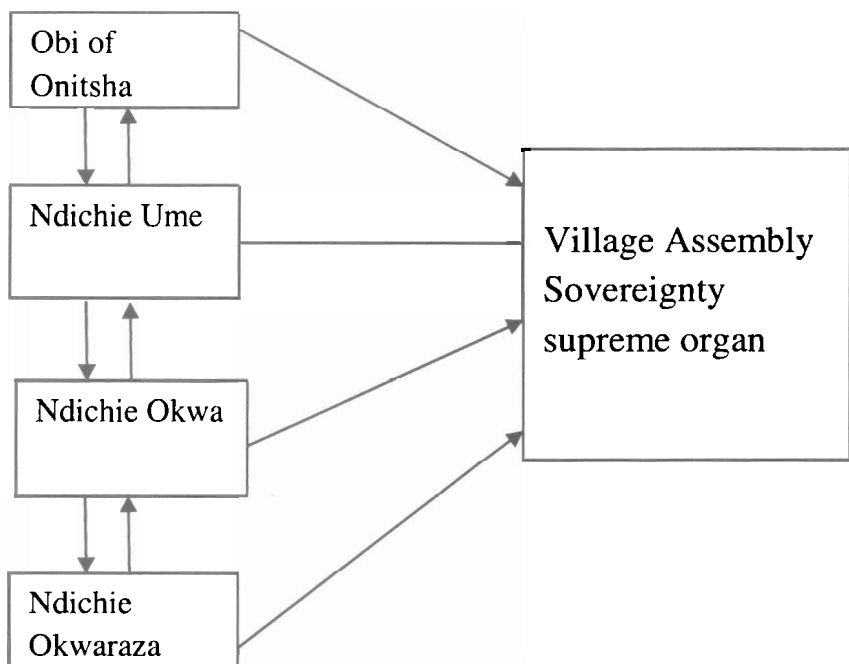
The Oguta political structure resembles that of Onitsha in its hierarchical structure of precedence. For instance, the community is governed by a collectivity of twelve *ndichie* title holders, with *Eze igwe* as the first among equals *primus intere peres* or prime-minister. He is assisted by *Iyasere* generally recognised as the second in the hierarchy. The other chiefs take their turn after these two office holders. It is interesting to note that, this hierarchy notwithstanding, neither of the first high ranking chiefs i.e. *Eze igwe* nor *Iyasere* could take a unilateral action on behalf of the community without negative consequences. Contrary action was usually regarded as a taboo, no chief would willingly challenge the communal sacred order of which he is a custodian. This would be tantamount to challenging the gods of the lands which they believed are their very existence and therefore held in high esteem.

It is instructive to note that, the advent of British colonialism unmitigatedly disrupted the pre-colonial political institution. It was soon marked with series of military campaigns which did not only devastate the people physically and psychologically, but also

destructive to their socio-political institutions which had been in existence for centuries prior to British intervention. The intervention has led to super-imposition of an entirely new political order known as warrant chief system which in the words of Afigbo (1972) was supposed to achieve the conversion of the indigenous political system of the protectorate into an instrument with which the new rulers would govern, influence and "civilise" the natives....

This system was established through the selection of some natives, who the British political officers mistakenly thought were traditional chiefs and as such were issued 'certificates of recognition and authority' called warrants Afigbo (1972). By this warrant, this set of people had by conduct given considerable elevation above other members of their communities, as they were entitled to sit in the native court to judge cases. As recognised citizens of their various communities, they could exercise executive, judicial (if not legislative) powers over members of their communities on behalf of the crown. Indeed the warrant chief system and the native court system were inseparable at that period. The executive authority which they exercised over their fellow communities was derived from their membership of the native court, so also was the legislative authority which enabled them to enact bye-laws to regulate local affairs. The native court system, which was at best grafted, was the epitome of local government institution of the period.

The immediate constraint of the native authority system was the communal power and responsibilities which hitherto were collective (poly-centric) became personified in the hands of few hand-picked individuals called warrant chiefs. It was a case of institutionalisation of local oligarchy in a society which had, for centuries, been governed through communal democracy. The negligence of wide spectrum of the community became a source of attack of this super-imposed model of authority. In order to protect the so called warrant chiefs from the attack of the natives, the British soon enacted the 1916 ordinance, which discouraged the emergence of alternative centers of power among the people. Such act was tantamount to intrigue against the constituted authority of

12

warrant chiefs and upon conviction was punishable by six months imprisonment.

Lord Lugard (1923) reasoned inter-alia: the personal interests of the chiefs must rapidly become identified with those of the controlling power. The forces of disorder do not distinguish between them, and the rulers soon recognise that any upheaval against the British would equally make an end of them.

The British government thus insulated the warrant chiefs from the popular control and accountability. No group of people could remove or simply ignore a warrant chief or set aside the orders of a native court without incurring the displeasure of the government. As a former warrant chief recalled:

> The native court belonged to the government. It was not established by the people nor could it be closed down by them. If they attempted to close it down, they brought upon themselves a Military patrol.... *Onuma (1976)*

The Northern Region

The Northern Nigeria especially the Hausa-Fulani and Kanuri enclaves (otherwise known today in Nigeria's political discourse as North West and North East geo-political zones) presented a pre-colonial political organisation at variance with the South Eastern zone. The Fulani Jihad of the 19th Century (1804) led by Usman Dan Fodio (an Islamic scholar and cleric) successfully established a centralised and hierarchical political system in the affected areas. Following the Jihad, the defunct Hausa States under the rule of Habe rulers had divided into emirates under the rule of Fulani emirs who were known to be faithful to Usman Dan Fodio, the *Amir al Mu'minin* (commander of the faithful) with the headquarter at Sokoto. The caliphate enjoyed unalloyed loyalty from the emirs who were regarded as provincial governors. The obedience of the emirs to the Sultanate is sanctioned in the religious belief that he (Sultan) represented the Almighty Allah (God) in their midst. The Sultan therefore combined political as

well as religious power in his office. Therefore to challenge this authority is not only insubordination but apostasy.

Each emir was assisted by a council of traditional officeholders, who functioned as official counselors or advisers to him. The Emirate itself was divided into districts, headed by district heads (who were in most cases members of royal families at the provincial level). Under the districts were villages, which were governed by village heads. The emirate system was backed up with efficient taxation to ensure the smooth running of the administration. Some of the taxes were *Zakat* which was based on property, the *Khara,* which was paid on land, the *Gandu-* a capitation tax exerted as a right of conquest and *Jangali* which was a tax on livestock.

The judicial system was based on the Islamic penal code otherwise known as Sharia. For Ali Mazrui (1990), Sharia was one of the glories of Islam and one of its shackles. A system of vice and virtue, crime and punishment, reward and sanction. The rules and regulations of the sharia are based on Islamic code of behaviour as contained in the Holy *Koran.* Adherents are expected to internalise the rules and regulations; otherwise offenders are judged and subsequently punished or sanctioned as prescribed in the *Koran.* The Alkalis (judges) are expected to be well-versed in the *Koran* and in most cases they were Islamic scholars, who were admitted to the judicial system by the Emir having taken cognisance of their outstanding scholarship.

The legislative arm of the government did not really exist in the pre-colonial Fulani-Kanuri political organisations, as laws were God-given. The major concern was how to execute the divine legislation without abusing its sacredness.
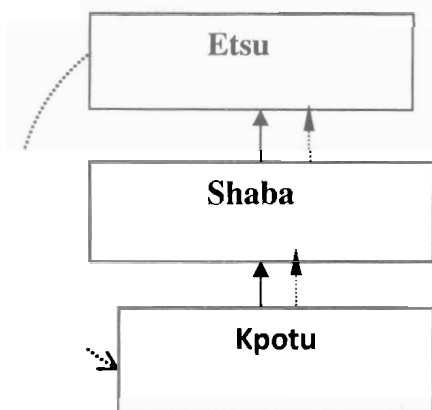
The North Central
It is instructive to state that North Central contains over two hundred (200) minority ethnic groups with mutually exclusive languages and culture. One of such ethnic minorities which presents a very fascinating study is the Nupe who inhabits the Niger valley. The Nupe political organisation is monarchical with

its council of titled elders (Ticizi) who are members of the governing council. The Nupe king (Etsu) is customarily impelled to seek advice and cooperation of the titled elders in day-to-day administration of his kingdom.

In the appointment of ward heads who were leaders of the villages, the Etsu was expected to carry the entire village along, as no section 'may be excluded in the sharing of village office, nor may one house own more than one title, at least not in theory' Nadel, (1942). Another interesting aspect of Nupe political organisation is its mode of succession. Its kingship succession is based on rotation among the three dynasties. This succession plan was graphically presented by Nadel (1942):

Where one, at a given time, provided the Etsu-Nupe, his successor invariably was chosen from the second which happened to be the royal house title *Shaba*. The head of the third dynasty or house then became *Kpotu*. Upon the death of *Etsu*, the *Shaba* became *Etsu*, the *Kpotu* moved into the second line of succession and thus became *Shaba*, while the first house took the place of *Kpotu* thereby maintaining a rigid line of succession.

The above diagram shows the Nupe line of succession. While the concrete arrowed lines are indicative of ordered hierarchy among the royal families, the clotted lines show the reversible turn in kingship.

The Tivs in the North Central part of Nigeria, like the Igbo described above has a non-centralised political system. Hence its discussion can be glossed over.

The South Western Region
The Yorubas and their neighbours who occupied the South Western part of Nigeria are essentially and holistically monarchical in their political organisation. Monarchies in Yoruba land with regards to elaboration and organisation of personnel could be grouped under four models broadly speaking. These are the Oyo, Ife, Ijebu and Egba variants. The Oyo model can be found among the Oyo extraction of the Yoruba race, while the Ife model could be found among the Ife, Ijesa, Ekiti, Ondo and Owe Fadipe (1991). The Ijebu model can be found among sub-group who occupy the Southern fringe of Yorubaland. The Egba or Ake variant is mutually distinct from the Ijebu variant in spite of their geographical and social contiguity. However, these variations notwithstanding, we shall concern ourselves with what the four afore-mentioned models have in common, for the purpose of our mission on this occasion.

The Yorubas live in relatively large settlement; hence they have often been referred to in the literature as urban dwellers Mabogunje, (1995). Each of the settlement has its own political organisation, which can be autonomous or tributary to the history, circumstance of its creation or the political configuration of the time. Every settlement is called a town and each of the settlement is divided into compounds. Every compound more often than not, consists of members of the same lineage (extended family) or people who believe they have things in common and have therefore agreed to bound themselves together under customary ties. This means in effect that inter-marriage cannot take place within members of a compound as they have regarded themselves as having common ancestors. A compound is the smallest political unit within a town, in the sense that it has a head, who is the group representative in the town. Owing to the custom of deference for age (respect), the most senior member of a compound is usually appointed the head (*Baale Ile*) except for physical disability or impairment like insanity or other debilitating conditions. As Fadipe

16

(1991) has rightly said, only through the head of the family was the average individual's loyalty to the head of state and the central government expressed.

However, in terms of hierarchy at the apex of the political structure is the king usually referred to as *Oba*. The position of a king is regarded as sacred and hereditary. The stool can only be filled by members of royalty upon the demise of an *Oba* or in the event of abdication. Every town has its own ruling house. The king is regarded as representing the authorities of the gods and ancestral spirits among them. As the political head of his people, he has the ultimate responsibility to ensure the safety, health and prosperity of members of the community. He is also in charge of external relations between his own kingdom and neighbouring or distant settlements whether in the time of peace or war. The king enjoys respect and authority as long as he abides with the tradition and customs of the people, otherwise he risks dethronement.

The Yoruba monarchical system is regarded as constitutional and with checks and balances. Autocracy is a taboo, and usually resisted with all seriousness. A Yoruba autocratic monarch is tolerated as long as the people wished. Hence such a monarch normally lived on borrowed time. He is regarded as *Alase Ekeji Orisa*. A symbol of authority regarded as second to the gods of the land. This also can be interpreted that his power is absolute. He is a limited or constitutional monarch, who is expected to rule in council with other subordinate but powerful chiefs (especially the high chiefs who are kingmakers).

The council of chiefs is made up of people whose lineage had played prominent role in the founding of a settlement. This position like kingship is hereditary and could be competed for among members of such families. This time around, it was not necessarily based on age but influence, wisdom and wherewithal. In many communities there are distinctions between high and low chiefs and every chieftaincy title is tagged with a specific family. In other words, the competition is not for all comers. In the Oyo Kingdom, the cabinet or council of chiefs consists of the Oyo-mesi with the Bashorun as its head. The Bashorun serves as the vice or

deputy to the king otherwise known as the 'Prime-Minister'. Every settlement has its own equivalent of Bashorun (a Prime-Minister) or next in rank to the king. But neither the Prime-Minister (who himself is a chief) or any member of his lineage can be made a king. Every chief is in charge of a quarter. A quarter is an agglomeration of compounds that are mutually and geographically contiguous to one another. In other words, a quarter is collectivities of compounds. Every town is expected to be divided into quarters for the purpose of easy administration and governance.

The women folks are not usually left behind in the political organisation of any community. The head of the women folks is regarded as an important chief called *Iyalode*. She is in charge of women activities in every town. Every compound has its 'Iya-ile' (head of women), who in turn is in subordinate position to the chief of women (*Iyalode*). As women were in charge of market economy in the pre-colonial setting, the chief of women, the *Iyalode* presides over the administration of market in modern time. It is within her portfolio to regulate tariff (in the market) and make laws and regulations involving business transactions in the market. All women trader must necessarily respect and obey her injunction. In the pre-colonial era, the women organisation was probably one of the most potent single organisation in Yoruba setting, because of their mystical powers. According to Fadipe (1991), any representation made by this body (women folks) to the political authorities is listened to with respect whether concerning their trading interests or political issues. An uprising against a monarch can lead to dethronement. A case in point was Abeokuta, a headquarter of renown Yoruba Kingdom (Egba) in the 20th century.

The executive, legislative and judicial functions were fused. However, much of these functions were wholly reliant on the king and his chiefs, who were in charge of governance of the community. Once decisions were reached by consensus, the chiefs ensure that they were implemented by the people. The organisation of public works such as construction of markets, clearing of paths, repair of the king's palace e.t.c., were executed by adults, who were organised in compounds under the supervision of chiefs.

18

Absenteeism was not tolerated, hence heavy fines were always imposed on absentees except under glaring circumstantial evidence like bereavement or other calamitous situations. The king makes laws in concert with his council. That is why he is usually referred to as 'Alase Ekeji Orisa'. Once a law is made it became part of the tradition of the people. The people believe that breaking of law will not have adverse effect on the culprit alone, but on the entire community, hence everybody became the custodian of law and customs. Law breakers were promptly reported and required to make atonement as a way of preserving the sanctity of the community.

The judicial system was very complex ranging from simple arbitration to public justice. Its administration of justice was not based on written document but customs, code of behaviour, norms, values, e.t.c. which were eternally internalised by everybody in the society. At the rudimentary level, every individual was involved in adjudication depending on the nature of conflict involved. For instance, an individual with social standing could adjudicate between two disputants. At a higher level, every compound represented a judicial forum where disputes were settled among members of the same lineage. Disputes involving two women or more were usually resolved by women association of the compound involved. Cases involved at this level were civil such as theft, debt, fighting, adultery, misappropriation of funds, e.t.c.

Criminal cases such as violence, arson, inflicting injury, culpable homicide, rape. e.t.c. were entertained by central judicial system of which the king was the head. He adjudicated in concert with his chiefs and their decisions were final (up to capital punishment) except where the town involved was a vassal (affiliate) of a powerful kingdom such as Oyo, Ife, Egba, e.t.c. In other words, towns and villages under the administration of powerful kingdoms had limited power with regards to dispensation of justice. For instance, they could not pass capital punishment on any of their citizens without reference to the headquarters. Either of the party in dispute had the option of appeal to appellate judicial authority at the centre.

Finally, one remarkable feature of administration of justice in Yoruba land had to do with peace-making (building) justice. The importance of this justice is to keep every member of the community in good and cordial relationship as much as practicable. The community concertedly would prevent quarrels and misunderstanding from degenerating to breach of peace. Hence unlike modern retributive and reparatory justice with emphasis on fault finding, with the sole object of apportioning praise and blame, peace-making (building) by the dictate of custom required reconciling justice with the aim of conciliating or reconciling the warring factions, hence the dictum '*A kii ti kootu bo se ore*' meaning court cases impair friendship. The typology of political organisation in the pre-colonial era can be broadly classified into two namely centralised and non-centralised system of governance. It is very important that whether centralised or non-centralised, the various communities have over time as it were devised their own democracies which had withstood the test of time prior to British colonialism, the central argument being that a revisitation of such ideals, will not only be politically expedient but mutually benefiting to the society. Indeed, it will be a step further in evolving an indigenous or grassroots democracy.

Grassroots Democracy

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, what does grassroots democracy connote? Put in a different perspective, in what ways does grassroots democracy differ from the universal or orthodox concept of democracy? In order to fully respond to these questions, one needs to commence on the general concept of democracy. Democracy, as widely conceived is the rule of the majority for the overall benefit of the society. If properly operationalised, it is a process which necessarily incorporate the views of minority in the governing process. It is a process that allows the majority to have its way but minority to have its say. Democracy therefore must be viewed against the background of what Robert Dahl (1992) conceives as Polyarchy. It is taken to denote:

> A system of government that meets three essential conditions: meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organised groups (especially

political parties) for all effective positions of government power, at regular intervals excluding the use of force; a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair elections, such that no major (adult) social group is excluded; and a level of civic and political liberties...freedom of expression, freedom of press, freedom to form and join organisations...sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation.

In the same vein, Scarit and Mozaffar (1997) perceive democracy as a set constitutional rules which underscore the following dimensions:

First, access to public offices in which effective governmental power is vested in and must be determined by contestation at regular intervals;

Second, the outcome of this contestation and implement (as who will occupy public offices and policies they will formulate and implement) must be determined by the free-board based participation of all eligible citizens and some form of majority rule; and

Third, the civil and political liberties of citizens must be guaranteed against government infringement to ensure that they can freely join and establish civil associations and political groups, and express and debate a diversity of ideas and choose public officials.

In all these definitions three basic elements can be discerned:

(i)   the mutual veto or concurrent majority rule, which serves as additional protection of
vital minority interest;

(ii)   proportionality as the principal standard of political representation, civil service appointments; and

(iii)   a high degree of autonomy for each segment to run its own internal affairs.

21

In a nutshell, the above definitions see periodic election of leaders in a non-violent manner, as germane to democracy. These elections must necessarily assure the opposition parties that they have a chance of winning and taking office in the nearest future. The Nigerian democratic experiments have not been based strictly on most of these theoretical assumptions. The so called opposition parties were so fragmented that they could not challenge the dominant ruling parties. The opposition parties therefore, had no hope of ever winning election to form a government. In the current political dispensation, the same scenario had emerged since 1999 with the dominance of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in the political landscape of the country. But for the recent formation of All Progressive Congress (APC), the tendency for PDP to rule Nigeria till eternity had clearly emerged. The failure of all these democratic experiments has informed the discourse on grassroots democracy as a way of stabilising and sanitising the political system.

By "grassroots democracy" I mean the extent to which the general citizenry of a country are involved in the decision-making of the society. In other words, the degree of contribution of the people in shaping the policy process and output of government in a generic manner. The policy output must necessarily conform with the input of the people. It is only when everyone is involved in public affairs that community or grassroots solidarity can be fostered. For Smith (1996), grassroots democracy is based on more stringent requirements than national or orthodox democracy. For Nwabuzor (1992), democracy demands that it is not just the representative who goes to the high level but also the citizen's decisions go to a higher level.

In sharp contrast to other forms of democracy, grassroots democracy has the distinguishing characteristics of self determination. In the first place, it provides a bottom-up approach to governance, as opposed to handing down directives from the centre to the regions. It is also an institutional arrangement that is based on constant flow of communication (dialogue) between the governor and the governed. The governor is indeed a servant to the governed. Grassroots democracy is based on an eternal

propagation and defence of democracy.against external threat. It is rooted in a political culture that sees autocracy as a threat to human liberty and freedom, and indeed the economic well-being of the society. These values have to be shared and internalised by the generality of the people within the political system. And it is these values and commitment to them that will galvanise into a sense of identity and a common purpose. Needless to add that such purpose will aim at improving their socio-economic well-being.

In grassroots democracy, individuals and the communities they belong to are inseparable, as they are mutually reinforcing. In other words, they (individuals and communities) are two sides of the same coin. The multiple generational interlocking relationship and ties has the propensity of building a strong and virile consensus. It revolves more around consultation than confrontation in the decision- making process.

Political Structure
In the bid to accommodate democracy based on total participation of all and sundry, then there must be a total overhauling of the entire socio-political structure of Nigeria as it is presently constituted. One of such that needs immediate attention is state creation and re-adjustment. One fact must be borne in mind, that is, the polity has constantly been overheated by demands and supply, by input and output mechanism in the political process. The inability of the state actors to meet the needs and yearnings of the people has discouraged the large majority on the desirability of their inclusion where they are grouped in the political organization. Indeed it is instructive to remind ourselves of what Awolowo (1946) observed among other things that Nigeria is not a nation, it is a mere geographical expression. Any time peoples' interests are threatened by the state actors, they (the people) have the tendency to withdraw to their cocoon or shed, which is ethnic nationalities. This frustration had made many political pundits to call for confederation or true federalism (as this of recent has gained momentum in Nigeria's political discourse).

Mr. Vice-Chancellor Sir, it is against the background of the foregoing, that we are proposing for Nigeria whose population

stands between 160 and 170 million be sub-divided into a state structural system of at least 75 states, each of which must be created as much as practicable on linguistic basis Awolowo, (1968). The only states that are based on ethnic or linguistic basis are Ekiti and Bayelsa (predominantly peopled by Ekiti, a sub-nationality of Yoruba, and Ijaw respectively) to a large extent. For the purpose of commonality and a sense of purpose, people will naturally feel more at home with their kith and kin. The matter is not being helped presently in many states of Nigeria where some ethnic groups who constitute the majority have been lording it over the rest in governorship office and all other juicy positions. Politics, after all, is who gets what, how and when. It (politics) can also be conceived as authoritative allocation of values. There is an unequal allocation of values to the constituent units of the state, this is the bane of clamouring call for creation of states, secession, confederalism, federation etc.

Local Government
Like the situation with the state creation, when the Yakubu Gowon administration embarked on it in 1967, even though ostensibly, it was to serve as counter-reaction to the secessionist bid of the then Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu. It was nevertheless greeted with fanfare as political pundits saw it as a way of decentralising the amorphous regional structure of the period. The 1976 local government reforms attracted some socio-political and economic gains. The reforms made it possible for various communities to access the country's resources which are enormous following the discovery and prospecting of petroleum and its allied products in the Niger-Delta area of Nigeria. The country was initially sub-divided into 299, 301,589 and presently 774 local governments. It is instructive to note that they were divided by military fiat. Local government now enjoys about twenty percent (20%) of the federation account.

The first question that comes to mind on the Nigerian local government system is "how local are these local governments?" In terms of perception of localism, locality and provincialism, Nigerian local governments are not necessarily or sufficiently local. A system of governance that demands uniformity from a

24

plural society such as Nigeria, with over 15,000 ethnic nationalities cannot in all sincerity lay claim to such. A local government that uses English language to conduct legislative and executive business in a locality populated by illiterates is a suspect.

This inevitably takes us to the demographic criterion for creating a local government in 1976 reform. The reform recognised a total population of between 150,000 and 800,000 as adequate for a local government, and it went further to say that a place with 100,000 population could constitute a local government in exceptional cases. A question that is perhaps pertinent at this juncture is "what really constitutes a local government?" Most of the present local governments are packs of agglomeration of mutually incompatible communities. It is instructive to recall Mabogunje, (1995) a million dollar question as to "what opportunities for developing dense networks of civic engagement is provided for the citizens in the present system of local government in Nigeria?" Given the incongruous amalgam of different communities that a local government harbours, what stock of social capital is being accumulated, what repertoire of collaborative achievements do our local governments have to show over the years? The last question can be answered in the alleged mandatory contributions to the joint state-local accounts which from all indications have not impacted local government citizenries.

A local government to be truly local should be based on mutual agreement Awotokun (2003) and willingness of the citizenries to stay together rather than on demographic criterion. If demography must be employed, we propose that a local government should contain a maximum of 100,000 citizens. Hence there could be as many local governments as many communities that have satisfied the conditions of mutual compatibility and evidence of joint communal ventures in the past. Many of the federal agencies such as the defunct Directorate of Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DIFRRI) and Primary Health Care (PHC) all of Babangida's era had carefully identified and documented such communities in the past. Such can be the basis of fashioning a new local government structure for the country.

Every local government should be autonomous in staff recruitment, engagement and disengagement. Their staff's needs must be based on needs and ability to pay. Two or more contiguous local governments can agree to partner in some areas of manpower need. Under the present proposal, the Local Government Service Commission becomes anachronistic. Its abrogation will not create constitutional problem as it was not Awotokun (2002) provided for in the 1999 Constitution. In order not to create unnecessary pandemonium in the political arena, excess staff should be eased out by attrition.

What is Communitarianism?

When every community in the federation manages its own local government, the spirit and letters of *communitarianism* will be in vogue. Communitarianism is a paradigm shift of people commitment to creating a new moral, social and public order based on restored communities, without allowing puritanism or oppression Etzioni (1994).

Communitarianism believes in reconstructing or re-engineering of society as it were; not in the sense of returning to questionable traditional ethos that cannot withstand the test of the modern society. It (communitarianism) is based on returning to our core values, moral affirmation unchallenged moral authority to guide the youth, community members etc. The afore-mentioned are meant to preserve the sanctity of our societies, using families, school system, churches, mosques (other places of worship), and shore it up in communities Etzoini (1994). The communities too need to be re-invested in order to accommodate the transformation agenda of the communitarians. The social decadence of the communities must be addressed. There is no society that can thrive amidst moral decadence, armed robbery, kidnapping, financial impropriety etc. Its immediate gain is that, the high incidence of official corruption and venality of both elective and appointed officials will be drastically reduced if not totally eliminated. In this case, nearly almost every worker will hail from their respective local communities. There have been ample evidence that people do exercise restraints in tampering with

communal goods because of the social and negative consequences such an act could engender to their immediate and extended families. This scenario has been amply underscored by Ekeh (1996) in a work titled "Colonialism and two Publics in Africa; A Theoretical Statement" to necessitate a recap, while members of primordial public (local communities) organize to better the lots of their communities, they (primordial public) use the same energies to pillage the civic public with impunity. The implication is that the people are more committed to their primordial origins than the civic public which they perceive as a common or public till. For Joseph (1991), Nigerian politics is more of Prebendalism. Awotokun (2002) illustrated this phenomenon in "Legislators in Tutelary Democracy as witnessed in the Babangida's Democratic experiment of 1992-1993 in Nigeria".

The State Structure
The criterion of state like local government need a congenial environment to survive and succeed. The present state structure in some states are not adequate to inspire confidence in the citizenries. This is because some segment ethnic groups or socio-linguistic groups have been subjected to a second class status without prospect of the marginalised even being in a position to produce governors. If the present state structure must be sustained, then there is need for rotation of office of governor among the three senatorial districts that constitute each state at present.
In the alternative, and perhaps better still, state criterion must be based on linguistic principles such that birds of the same feather will fly or flock (as the case may be) together. Except we begin to address the fears already being expressed by certain sections of our societies, there will be no end to demand for state creations. Having discussed issues that concerned local and state structures in the political structures of the country, the work will continue by fusing the federal structure with the political and constitutional engineering of the Nigerian state.

Towards Political and Constitutional Re-engineering
Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, let me at this juncture, crave your indulgence to assert that broadly speaking, there are two major political models within the western liberal democratic paradigm;

and possibly a third variant which is an amalgam of the two. The first and perhaps the oldest is the Westminster model, often referred to as parliamentary system of government Awotokun (1998). It is cost-saving because it fuses the executive and legislature (parliament) together in the governing process. The second variant is the presidential system which is traceable to America after its war of independence in 1776. The American presidential is anchored on a tripartite division of power among the three branches of government namely the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. While the executive derives its existence from the legislature (parliament) and therefore unquestionably responsible to it, both the executive and the legislature in the American presidential model are derived from the constitution. The beauty of the American presidential variant is that the executive has nationwide support in the sense that he is being voted for in a single nation election.

The third variant is the grafting of parliamentary and presidential models otherwise known as plural executive or what Abacha (1995) referred to as limited or modified presidential system. This system of governance is largely inspired by the French and closely adopted by Finland, Portugal, Iceland, Austria and Ireland with minor variations and modifications from country to country.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, it is desirable to have a broad comparison of the first two political models (parliamentary and presidential) vis-à-vis Nigerian political environment for two main reasons, first to put issues in their proper perspectives and two, to enable us have a rational option among the three systems of governance.

Parliamentary and Presidential Democracies Compared
It is important to note from the outset that a presidential model is known to offer a stronger and more efficient leadership in a largely or relatively homogeneous political structure. By contrast, a parliamentary model is inherently perceived to have a more streamlined and unified approach to state craft. A strong leadership in Nigeria with diverse ethnic nationalities and long history of rivalries may be a direct invitation of ethnic suspicion and general

psychological fear of insecurity and domination by other ethnic groups.

In the parliamentary system there is a preponderance of political parties in the sense of the leeway they have to choose the cabinets and Prime-Ministers. Conversely, in the presidential system, political parties are expected to be tangentially connected in the choice of cabinet for the Presidents. By convention, Presidents could gather their cabinets outside the party platforms. Unlike the presidential systems, parliamentary democracies have institutionalised mechanisms to ensure legislative majorities thereby engendering stability in the system. In fact, proponents of the Westminster model have often used this argument to underscore their case. Presidents must necessarily lobby and build coalitions on every issue as they may not be sure of support of their party members at all times.

Parliamentary democracies provide a much easier avenue to **depose of the executive without damage being done to the body** politic of the societies than in the presidential systems. When a vote of no confidence is passed on the Prime-Minister, the entire cabinet stands dissolved, thereby paving way for a fresh election. Presidential system does not provide for a straightforward means of replacing unpopular presidents. The impeachment provision in Nigeria's second and fourth republics is reserved for gross misconduct. Who determines what constitute a gross misconduct? The legislature must work in concert with the judiciary to determine the fate of a sitting president. Impeachment of presidents in fragile democracies may lead to exacerbation of crisis, i.e., ethnic rivalries, ethnic cleansing etc. It is doubtful if Nigeria to date has managerial capacity, political culture and maturity to absorb such shocks.

Consistent and protracted differences between the president and the legislature may affect the ability of the president to achieve meaningful results. President Shehu Shagari and Olusegun Obasanjo suffered this fate in Nigeria's second and fourth republics respectively. Presidentialism is inimical to ethnic balancing or power sharing in plural societies because Presidents

29

can only belong to one ethnic configuration, whereas parliamentary system will feature collegial cabinets which will be ethnically inclusive. While parliamentary democracies feature mutual dependence between the executive and the legislature (parliament), presidentialism attracts mutual independence between the executive and the legislature. The differences between the executive and the legislature in Presidential democracy are further heightened because each of them have separate and fixed mandate from the electorate.

The Presidential system normally attracts rapid ministerial turnover, which often makes for less mastery of duties and responsibilities, while Parliamentary democracy that is built on coalition of political parties makes rapid turnover of ministers to be politically inexpedient.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor Sir, but for the existence of the third variant, I would have been tempted to opt for parliamentary model. The third variant is what Susser (1989) calls parliadential system of government. However, I must hasten to add that my soft sport for parliadentialism is not based on Susser's proposal for the State of Israel but on Nigeria's political antecedent.

Parliadentialism: A Proposal for Nigerian Political Structure
Mr. Vice-Chancellor Sir, it is apposite to inquire as it were, what parliadentialism really means. It is, simply put, a system of governance founded and inspired on co-equal relationship between the Prime-Minister and the President, all deriving their power, functions and existence from the constitution Awotokun (1998). In other words, it is a form of governance in which the executive power is shared between the Prime-Minister and the President. Put in another way, it is a political-institutional arrangement which recognises executive dualism of the offices of the Prime Minister and President in the constitutional engineering. It is a power sharing mechanism based on co-equal basis.

It can be argued that the spirit and style of parliadentialism is not novel to Nigeria. In spite of strong military dictatorial tendencies, there was dualism of Murtala/Obasanjo (1975); Obasanjo/

In this system, the Prime Minister will be voted for directly by the entire nation, while the electoral college system can be employed to pick the President. This will reduce the cost of elections while at the same time preserve the sanctity of the office of the President. The system will not recognise the offices of the Vice-President and Deputy Prime Minister. This is because by its very nature, the dual executiveship has taken care of such. Under this option too, a bi-cameral legislature is proposed at the National Assembly to be headed by a Chancellor and a National House of Chiefs to be advisory in nature based on the representation of three per state, each representing senatorial districts. These positions may be based on rotations among first class rulers in the senatorial districts.

The three Executive and Legislative positions namely Prime Minister, President and Chancellor can conveniently fill in into the six recognised geo-political zones of Nigeria namely North West, North East, North Central, South West, South East and South South. This political arrangement has the propensity to absorb the centrifugal forces, while dispersing the centripetal forces in a polity fraught with ethnic rivalry and suspicions. In other words, the design has the inherent capacity to contain the myth of regional domination in Nigerian government and politics.

The parliadential democracy is one which is based on tripartite division of governmental functions, akin to presidential system among the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. The plurality of the executive branch i.e. Prime Minister and President should be clearly spelt in the constitution. If for any reason the post of Prime Minister or President becomes vacant, an election must be conducted to fill the post bearing in mind the need for geo-political zone of the occupants of such position to complete their own term of office. Pending the conduct of such election either the Prime Minister or the President will combine the role of the affected incumbent. Once elected, the bye-election is deemed as a

continuation of the term of office of the previous holder. This will lay to rest the issue of doctrine of necessity evoked to enable President Goodluck Jonathan assume power after the demise of his predecessor, Late President Umar Yar'Adua.

The Office of the President
Unlike the Prime Minister that will stand for election on a national platform, we propose that the President be elected via Electoral College using the Federal Legislature or the National Assembly. The party which comes second in the Prime Ministerial election will nominate two candidates (with regards to rotational principle in the constitution) out of whom the National Assembly will elect a candidate for presidency by simple majority votes. In addition, we propose that the two candidates must come from the same geo-political zone. It is expected that whosoever emerges between the two contestants will be popular with the legislature and acceptable to the nation in line with geo-political rotation principle in the constitution.

The President, on assumption of office, should stand above partisan party politics. This will assist him/her in conjuring an appearance of a genuine statesman, symbol of unity, reconciliation and hope. As a statesman, he/she should be pre-occupied with the future of the country, as opposed to politicians who are always concerned with their electoral fortune. This office no doubt calls for an experienced, matured, emotionally balanced and de-tribalised individual, who should not be less than 60 years of age, and should not function for more than one term of five years. This position should be scout for in any field of human endeavour, private and public sectors; retired justices, experienced members of the Bar Association, retired military officer, academia etc.

It is proposed that the office of the President should be entrusted with the appointment of government officials; the presentation of executive bills to the National Assembly, the ratification of laws made by the legislature, determination and direction of foreign policy, right to call extraordinary session of legislature, right to open a National Assembly by proclamation, including the right to dissolution of legislature and call for a fresh election. This will be

a counter check on the power of impeachment of the executive granted the legislature. In order to preclude the arbitrary use of power of dissolution of the National Assembly by the President, the constitution should clearly state when and on what conditions the President could exercise such power.

The President can be granted the appellation of Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. However, the operational use of the Armed Forces should be a joint affair between the President and the Prime Minister. It must be stated unambiguously that the Prime Minister is the leader of government and the President can only relate with cabinet members through the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is also the spokesman of the government in domestic and international affairs, but as a matter of courtesy (decorum) this need be exercised with full knowledge and (perhaps) consent of the President.

The constitution should make it mandatory for the President and Prime Minister, with his cabinet to meet monthly to discuss the affairs of the country. This type of meeting would be significant in two aspects; One, it would serve as a reminder of their collective resolve to engender unity, happiness and prosperity of the nation. Two, it will further underscore the duality of the executive branch. In the main, both the President and the Prime Minister need to be viewed as 'consensus builders' within the Nigerian political system.

The President should be accorded a father figure since he stands clear of everyday politics which may tear the Prime Minister and his cabinet apart, and more often put them at the mercy of the legislature. The President is on his own, and seems to possess a much durable power from the constitution. When there is a stalemate in the political space and governmental activities seem stalled, the mass of the people should be able to find solace in the 'apolitical' President. That is the traditional conception of an elder within the African context. It is within this political prism that grassroots democracy has been evolved or anchored over time.

The Legislature under the Proposed Political Structure

This discourse recognises the indispensability of the legislature in providing a workable governmental system. The challenge at the moment is how the country as it were, can graft (blend) the indigenous or traditional communalism and consensual decision making Awotokun (2002) in the workings of the legislature. It is instructive to learn that some Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea and Taiwan to a limited extent have successfully blended their traditional heritage with the Western system of state craft. It will be a right step in a right direction if all legislative assemblies at local and state levels should use local languages spoken by the people within, as official languages of business, communication and debates. Where the use of English Language becomes imperative, the government business should be translated in all the local languages spoken by the people.

The use of the native language will break the barrier of communication and bring government closest to the people. This will also ensure that political power is captured and used by the mass of the people. As Ake (1996) has aptly said, any democracy that uses foreign language to transact official business is a suspect. The present system is a contradiction of the essence of grassroots democracy. Creation of local governments as the bedrock of grassroots democracy must be founded as it were on identification of autonomous communities exercise Mabogunje, (1995) earlier carried out by the Directorate of Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructures (DIFRRI) under the Babangida's administration (1985-1993).

If Nigeria's democratic system must be sustained, the concentration of power at the centre must be viewed seriously. There is the need to ensure equitable power sharing among the three levels of government, i.e., federal, state and local government. As Owusu (1991) has rightly said, the three-tier structure of the federal structure of the federal system must be viewed as vehicles for promoting national developmental goals and institutional centres for power-sharing and national consensus in which values of accountability and probity, and fidelity to overall

public interest are paramount. Such arrangement has a high propensity for managing ethnic diversity and invigorating grassroots participation in the political process.

The representation of the people in the legislature should be drawn from the strata of the society i.e to include occupational groups like farmers, butchers' association, market women, fishermen and women, white collar jobbers, miners, road transporters etc. This is perhaps, the only way by which the true character of the population of the country can be reflected in the legislature. Indeed, there are obvious and inherent dangers in the legislatures which do not encompass the occupation, history, traditions, culture and symbolic meanings and economic circumstances of the people Owusu (1971). For one legislative assembly to be truly representative, it must be rooted in ideas and forms of equality and participation found in the pre-colonial village council and similar institution of a community governance. A greater reliance on modern variations of these forms, as Barber (1988) has rightly pointed out, might succeed where Western forms of democracy had failed.

Our notion of grassroots legislature should consist of the authority of village, town, clan and ethnic groups in the legislative process as symbolised by chieftancy institutions. The enduring bonds of kinship, language and locality will no doubt provide the impetus for enduring democracy. Thus for parliadential democracy to achieve its desired goals and objectives, it must include institutional arrangements by which the governed can question, check and control office holders in the city square. This is what is often referred to as town hall meeting. The control of the governing elite must be subject to constant exercise as opposed to periodic checks in form of election which the followers exercise every four years as stipulated by the Nigerian constitution of 1999. It is interesting to recall that the essential elements of western democratic models (Parliamentary and Presidential) such as competitive party system, elections, recruitment etc have been mechanism for elites and intra-class struggle in Nigeria since independence. As Owusu (1971) has rightly pointed out, for a western model to succeed it must meet certain socio-political conditions such as mass literacy, efficient communication.

economic development, individualism, a sense of national identification, and cultural homogeneity. The failure of western-inspired democracy in Nigeria is traceable to the inability of the political space to meet most (if not all) of the afore-mentioned socio-political conditions. Mass poverty, for instance, in the political landscape has resulted to using money, buying of rice, kerosene, detergent etc as means to attract votes. This arguably, has generated the controversy over 'stomach infrastructure' which is a new concept in the Nigerian government and politics.

What this portends is that it is simply not enough to copy structure and operation of a system of governance without ensuring its similarity and adaptability to the mass of the people and the socio-political ecology where it is expected to thrive. Indeed, consensus model which aims at curbing majority preponderance in governance by requiring or encouraging, the sharing of power between the majority and minority (grand coalitions) will be apt here Lijphart, (1984).

In essence, the political philosophy of the proposed Parliadential system of government is anchored on mass involvement in government and politics. It is for this reason that we feel the constitution can further strengthen political accountability and institutional responsiveness, by creating as it were, smaller units of political representation. These units made up of volunteers should be known as the citizens or peoples' assemblies. These assemblies will serve as the input/output mechanisms to legislatures and political executives. It is our informed opinion that assemblies of randomly selected citizens engaged in deliberation, reflection and recommendation have the potentials to emerge as important institutions for civil participation. It will further underscore the competence of participants. There is no doubt that such assemblies, given its logistic advantage to ordinary citizens will serve, in the word of Dahl (1992), as trustworthy surrogates for the preponderant majority of citizens who could not take part in them. It is also conceived as a way of minimising, if not totally eradicating sectional fears, disagreements and recurrent frustrations by bringing government to the doorsteps of the people.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor Sir, the whole essence of this constitutional design is to bring about an enduring political system. This can be achieved by giving concession to the previously disallowed majority to function and participate actively in the governing process of the country. This is the very essence of democracy in a plural society such as Nigeria.

The Logic of Grassroots Democracy

The western-inspired democracy is good as a means of governing any society. There is no doubt about it. It is for this reason that Europe and America over the years have campaigned vigorously for its adoption by less developed countries. However, in its adoption in Africa and Nigeria in particular, care has not been taken for its domestication. For instance, there is the winner-takes-all syndrome in western inspired democracy, which is alien to our cultural norms. For example, a Yoruba adage will say *"Enikan ki i je, kile fe"*; or *ona ofun re nikan ko la a to de Oyo"*, meaning what is available must go round. Communal sharing guarantees peace and tranquility, hence our advocacy for grassroots democracy. Grassroots democracy will build more on consensus and consultation rather than confrontation.

Given the polarity of African states (and Nigeria) for instance, a wholesome implantation of western-inspired democracy will be inimical to the society at large. The grassroots democracy as being conceived is meant to provide a basic infrastructure for the nation's democracy. It is expected that at the apex, there will be convergence of different interest and idiosyncracies.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, may I add that I am not unaware of diverse opinions regarding the localisation of democracy. Many view orthodox (national) democracy as implying the harmonisation of the society, i.e. the ability of the political system to contain all centrifugal forces as to make for centripetal. For instance, Whalen (1960) has defined local government in such a way as to make it incompatible with this presumptuous stance of democracy. For Langrod (1953), democracy is:

an egalitarian, majority and unitarian system. It tends everywhere and at all times to create a social, a community which is uniform. Leveled and subjective to rule ... on the other hand, local government is by definition, a phenomenon of differentiation of individualisation of separation. Thus, since democracy moves inevitably towards centralisation, local government by the division, which it creates, constitutes, all things considered, a negation of democracy.

The afore-mentioned theory on local government to our mind is self-defeating and cannot stand the test of the contemporary world. I wish to humbly submit that local governments where they have been well-constituted have bridged the gap that normally exists between the nation and the units. To us, this is the whole essence of the doctrine of egalitarianism which democracy seeks to respond to. Egalitarianism in itself is an utopian concept, as there is, perhaps, nowhere in the universe where democracy has engendered absolute unity let alone egalitarianism. It is the ability to aggregate the centrifugal and centripetal forces that justify democracy as a viable option.

It is my considered opinion, that for Nigeria's democracy to survive, it must be founded on local particularism. Local particularism and representation need grassroots democracy as the building blocks. Hence grassroots democracy becomes a *sine qua non* for the management of public affairs in a multi-ethnic country like Nigeria. In other words, in a society that is less-informed on public discourse, grassroots democracy becomes imperative as a means of educating the citizenry. The logistic advantage it has is that, it is comparatively smaller in size and number; hence its membership can be easily accessed. In a way, it looks like re-visitation of the old idea of Greek city-state. De Tocqueville (1835) extolled that town meetings are to liberty, what primary schools are to science: they bring it within the people's reach; they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it.

In terms of political participation which is germane to democratic ethos, grassroots democracy has more utilitarian value especially to the people of lower cadre who constitute the majority of the

country's socio-economic strata. This argument is predicated on the proximity of the people to the source of local governance, the high sense of communality and togetherness, which it can easily attract. For Gboyega (1987), people who would not have otherwise participated in national politics are persuaded to be involved in local governance.

It is also assumed that grassroots democracy will inevitably breed better political understanding between the units and the center. By share concession of the right to elect their leaderships that will possibly serve as the bridge between them and national government, the much desired seed of stable democracy would have been planted, irrigated and nurtured by the peoples' will. This of course must be followed by adequate political and financial autonomy, which will ensure the capability of the local government to meet the basic socio-economic infrastructure of the citizenry. It is sad to note that presently local governments are politically and economically emasculated to the extent that they are mere shadows of their distant past.

Owing to inter-personal relationship among the constituent units of a given political ecology of local areas, it is much easier for people to demand accountability from their leadership than the national government no matter how well-constituted. Often people employ different methods, both orthodox and unorthodox means to ensure proper accountability and answerability from their leadership. It is therefore notoriously easier to stem the tide of corruption at the local level.

Following the long sojourn of the military in Nigerian political landscape, there has always been the tendency or temptation for the federal to concentrate or centralise the allocation and distribution of national resources. The concession of power to the locals will no doubt, provide a sense of identity and emotional balance needed by all and sundry as against centralisation tendency of nation-state government, as Smith (1985) aptly opined that local self government will, by definition, preserve the liberty of the local community against centralising power.

Grassroots democracy presents the best option to effectively and efficiently manage local affairs and services. By share intimacy with the people, local democracy can effortlessly engender responsiveness. It must be stressed at this juncture that the failure of national government in this regard has heightened and intensified the pressure for paradigm shift in favour of local democracy that is capable of mobilising and galvanising the people to taking their destinies in their own hands.

We can also postulate that before any administration can be responsive, its policy output must be based on adequate knowledge of the people it meant to serve. Local knowledge is invariably a pre-condition to a successful communal democracy. Hence, grassroots democracy stands a better advantage to propel and garner local administration and the citizenry of a country.

In other words, the local apparatus of representative democracy (council and councillors) will integrate the people and the local governments better than any nation-state democracy could claim. When the yearnings and anxieties of the people are processed into the political system, the policy output of the government will no doubt be targeted towards the needs of the people. Presently there appears to be a disconnect between the peoples' aspirations and government authoritative allocations.

Grassroots democracy is, politically speaking, meant to play a symbiotic role, one, is to properly organise and educate its local representatives into responsible actors. The second role is to gravitate the local actors to serve the people at the center. The stint at the local level will immeasurably prepare them for aggregating and solving the nation's challenges.

Local or grassroots democracy with adequate autonomy will provide safety value for ethnic diversity and primordial loyalties. Throughout the history of mankind, it has been unmistakably revealed that a 'sense of place' leading to a 'sense of identity' are of ultimate importance to every cultural and linguistic groups. The sense of national identity increases with adequate recognition of

tne diversity inherent in a polity. After all, charity, as people say, begins at home.

Mr. Vice Chancellor Sir, grassroots democracy is fashioned to secure a limitless participation of the people in their own affairs, hence if properly channeled, it will go a long way to transform the rural population from their objectionable condition of life (poverty). The more they are organised according to democratic principles, the more they will be able to redress' the socio-economic issues which had set them apart from the rest of the society. It is believed that since they constitute the poor majority they will be able.

Beyond Grassroots Democracy
The issues here are those variables that are often glossed over by the society at large especially since the latter end of the 20th century Nigeria. It must be added that during the period in question, the Nigerian society had continued to suffer steady deterioration.

Discipline
There is decline in the morals of the society. Are we all guilty? If the answer is in the affirmative then we all need to wake up and go back to our canvas. If the answer is otherwise, then the innocents have kept criminal silence over the years. Discipline is an imperative force that will guide and sustain the fabric of the society. We cannot avoid to neglect it. No democracy or any governmental super structure can survive without discipline. Discipline is the foundation upon which any system can be sustained.

People-centeredness
The political system must be people-oriented. The present system is elitist so to speak. The dividends of democracy has been hijacked largely by the political elite and their collaborators. The people are only relevant before periodic elections. Political parties' leaders distribute money, kerosene and food items at period of elections. Soon after, they (the electorate) will suffer hunger for the next four years. The people are expected to be

agents and beneficiaries of the proceeds of politics. Democracy can only be nurtured if it is peoples-inspired. Democracy is not the end itself. It is a means to an end.

Social Security
The Nigerian state should create as a matter of public concern, unemployment allowance for those who are employable but without a job. An employable individual is one with necessary qualifications like polytechnics and university certificate, who makes effort but unable to secure a job. Our social security system of being our brothers' keepers is fast fissuring out. While our own generation can find it easier to support our extended family, our own children do not see it in that way. Hence the government has to stand in the gap. The employed may have to part with a certain percentage of their monthly allowances to take care of this vulnerable class as a means of curtailing future insurgency or insurrection. "An hungry man, they say, is an angry man". That is the bane of insecurity in Nigeria.

Decentralisation of Security Apparatus
The government should as a matter of urgency, undertake a systematic and wholistic review of Nigerian security situation. The overcentralisation of the past has gradually led to increasing deterioration of the striking capacity of our armed forces, namely, Police, Army, Navy and Air Forces etc.

There is little to show for the yearly budget of the Armed Forces. The inability of the Nigerian Armed Forces to contain the insurgency in the North Eastern Nigeria brings this issue to the front burner. This can be viewed against the background that it took the local hunters working with vigilante group 'Yan Baka' to recapture Maiha and Mubi (the second largest city in Adamawa State) after Boko Haram insurgents have held sway of the towns for several weeks. I have many years before this incident in my works called for the re-introduction of local and community policing as a panacea for ameliorating the worsening security challenges Awotokun (2012).

Monetisation of the Political System

The political space of the Nigerian polity has been monetised over the years. Hence many political elite have to pave the way for many elective and appointed positions. Many offices are meant for the highest bidders or whosoever is sponsored by them. The monetisation of political space has also been responsible for the re-cycling of some leadership in the political system Awotokun (2012).

The state executive position and the senate are the major routes plyed by these leadership, while ministerial or ambassadorial positions take the second best. Without dealing decisively with capitalisation of political offices, the Nigerian political system will not be able to attract the best brains to serve. This on the long run will make nonsense of our democratic process.

Research and Community Services

Mr. Vice-Chancellor Sir, in the last few decades, my research and subsequent academic input have been heavily concentrated on Nigeria. In this regard, I have had to work with federal and state governments in the area of strengthening the capacity of local government through training and re-training. At the national level, I have served in 1993 as member of a panel appointed to look into the structure, functions operational strategies of the then new Ministry of State and Local Government Affairs. My contribution in the afore-mentioned panel was noticed by the then Honourable Secretary of State, Emily Aig-Imoukuede, who not only gave me a letter of commendation, but also made me her unofficial Consultant/Adviser on Local Government issues until the end of that regime. I have also regularly served as a member of think-tank on Local Government during the military era between 1986 – 1999. Practitioners and scholars of Public Administration and Local Government will attest to the fact that, that was the golden era of local government in Nigeria.

I have served as Consultant to the following organisations:

- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on Population and Development at the local level between 1991 – 1993;
- Principal Research fellows to Ford Foundation (Office of West Africa);
- Decentralisation, Finance and Management Project in Rural Development under the United State Agency for International Development (USAID); and
- USAID Governance and Primary Health Care (PHC) initiative in Nigeria.
- I was appointed in 2007 into the African Peer Review Mechanism National Working Group (APRM-NWG) by the presidency, NEPAD, Nigeria. Apart from the review of the federal government of Nigeria, I, along with others, was assigned to the South Eastern and South South Nigeria for the exercise.
- The Tertiary Education Trust Fund (Tetfund) by its committee on Needs Assessment of Nigerian Universities, appointed me as Team Leader on visitation mission to a number of Public Universities in the South West and North Central of Nigeria between March and April 2012.
- Consultant, National Action on Aids (NACA) Abuja, 2011-2013

The Obasanjo regime in 2003 while inaugurating a technical committee to review the operation of local governments across the federation employed our Department, to handle the South-West geo-political zone. As the then Head of Department, I coordinated that research effort.

By His grace, I am the current President of the Council of Chartered Institute of Local Government and Public Administration of Nigeria (CILGPAN). CILGPAN was founded in 1985 as Institute of Local Government of Nigeria. In 1996, it metamorphosised into Institute of Local Government and Public Administration under Decree No.1, 1990. The Institute was chartered by the instrumentality of a bill of the National Assembly published in the official Gazette of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

No. 82, Vol. 84 of 23rd November, 2000 of Government notice of No. 171. The institute as at 1st December, 2014 had eight thousand two hundred (8,200) registered students for professional examination. The institute is the only recognised body by law specialising exclusively in Local Government and Public Administration. The mandate of the institute, among many things, is to train and develop highly qualified manpower for government agencies and public sector.

Let me hasten at this juncture to commend the good works of Dr. Uche Okereke JP the Registrar and CEO, Dr. Joseph A. Nwobike, SAN, the Director of Legal Services and Government Relations and Mr. Ilugbusi Bamidele, the Director of Studies. May the Almighty God continue to strengthen you in your collective resolve to take the Institute to higher heights.

I have had the priviledge of supervising successfully six doctoral theses, two of these six were co-supervised. One of the ones I single-handedly supervised is a Professor, one of the co-supervised is a Reader (an Associate Professor) and an Acting Head of Department; the others are rising stars in the area of their academic callings.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor Sir, I solemnly pledge to continue to supervise as many as will hereafter come my way, as one of the ways of leaving my footprint in the sands of time.

Future Academic Plans
What plans can an ordinary mortal like me have for future? In the Holy Bible the Psalmist says my times are in your hands (Psalm 31:15). If God through His infinite grace keeps my life in good health, I intend to write another volume on Legislative-Executive Politics of the Nigerian Fourth Republic.

The work is in the embryo and publishers in the United States had already talked to me on it. The title of my inaugural lecture today is borne out of another volume of work that I started on my return from the United States some years back. The work is about seventy-five per cent complete. I need a rigorous exposure in

Institutional Analysis and Development. The workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis at Indiana University, Bloomington will no doubt serve as a better place to actualise this dream. If the University authority grants me leave, I should be able to accomplish the task within three to four months.

The other volume on the work covers the entire Sub-Saharan African countries on indigenous or grassroots democracy. The plans is to float a consortium of African scholars who will work on different sub-national groups. The outcome of these researches after peer review assessment may constitute volumes of books on African experience. There is no doubt that this is a daunting task, even if I were younger, I cannot accomplish it alone, hence the need for collaborative efforts. It is envisaged that the end product of the research efforts will draw the attention of the African Union (AU) to the need to adopt communal democracy in our Political System. This may be our modest contribution towards re-inventing indigenous African democracy.

My Reflections
I am eternally grateful to the Obafemi Awolowo University and its successive leadership who had helped to recognise and nurture me to this present position. I can emphatically reiterate that I have been part of the university establishment by virtue of the different offices I had occupied. I have been Head of Department at a relatively young age. The position which came at different epochs **spanned six years. I have been Vice Dean, and Dean of the** Faculty of Administration. I hereby place on record, my appreciation of all members of the Faculty Board too many to mention here but I must recognise two successive Vice-Deans, namely Dr. A.A. Agboola (who is now Professor and Head of Department of Management and Accounting) and Dr. D.O. Elumilade (now Professor). All the Heads of Departments (HODs) I worked with, Professor T.O. Asaolu, who is a worthy successor as Dean of Faculty, Drs. (Mrs.) Ronke Ako-Nai, Funso Adesola of International Relations, Dr. (Mrs.) Taiwo Makinde, Dr. Ayo Adesopo of Public Administration and Dr. Francis O. Fagbohun my Head of Department in Local Government Studies. You have all been very wonderful.

In the course of my academic pursuit, a lot of friends have influenced me positively such as Dr. D.O. Adeyemo (now Professor), Simeon Ilabija, Henry Onimisi Salihu, Dr. Dele Gege, Biodun Ajiboye, Leke Adepoju, Tunji Oyedokun, Professor Austine Ikelegbe and a host of others. In my department, I have had a lasting relationship with colleagues such as Professor Mike Adeyeye, Drs. B.O. Adediji, I.O. Aransi, Tinuke Badejo, I.A. Adewale, Femi Akinola, Kemi Aluko, Godwin Ihemeje and the upcoming like Tobi Adeyemi, Ahmed Adefeso, Tunde Abioro, Fatai Olasupo and John Etebom. May we all live long in the service of God and mankind.

Professor Oladimeji Aborisade was instrumental to my recruitment at the department I recall with a sense of gratitude his fatherly disposition towards me. Professor John Ayoade is a mentor, a father, and a benefactor I will never forget. I have valued my relationship with Professors Bamitale Omole, Kayode Soremekun, Lanre Nasir, Victor Ayeni, Alex Gboyega, Bayo Okunade, Adigun Agbaje as well as Drs. Bisi Adegoke and Kayode Babawale.

Institutions
I am indebted to all institutions I had been priviledged to study as earlier mentioned in the opening of this lecture. Perhaps, more than any other, I am most indebted to Professor Dele Olowu, under whose leadership I cut my teeth in the research group called Local Institutions and Social Economic Development (LISDP). The LISDP was instrumental to the Ford Foundation Fellowship I utilised at the University of Florida, Gainesville in 1996 – 1997 academic session. He was ably assisted by Late Professor S.B. Ayo, and John Erero (of blessed memories). To Professor John Erero, I dedicate this inaugural lecture! Professor Olu Okotoni has been a friend and companion. He is one of the anchors of LISDP.

Professor Stephen Ocheni and Dr. Sanni Shaibu have been of immense assistance to me and my family. Professor B.C. Nwankwo has been a friend indeed. Dr. (Ambassador) O.M. Laleye deserved a special commendation for his incisive supervision of my Ph.D. thesis.

Even at the risk of being repetitive, I want to single out Obafemi Awolowo University in particular for giving me the chance to be recruited. I make bold to say this afternoon that Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU) is the best university in Nigeria where any mortal no matter your race, religion, ethnic or political persuasions can work and feel at home. Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU), Ile-Ife, is indeed, a model of traditional yoruba, hospitality, impartiality, egalitarianism and sense of fairness to humanity. It is gladdening to note that the successive administration has continued the meritocratic culture which its founding fathers had hitherto held sacred.

My sabbatical leave to the University of Florida, Gainesville which the Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU) graciously granted and my sojourn at the Ohio State University, Columbus, have endeared me to faculty seminar series which have proved a great value to me in my career.

I also want to place on record the untiring efforts of my late father and mother, Pa. Elijah Adebiye Awotokun and Madam Esther Iyiola Awotokun, for the vision they had for my future. I appreciate the finance of my education through their meagre resources. My sister Mrs. Mary Olufunmilayo Mojirade Dawodu laid the foundation of my secondary education in Gusau, Zamfara State. Other members of the Elijah Awotokun clan headed by Pastor Timothy Awotokun are graciously acknowledged. Chief Moses Ibiyemi, the first graduate in our lineage of Awoyinka served as a role model to me.

I very much appreciate the presence of my traditional ruler, the Elerin of Erin-Ile land, HRH Oba Abdul Ganiyu Ajibola Ibrahim Olusookun II, MFR. I thank so very much the Balogun Fulani of Ilorin Emirate Council, Alhaji Mahmood Atiku. I also want to recognise the Erin-Ile and Egbe Communities here present. The Honourable Commissioner, Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, Kogi State, Honourable (Pastor) Tayo Aremu is hereby recognised.

Let me hasten to thank also my spiritual father, Rev. George Adegboye, who is ably represented by his amiable wife, Rev. Toyin Adegboye and other members of her entourage.

Finally my immeasurable gratitude goes to my loving wife, sister and my best friend, Comfort Ebun Awotokun, who over the years has been a source of inspiration to me.

God in His infinite mercy has used her to remodel my life. I am also grateful to our children, Adegboyega, Adesola, Blessing, Oluwatomi and Oluwasegun.

49

Their high senses of responsibility had enabled me to pursue my academics without hindrance. Mrs. Tero Awotokun, I see you as my daughter and not an in-law. To our grandchildren, Joy and Meshach, I do express my warm affection. Let me hasten to end this inaugural lecture with an apology to those whose names I have inadvertently omitted. You have all been wonderful. I thank you all for your moral, spiritual, emotional and financial supports.

Thank you all and God bless.

Great is thy faithfulness!
Great is thy faithfulness
Morning by morning new mercies I see
All I have needed thy hands hath provided
Great is thy faithfulness Lord unto me!

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abacha (1994) Address on the Inauguration of the National Constitutional Conference. Abuja.

Achebe C. (1958) *Things Fall Apart,* London Heinemann Educational Books.

Achebe C. (1982) *The Trouble with Nigeria,* Enugu, Fourth Dimension.

Adamolekun L. (1993), *Politics and Administration in Nigeria,* African Books Collective Ltd.

Adamolekun L. (ed). (1999), *Public Administration in Africa: Main Issues and Selected Countries Studies.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

A.E. Afigbo (1972) *The Warrant Chiefs*, London: Longman.

Anne J.C. (1966) *Southern Nigeria in Transition 1885 – 1906,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ake C. (1991) "Rethinking African Democracy" *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 2, 1.

Ayo S.B. & Awotokun A.M. (1996) "Governance of Cities and Village Communities in Nigeria: Ilawe and Awo-Ekiti as Case Studies" Ile-Ife. *African Journal of Institutions and Development* Vol. 2, 1.

Awolowo O. (1947) *Path to Nigerian Freedom*, London Faber.

Awolowo O. (1968) *The People's Republic*, London Oxford University Press.

Awolowo O. (1978) *The Strategy and Tactics of the People's Republic of Nigeria,* Ibadan, Macmillan.

Awotokun K (2003) "Evolving Grassroots Democracy in Nigeria: A Preliminary Discourse", *Journal of African Review of Political and Strategic Studies*' Yaounde II, Vol. 17, 2.

Awotokun K. (2002) 'The Evolution of Grassroots Democracy in Nigeria' in I.O. Aransi (Ed.) *Local Government and Cultural in Nigeria* Chapel Hill North Caroline, Chapel Hill Press.

Awotokun (2002) Legislators in a Tutelary Democracy: the Babangida's Democratic Experiment 1992 – 1993 in Nigeria" *Journal of Political Science.*

Awotokun (1998) *Governance and Legislative Control in Nigeria Lessons from the Second and Third Republics San Francisco*. International Scholars Publications.

Awotokun K. (2014) 'The Challenge of Nigeria Local Governments in the 21st Century' OIDA, *International Journal of Sustainable Development*, Vol. 07, 2.

Awotokun A.M. (2013) 'Strengthening Capacity Building in Nigerian Local Government System' OIDA, *International Journal of Sustainable Development* Vol. 06, 05.

Awotokun K. (2001) 'The Presidential Form of Government in Nigeria. The Way Forward, *Indian Social-legal Journal* Vol. xxvii, Nos 1 & 2.

Awotokun A.M. (1998) Legislative, Executive and Judicial Duties in Sustaining Democracy. A Theoretical Discourse in Nigeria, *Indian Social-legal Journal* Vol. xxiv, Nos 1 & 2.

Awotokun K. (2012) 'Nigeria's Democracy and the Crisis of Political Leadership: Legislative versus Executive' Bokelman (eds) *African Leadership Challenges and other Issues* Berlin, Mediateam IT Educational Publishers.

Awotokun K. & Ikelegbe A.O. (2004) "Legislative-Executive Relationship and Conflict Management in Nigerian Local Governments" Jaipur. Indian Institute of Comparative Law.

Awotokun K (2000) "The Development of Legislative and Executive Relations in Nigeria 1861 – 1979" Jaipur, *Indian Socio Legal Journal* Vol. xxvi, 142.

Awotokun K (1998) "The Legislative/Executive Instruments of Nigeria's Second Republic and Electoral Politics" New Delhi, *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies Vol. xxxii, 1-2.*

Awotokun K (2001) "Legislative Control over Financial Matters in Nigeria" New Delhi, *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies* Vol. xxxv, 1-2.

Awotokun K (2002) "Revenue of Local Governments: A Recipe for Breaking the Dependency Syndrome" Badagry, *ASCON Journal of Management* Vol. 22, 2.

Awotokun K (2003) "The Presidential Form of Government in Nigeria: The Way Forward" Jaipur. *Indian Socio-Legal Journal* Vol. xxvii, 1 & 2.

Awotokun K (1998) "Legislative, Executive and Judicial Duties in Sustaining Democracy: A Theoretical Discourse in Nigeria" Jaipur, *Indian Socio-Legal Journal,* Vol. xxiv, 1 & 2.

Awotokun K (1996) "The Local Government System and the Autonomy Question" Ile-Ife. *Quarterly Journal of Administration.* Vol. xxviii, 2.

Awotokun K (1996) "Towards an Effective Legislative Control of the Executive in Nigeria" Nsukka, *Nigerian Journal of Public Administration and Local Government* Vol. vii, 1.

Awotokun K. (2005) "Local Government Administration under the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria" *Journal of Social Sciences* 10, 2.

Awotokun K. (2008) "Grassroots Democracy: A Theoretical Discourse" in Adeyemo D.O. and Olojede I. (eds.) *Readings on Governance and Accountability in Nigeria* Gottingen, Germany Cuvillier Verlag International Scientific Publishers.

Awotokun K. & Adeyeye M. (2011). "Intergovernmental Relations and Local Government Capacity for Service Delivery" in Onyishi T.(ed), *Key Issues in Local Government and Development: The Nigerian Experience.* Enugu. Praise House Publishers.

Awotokun K. (2014). "Local Government Finances, Management, Control and Accountability in Nigeria: A Systemic Review" in C.N. Oguonu (ed), *Management and Development: A Contemporary Reading in Public Administration.* Abuja. Premium Publishing House.

Ayittey G. (1991) *Indigenous African Institutions,* New York Transnational Publishers Inc.

Barber B & Waston P. (1988) *The Struggle for Democracy* Boston University Press.

Chabal P. (1998) "A Few Considerations of Democracy in Africa", *International Affairs* Vol. 74, 2.

Chazzan (1992) "Africa's Democratic Challenge", *World Policy,* Vol. 9, 2.

Crowder M. (1978) *The Story of Nigeria* London, Faber and Faber.

Dahl R. (1992) "The Problem of Civil Competence", *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 3, 4.

De Tocqueville A. (1835) *Democracy in America,* New York, Vintage Books.

Diamond L. (1988) *Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria: The Failure of the First Republic*, London Macmillan.

Dike K. (1956) *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta* 1830 – 1835 London Oxford.

Ekeh P. (1975) "Colonialism and Two Publics in Africa. A Theoretical Statement". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 17, 1.

Etzioni A. (1993) *The Spirit of Community* New York Touchstone.

Fadipe N.A. (1991) *The Sociology of the Yoruba*, Ibadan, Ibadan University Press.

Fredrick Lord Lugard (1923) The Dual Mandates.

Hyden G. (1994) "A Community Model of African Politics: Illustrations from Nigeria and Tanzania", *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* Vol. 36, 1.

Ikelegbe 92005) "The Perverse Manifestation of Civil Society: Evidence from Nigeria" London *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 39,1. Callaghy (1978).

Joseph R.A. (1991) *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria*, London, Cambridge University Press.

Lijphart A. (1984) *Democracies, Pattern of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-one Countries*, New Haven Yale University Press.

Mabogunje A.L. (1995) *Local Government and Concept of Social Capital*, Ibadan, Development Policy Centre.

Mac C. King (1988) *Localism and Nation Building,* Spectrum Books. Ibadan.

Mamdani M. (1995) 'A Critique of the State and Civil Society Paradigm in Africanist Studies' in Mamdani M. and

Diamond L. (1988) *Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria: The Failure of the First Republic*, London Macmillan.

Dike K. (1956) *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta* 1830 – 1835 London Oxford.

Ekeh P. (1975) "Colonialism and Two Publics in Africa. A Theoretical Statement". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 17, 1.

Etzioni A. (1993) *The Spirit of Community* New York Touchstone.

Fadipe N.A. (1991) *The Sociology of the Yoruba*, Ibadan, Ibadan University Press.

Fredrick Lord Lugard (1923) The Dual Mandates.

Hyden G. (1994) "A Community Model of African Politics: Illustrations from Nigeria and Tanzania", *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* Vol. 36, 1.

Ikelegbe 92005) "The Perverse Manifestation of Civil Society: Evidence from Nigeria" London *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 39,1. Callaghy (1978).

Joseph R.A. (1991) *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Niŋeria*, London, Cambridge University Press.

Lijphart A. (1984) *Democracies, Pattern of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-one Countries*, New Haven Yale University Press.

Mabogunje A.L. (1995) *Local Government and Concept of Social Capital*, Ibadan, Development Policy Centre.

Mac C. King (1988) *Localism and Nation Building,* Spectrum Books. Ibadan.

Mamdani M. (1995) 'A Critique of the State and Civil Society Paradigm in Africanist Studies' in Mamdani M. and

Wamba-dia-Wamba E. (eds) *African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy,* Dakar. CODESRIA.

Mazaffar S. (1997) *Towards Sustainable Democracy in Africa: Can US Policy make a Difference?* Boston. Boston University African Center, Working Papers 171,3.

Meek C.K. (1937) *Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe,* Oxford. Oxford University Press.

Nadel S.F. (1942) *A Black Byzantium,* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Nyan'oro J. and Shaw T. 91989) 'Introduction' in Nyan'oro J. and Shaw T. (eds.) *Corporation in Africa: Comparative Analysis and Practice.* Boulder, West View Press Decalo (1992).

Oakerson R. (1999) *Governing Local Public Economics,* Institute for Contemporary Studies Oakland, California.

Okotoni O. & Awotokun K. (2014) "Building and Sustaining Peace and Security in Multiethnic Nigeria" Bloomington. Indiana, Workshop on the Ostrom Workshop WOW 5.

Owusu (1991) 'Constitutional Change: a Dual' Executive? London, *West Africa* 14 – 20 October.

Owusu (1992) "Democracy and Africa a view from the Village" *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 30, 3.

Ostrom V. (1988) *Local Government in the Contemporary Studies.*

Ostrom V. (2009) *The Meaning of Democracy and the Vulnerability of Democracies. A response to Tocquevilles Challenge,* Anne Arbor. University of Michigan Press.

Sawyer A. (1992) The *Emergence of Autocracy in Liberia,* San Francisco Institute for Contemporary Studies.

Walter Rodney (2009) *How Europe Under-developed Africa*. Panaf Publishing, Abuja.

Whalen H. (1960) "Ideology Democracy and Foundation of Local Self-Government" *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* Vol. 26,3.

Wusch J. and Olowu D. (1990) *The Failure of Centralised State: Institutions and Self Governance,* Boulder West View Press.

Smith (1996) 'Sustainable Local Democracy', *Hague Journal of Public Administration and Development* Vol. 16, 2.

Smith B. (1985) *Decentralisation, the Territorial Dimension of the State*, London George Allen & Unwin.