Constitutional review and the achievement of higher performance in democratized local government system of Delta and Edo State

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Abstract

This paper x-rayed the importance of constitutional review as the instrument or tool to achieve effectiveness; in the local government systems of Delta and Edo States. It is rather good to mention that every system whether as a body or an institution of governance needs good legislations as a constitutional framework to enable its performance or pragmatism because without it there will not be direction of focus as well as accountability, hence the constitution is the oxygen of the state as well as government in the forms of arms, tiers and agencies. Local government performance in Nigeria, especially Delta and Edo States as the focal points is at dismal state in terms of performance, rural communities are a continuous shadow of themselves and this is as a consequence to the faulty constitutional arrangements that has gone a long way to pervasively strangulated this third tier of government to the extent that their essence of creation is far apart from the reality on ground. Thus, this constitutional deformity has spiral into various problems such as oppression from the state agencies, general indiscipline among the cadre of workers in the local government system, inadequacy of skilled workers among others. The study therefore, arrived at some recommendations such as: The need for urgent constitutional review to reform the laws that dictate the whims and caprices of the local government system, local government autonomy entailing financial and administration should be ensured, the state joint local government account should be entirely abolished. The study concludes that the legislature as an organ of government should be sincere to enforce the political will of a good constitutional reform for an effective local government performance.

Keywords: Constitutional Review, Higher Performance, Local Government System, Delta And Edo States

Introduction

Nigeria as a country is one that has adopted a federal system of government this is because of its largeness and wideness and so as to bring government nearer to the people. This system of government necessitates the creation of the three-tier system of federal, state and local government as a constitutional lift design to

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effectively perpetuate this system of government (Afonughe, 2017). However, local government is the government institution met to cater for grass root interest. It is of this note that Agagu (1997) view local government as a government which is supposed to have its greatest impact on the people of the rural areas that are far from the "center activities of government". It is a tier of government which is closest to the citizenry and saddled with the responsibility of guaranteeing the political, social and economic development of its area and its people "geographically to bring about happiness" (Enero, Oladiyim & Elumilade, 2004). It is the government placed to break barricading distance from the center to engenders all inclusion in order to avoid partiality among people of the same political clinic or system. In the view of Ahamba (2007:80) "local government is something that is pivotal and classified essentials that we need in this country it we really say democracy is government of the people by the people and for the people". The local government is needed to provide the platform for democratic participation of rural dwellers and creating the enabling ground for choosing who governs them through necessary political participation process in Nigeria. This is done to ensure an inclusive decision making or involvement in every fiber of decisions that is adopted, deliberated and implemented .The idea of local government is to bring service delivery to enhance "all" socioeconomic development and good governance "dynamics" (Ogunna, 1996:10). But unfortunately, today, transparence and accountability in Nigeria local government is mere rhetoric, most government officials display provocative wealth gotten from critical institutionalized stealing and corrupt practices (Ona, 2010 in Okoli et al, 2015).

"Not withstanding the importance of a democratized" local government system and the achievement of higher performance in rural communities of Delta and Edo states cannot be over emphasized and whatever is the kind of government, autonomy is essentially viewed as the gate way and the guarantor of national socioeconomic development "and capita growth as far as the midstream" of rural areas in the country "are heavily concerned" (Gauba, 2004). In all true democratic states, federal or unitary the institution of local government is held sacrosanct, due to its perceived benefits. That is why the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria, Section (7) 1 unequivocally sanction a democratically elected local government system and according to relevant schools of thought, the institution of local government is very to guarantee (i) Democratic participation (ii) efficient services and (iii) Development objectives (Tonwe, 2005:6-10). These are to ensure that local government services are brought close to the people and to make their lives more meaningful. Unfortunately, local governments in Nigeria have not been allowed to "grow" and "develop" to a full democratic status, since inception in 1910 as an active authority (Orewa and Adewumi, 1982:1). Despite various reformed efforts by the past regimes to strengthen, reposition and democratize the local government system their performances remain very dismal due to several factors which ranges from state government excessive control and interferences, wanton dissolution of the governments by state governors and the appointment of caretaker committees as well as rising fiscal conflicts caused by the policy of state joint local government account (SJLA)) with the sociopolitical context in Nigeria, mix with multiple culture, diversity of languages and differential means as well as needs. Therefore, the significance of the democratization of autonomy of such a tier of government with the view of fostering and engendering the desired national consciousness, unity and relative uniformity as well as preservation of peculiar diversities and the socioeconomic development of rural areas cannot be overemphasized or debated. Thus, core to the creation of local government is its propensity to facilitate a channel in which government and the people "intermix" "relate" and more rapidly than any other avenue resolve or dissolve (Adesina, 2015). This alone has positioned the local government in strategic front burner to facilitate development at the grass not level. Thus, whatever is the mode of government, local government has been essentially been regarded as the path to grass root development and the generator of "national integration", "administration" and development (Arolowo, 2017). However, it so pertinent to mentioned that local government in the grass root is in dire need of robust constitutional review, it is surrounded by series of issues such as finance, inadequacy of skilled workers and misplaced priorities. Local government in Nigeria are not sufficiently local despite fragmentation of their areas of authority and multiplication of their numbers, they are viewed more as electoral assets than instruments of socioeconomic development. Their financial allocations are heavily strigulated by state governors dictating to them on what and what determines who becomes the local government chairman and other officials.

Key words: Local government, constitutional review, Higher performance, federalism.

Evolution of Local Government in Nigeria:

The present entity known as Nigeria was the ambitious amalgamation of more than two hundred and fifty entities with their indigenous rulership by the British Colonial power to suit the economic and administrative powers among other rival colonial groups. The North predominated by Islam used its religion to entrenched centralized leadership a reminiscence of the sultanate which Coleman (1986:39) referred to as a rigid class hierarchy which existed together with habits and attitudes of political deference "of culture and religious" subordination. Before the advent of states in Nigeria the original societies had traditional institutions where natural rulers were over lords while their subjects were subordinates. The colonial masters, therefore use these already established institution and termed them as native authority to carry out their slave raid and economic exploitation of the people. In the West, the old Oyo empire ruled over the Yoruba race. This bloc was made up of united tribesmen splitted into four states (Oyo, Egba, Ketu and Ijebu) and by 1850 as a result of the Fulani conquest of Illorin four new states emerged under the leadership of Alafin of Oyo and his council. and the Benin Kingdom has the Oba of Benin and his council lording over his subjects (Colemen, 1986:30). In the Ibo speaking nations, the attitude of the individualistic temperament did not permit for large groupings of people for the purpose of administration instead an extended family united for the sake of administration. The largest political group was the village group (Oyeduan, 1986:45).

The emphasis here is that there was a background system of organization guided or guarded by a small government in the person of either the Sultan, Alafin, Oba, King, family or village head who control to ensure orderliness with the consent of the people in the then primitive societies. There was attestation to certain local and various administrations that is in line with the people culture, belief and mode of formation. Rules and regulations were sourced from oral tales that are deep rooted from their life support system where their belief system were hanged on a daily basis. In a broader term the Western part of Nigeria, notably did not come under the control of a single government. Thus, beside the Oyo Empire which flourished and collapsed in the nineteenth century, Yoruba land was divided into number of kingdoms notably Ife, Ilesa, Owu, Ijebu and small states collectively in the East Ekiti and the West Egba (Zabdi, 1987:115).

The key political unit was a number of town which consist of kingdoms and people. The government of the capital town of the kingdom served as the central government while the government of each of the subordinate towns serves as local government unit each town was divided into wards or quarters (adigbo) and further divided into a number of compounds (agboile). Whether central or at local level the system of government was a constitutional monarchy headed by an Oba or king who was entitled to wear the crown.

The head of government was called the Baale (father of the land). This was how the Yoruba traditional institution was organized before the advent of colonialism in Nigeria. Apart from the judicial function of maintaining peace and order in the society, the Oba and the Baale and his council of chief take decisions on matters affecting the well being of the town. The execution of laws and decisions was taken and done by the Oba. However, the power of the Oba was checked by Ogbonis, Oyomesi and the traditional values or cultures of the land (Coleman, 1986:39).

During the pre-colonial era, Northern Nigeria was divided into states, districts and villages. The central government of each state consists of the Emir or chief as a native authority and his officers, councilors, secretaries, treasurers and messengers. The Emir was an absolute ruler without much check, he was the final discus of power in polities, economic, religious and was authoritarian though assisted by an executive council whose role was to advise and facilitate the emir in the accomplishment of task. Each district head was under the supervision of the great officials of the central government who took charge of each section of the state. The officials were the Galadima (Heir apparent), Madawaki (commander in chief and adviser to the emir), the majai. (minister of finances, Yari (chief of prison), Sariki, Yan Dike (the chief of police). Each state of the pre-colonial Northern Nigeria also had an established legal system based on Islamic legal principles. All cases with political implications were dealt with by the Sariki and his council while those with Islamic connotations were tried by the gardi or

chief Alkali minor cases all the village level, particularly in the remote and non-Muslims areas, were dealt with by the village head without reference to Islamic teachings (Gboyega, 2003).

Each state derived its revenue from taxes mainly in kind such as Zakat (a tax on movable property to provide for the giving of arms to the poor), Jangali (tax on livestock) kharaji (a tax based on annual production) and Jizyah (a tax on slave or subject). There were also taxes levied on the various skilled citizens and entertainment, tolls for the use of trade routes passing through the streets, fees for the use of market facilities and the traditional present given to supervisors and war booty (Coleman, 1986 as cited in Eregha, 1998:12).

In pre-colonial Eastern Nigeria, the people notably the Ibo and Ibibio kicked against centralized administrative structure prevalent in the Western and Northern parts of Nigeria. The highest unit was the village and above was clans which lack centralized political organization. In Eastern pre-colonial system what can be regarded as native authorities or local government authorities were the clan council, village group council and village council with their peculiar functions. The village assembly presided by the village head combined the legislative, judicial and executive functions of government that deals with all common issues that are of interest to the village. Members of the council were adults who participated in decision making. There were often subordinates bodies such as the families, secret or cultural societies titled men and religious officials. It is obvious that before the colonial era there was an informal setup of the native local government authorities system that handles issues of the localities to ensure orderliness and stability within the system. No wonder it was easy for the colonial government to leverage on these institutions because they were already working mechanism (Kirk, 1965:37)

Colonial Period of 1900 - 1960

Local government under the colonial rule was known as the native authority system made up of four inter related parts which are the resident who provided direction and control, the native authority usually headed by chiefs who enjoy legitimacy under the pre-colonial system of government which are often supported by a council of elders, the native treasury and the native which was composed of representatives of the native administration (Gboyega, 1987:15). This type of administration was nurtured and sustained under the principles of indirect rule as defined by Lugard (1907: 296) as the rule through native chiefs who are regarded as integral part of the machinery of government with well defined powers and functions recognized by government and by law and not dependent on the caprices of an executive officer. This policy enabled them to divide the country into three parts namely the colony, protectorate and the capital city at Calabar administered by commissioners while their provinces were divided into districts each administered by a district officer and his assistant (Tibenederana, 1985:48).

In the Northern Nigeria, Federick Lugard, the high commissioner for the region, established a different form of indirect rule which made use of native institutions. According to him, there was no need to impose on the people any theoretical suitable government but rather to evoke from their old institutions based on their own habit of thought, prestige and custom in the form of rule that is best suitable to them and adapted to meet new conditions. Lugard, therefore, established or enacted a native authority ordinance for the establishment of native authorities (the paramount chiefs in the states or decentralized societies) through whom he governed the region. He also enacted revenue proclamation for the levying of direct taxation in Northern Nigeria and three other statues such as the native court proclamation, the provincial courts proclamation and the supreme court proclamation which has some effects on the Northern Nigerian judicial system (Om, 1996:13).

In the Western part of Nigeria, the native rulers such as the Oba and Baale were allowed to govern their people largely in their traditional way. The political officers, the residents and commissioners simply toured the towns and villages in the areas under their control and only advise the chiefs to maintain law and order. In 1897, a council of chiefs was established with the British commissioners serving as president which continued till 1901 and made the indigenous paramount chief to be president of the council, though it strengthened their powers but it did not made absolute rulers as they were still under the authority of the British officials on the spot, particularly the resident chief (Emezi, 1996).

In Eastern Nigeria, indirect rule was known as the warrant chief system established in 1891. Under this system, native courts were built and people regarded as traditional rulers were appointed as warrant chiefs. The warrant chiefs positioned they held, enabled them to sit in native courts and try cases and to assume exceptional power within their locality but they were not absolute rulers. The native system was sited at districts headquarters and presided over by European political officers known as native councils while those sited away from district headquarters and presided over by native rulers were called minor courts. By 1900 the native courts had been firmly established as centers of local government in Eastern Nigeria and more indigenous rulers became deeply involved in the local government affairs. Thus, apart from their judicial function, the native court proclamation of 1901 empowered the courts to provide legislative, executive and financial functions as well. They could make bye laws for peace, good order and welfare of their areas of authority and to evoke or amend these as required. Each native authority/court has its own treasury and disbursed its funds under the guidance of the district officer and under the native court of 1966, members of the native court including the warrant chiefs were allowed to carry out arrest on any person who break the law within their jurisdiction (Zabdi, 1986:115).

During the era of 1891 – 1912, the British authorities in Southern Nigeria, successfully made the warrant chief system an acceptable local government system in the region. Under them the traditional warrant system was enhanced and became the only medium the British colonial power was reaching the people. The native courts were developed and gazette as they became recognized by the native people as the local headquarters of the colonial administration and the native authorities for the areas under their judicial control. Thus, in Eastern Nigeria indirect rule did not portrays itself before the introduction of the Lugardian system in the region as when rule imposed on unwilling people by the colonial authorities. However, after the amalgamation of Nigeria and Lord Lugard was appointed as the Governor general of the new country, he extended his Northern brand of indirect rule to the South, according to him it is to provide the South with a better organization of native administration to replaced the confused and ill defined arrangements complicated by the numerous written agreements and treaties which had developed in response to practical requirements as these has made themselves fat over a considerable number of years (Okonji, 1974).

Lugard believed that since his system of indirect rule has worked in the North, it ought to work in the South East, added to this was his desire to enforce uniformity in the local government system throughout Nigeria, this met a brick wall as it failed in the Eastern part and recorded partial success in the Western part of Nigeria. In fact, the immediate successor of Lord Lugard Governor Hugh Charles Clifford describe the attempt to reconstruct South Eastern Nigeria in line with the Northern Native Administration as an attempt to build on quick sand instead of using the institution of the people that existed. In the Northern emirates where Lugard system has grown there was orthodox ingredient of a centralized system, authority, administrative marchinery and judicial system with distinction of wealth, privileges and status derived from the power of authority and was lacking in the Southern region except in Benin and Yoruba Kingdom. In Eastern Nigeria the indirect rule system was a complete failure. The introduction of taxation led to its collapse because of the women war or riot in 1929 (Coleman, 1986:10)

Post Colonial Era of Local Government

After due consultation with the people a local government system that was based on the British model was introduced in Southern Nigeria. In Eastern region the new local government system was established under the local government ordinance of 1950, first Ikot Ekpene and later other parts of Nigeria. Under the ordinance the whole region except the large towns of Enugu and Port Harcourt (which had municipal council) was divided into Urban country councils and local councils. Each local government council had a majority of members elected under limited franchise, payment of taxes and rates being the qualification basis (Oyadara, 1955:12).

In Western region, the local government law of 1952 also introduced democratically elected councils with a minimum of three quarters of the members being elected by universal adult suffrage. The law established a three her structure of local government, namely, divisional, district, and local councils. In a few Urban areas like Ibadan, Sapele and Warri all purpose and districts were set up while in others like Ife and Asaba district there

was a two tier system. The others parts of the region had a combination of divisional and district or divisional and local council (Emezi, 1996:21).

The newly elected councils in both Eastern and Western regions were given great measure of autonomy in finance personnel as well as general administration. In Eastern region the council were controlled by the ministry of local government while in Eastern Nigeria council was from local government education board. The system was given primary and post primary institutions, wealth, police and the judiciary to legislate on.

The north witnessed gradual reform in 1945 after the annual conference of resident of provinces recommended vigorous growth in districts and villages. In 1949 district council were established and in 1954 the native authority system was modernized where the paramount chiefs became local government chairman and obtained their revenues from various taxes (Gboyega, 1987).

Issues in Local Government Democratization

State Agencies

As afore mentioned, Nigeria local governments are not sufficiently local despite fragmentation of their areas of authority and the multiplication of their numbers no local government elections were held under the second republic and subsequent elections held have been marred or characterized by rigging and massive electoral malpractices in the country. On the contrary, local elections where held under military rule in 1987, 1989, 1991, 1996, and 1999 (Ubani, 2022). This account for the reason why most local governments are viewed more as electoral assets than instrument of socio-economic development. The main function of local government council now seems to be purely political, to mobilize voters and ensure local political control as instrument of winning election in the state. According to Odalonu (2015:2) local government receive 20% of the federation account and 35% of the vat but remain incapable and unable to pay salaries or "income" regularly not to talk of financing or "undertaking" development projects thereby "woefullylly" failing to meet the test of internal demand.

General Indiscipline

In local governments in Nigeria, indiscipline is rampantly perceived and pronounced among the workers. In some of the local government the senior officers who travelled with their families away from their offices on Friday return very late at following Monday or even Tuesday while senior officers who live far only show up once in a month or only some few days in a month and junior workers who observe this takes advantages of only showing up when is time for salary or whenever they are aware of the coming of the chairman of the council. According to Tonwe (2012) on research conducted in Chibok there is high indiscipline and majority of the workers are farmers, handy man and other have personal things they do. From his research, local government councils in most states are meant for sharing of funds allocated by the government to the people at the grass roots level.

Inadequacy of skilled workers

There is the experience of dearth of skilled, technical and professional staff like qualified engineers, medical doctors, accountants, statisticians, economists, lawyers, town planners to mention, but few. The manner of recruitment is based on favoritism, nepotism, ethnic and political consideration among other primordial factors that replace and displaced competence, qualification, experience and performance. Majority of the staff recruited to the local government council in the state are primary and secondary school holders, as only few are graduate and were not recruited based on merit (Obisanya, 2022).

Misplaced Priority

In most states, limited resources and hand earned fund raised by local government are always mismanaged priorities are misplaced, projects done are not according to demand by the people but regrettably in consonance

with the selfish and aggrandizement of the political leadership in collaboration with the senior bureaucrats at the government level of administration. For example, local government council is the government closest to the people at the grass roots and meant to know the needs of the rural majority. But despite this, in many local governments in Nigeria there is gross scarcity of quality water supply for domestic use and of course for animals needs in the rural communities (Chukwuemeka, 2014).

Constitutional Review and Achievement of Higher Performance in Democratized Local Government System of Delta and Edo States

In examine local government system in Nigeria, there are indeed appalling challenges as afore stated and even the several constitutional reform and provisions have been of serious implications to the under performance of the system. Local government in a multi-ethnic federation is important in that it creates a sense of belonging among the people. It is responsible for local affairs and designed to meet specific local needs. Tonwe (2012) corroborated this view when he argued that we cannot realized "or either recognized, nor achieved," the five benefits of democracy unless we begin by accepting that all challenges are not central or centre issues" and that all "outcomes" of problems not central in their "case" require the decisions by the populace and the persons, where and when the case is most deeply or "originally felt". As might be excepted, the constitutional developments and reforms carried out in Nigeria have attempted to capture the essence of local government. However, these attempts leave much to be desired, with many gaps evident with attendant implications for a well-functioning local government system which will now be explored.

Article 7 of the 1999 constitution empowers state government to enact legislation with regard to the establishment, structure, composition and functions of democratically elected local government councils. The fourth schedule also assigns some critical functions to local governments. However, these positions only exists on paper. In practices, state governments have taken over most local government functions in order to justify spending funds earmarked for councils in the joint revenue account for example, Ubani (2022:12) noted that Lagos state government constructed parks in various parts of the state with money "subtracted" and deducted from the state and local government joint revenue account. He also averred that in Ondo state, government constructed a modern motor park in Akure, the state capital actions such as these contradict the provisions of the 1999 constitution and it gives the states very wide powers to manage issues of local government organization and structure. This provision has proved confusing and counterproductive. The constitutional neglect suffered by local government has resulted in a power struggle between the federal and state governments over control at the local level a situation that has serious hindered the democratization process at the grass root levels.

The State Joint Local Government Account (SSLGA)

Section 160, sub-section (2) to (8), which provides that the amount standing to the credit of local government councils in the federation shall be allocated to the states for the benefit of their local government councils on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the national Assembly and that each state should maintain a special account, to be called stated joint local government account, into which shall be paid all allocations to the local government councils of the state from the federation account and from the government of the state is being highly misappropriated by governors in Nigeria including Delta and Edo states. Even the influence of the local government service commission (LGSC) which though not established under the 1999 constitution, has nevertheless further marginalized local governments. In the case of Delta and Edo states Wilson (2003) noted that the commission took over political control of the councils where mandated by the state house of Assemblies to run affairs of the councils from May to November 2012 following their tenured expirations.

As it is local government autonomy is highly a mirage and a utopian experience that has continuously undermined the whinmps and caprices of the state of affairs of the government at the local root. These portraits show that there is an urgent constitutional review needed to be carried out to bring about higher performance of local governments in Nigeria, especially that of Delta and Edo state as a major concern.

Conclusion

It is no news that local government in Nigeria is highly in a state of limbo fraught with serious under performances that ranges from several factors amongst which is the flaws in the constitutional frame work that occupies the prime of governance. The constitution is the oxygen of a nation because it is the sole determinants that reticulate the life span or sustainability of the polity across dividing lines. A good constitution that makes for development in every fabrics of governance and the society will bring a through satisfaction where interest are equally catered for the satisfaction of a teeming population in the state or polity. It is note worthy to mention that constitution is drafted by men in the state or nation and it is not out of place to pointify that amendment of the constitution also lies in the hands of the same men that serves or make up the constitution drafting committee. Therefore, the legislature which is the organ charged with the responsibilities of creating the laws should be altruistic to their essence by declaring a state of emergency to give the constitution a better lift and to remove every abrasive lines or statement that has highly engenders a malfunctional local government system in Delta and Edo states so to create a true federal reality as a system of government adopted by the nation or country because it is ubiquitous to mention that government begins and end with its officials. Therefore, there should be a forceful political will and collaborative synergy best capture as inter-governmental relations should be employed to bring this to a bearing.

Recommendations:

The following recommendations are tenable:

- 1. Local government as basically defined should be followed in letters and spirit-in terms of execution. As widely known, it is in the government at the grass root level. Therefore, every activities within should reflect so no matter the interest that anyone is pursuing the collective will of the whole is better than individual will.
- 2. A constitutional review to ensure an autonomous local government is seriously yearned for, therefore even the masses at the grass root level that bears or suffer from the ills of governance should avail themselves to be involve to bring up an edge to good governance because it is true that power belongs to the people but this power will be evasive if people are not marching out.
- 3. Citizens should be involve in political participation by way of voting. Every election circle should be considered as a rare and most important opportunity to right the wrong of voting put selfish government officials out of the seat of power by all means only those who have touch with the society in every means of rating should be allowed to get into the seat of power
- 4. As a way of reform the state joint local government account is antipeople and anti-governance as far as the interest of the local governments of the local people are concerned. Therefore, with immediate effect it should be deleted without any form of deliberation as no entity can survive without financial garb. The state joint local government account is the mole in the centre of the matters arising.

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