

**THE IMPACT OF PUBLIC OPINION ON PUBLIC POLICY
IN NIGERIA: AN APPRAISAL OF 2010-2012**

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Approval Page

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Dedication

To the Immaculate Heart of Mary, the Mother of
Perpetual Help of Christians, mother of Divine Grace,
Health of the Sick-the Most Blessed Virgin Mary.

Acknowledgement

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Abstract

This research work that analysis on the impact of public opinion on public policy in Nigeria from 2010-2012 while narrowing it down to the economic policy of deregulation or fuel subsidy removal of 2012. Broadly divided into five chapters, the work breakdown how governmental decisions are being influenced by the opinions of the people in the democracy of Nigeria. History had it that before the discovery of oil, agriculture gave Nigeria about 70% of her income until now oil has earned Nigeria a higher foreign income. Hence, this work fills the gap and age answers to questions on whether public policies are products of public opinion, the impact of public opinion on public policies and if the deregulation is a solution to poverty and underdevelopment. The system theory became the theoretical framework which deals on policy input and policy out put. A historical analysis was made on the topic was made, while the effect of public opinion on public policies were also discovered. Policies for managing poverty and underdevelopment were broken-down in the work. At the end, the work gives an insight and explains the reasons behind policy making in Nigeria and also gave possible solutions to the issue.

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Chapter One: General Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study.

Since independence in 1960 in Nigeria, different governments have embrace on one programme or another. The research work is to examine the activities of the public opinion on public policy from 2010-2012, hence, narrowing it down to an economic reform policy of the deregulation of the downstream oil sector in Nigeria, also known as the fuel subsidy removal in Nigeria.

Nigeria is a democratic nation. One of the principles of democracy is the operation of fundamental human rights, which of allows for the freedom of speech, which is on the view of the majority, influencing governmental decisions. Public policy as applied to politics is seen as a statement

of a principle with their supporting rules of action, that conditions and governs the achievement of their goals. Government usually engages in different programmes, as the government is the authoritative body because they are backed up by the law. Government also has both power and authority to execute their duties and also ensure compliance. These programmes are directed towards solving a particular programmes or preempting them. Therefore, programmes are not just made for fun of making them, they are made to solve the societal needs. They entail the expenditure of public funds.

Before colonialization, the economies of the different kingdoms that now constitute the Nigeria political entity were based on agriculture. Since independence in 1960, the role of agriculture in the economy of Nigeria has been on the downward trend with regards to its contribution to GDP. Its share to GDP fell from 61.5% in 1963/1964 to 14.6% in 1983. This has been partly due to the

emergence of oil-Reynolds (1975) argued that agricultural development can promote economic development of the underdeveloped countries in four different ways:

1. By increasing the supply of food available for domestic consumption and realizing the needed labour for industrial employment.
2. By enlarging the size of the domestic market for the manufacturing sectors.
3. By increasing the supply of domestic savings
4. By providing the foreign exchange earned by agricultural exports.

Since the discovery of oil, which earns us our foreign exchange, agriculture has been abandoned. Exploration for crude petroleum oil in Nigeria first began in 1980. But serious and sustained efforts did not happen until shell Darcy petroleum Company commenced operations in 1935. It took this company more twenty years to discover petroleum crude oil in

commercial quantities in Oloibiri in 1956. Nevertheless, oil price has never been satiable in the country as successive governments keep adjusting the price upwards beyond the affordability of the common citizens of the oil producing country. Like in the price of petroleum products is a global phenomena problem in the international market.

Specifically, oil prices in Nigeria have been on a continuous increase since the beginning of 2004 and this has happened despite the organization of petroleum Exporting countries (OPEC) increase in its oil out put. Earlier in 2004, the run up in oil price was attributed to surging demand for petroleum products due to global economy. Then, it was the unrest in Nigeria. Concerning the security of oil, supplies have heightened more recently. Nigeria is the sixth oil producing nation in the world.

The subsidy removal on fuel has increase the price of oil. In the past, the increase in price occurred mostly in the extent of disruption to oil supply. Now, the deregulation policy has heightened the price of oil disruption of oil supply. There is concern the current step rise in the price of oil as a result of the removal of subsidy on fuel could have an adverse impact on the Nigeria economy; that is currently on road to recovery and expansion. When oil is expensive, people try to use less of it. They may reduce the amount they derive on reduce the temperature to which they heat their houses, which their minor economies will have little or nothing on consumption Higher have less money to spend on other things. This reduces because most goods and services the consumer would have bought have required the use of oil for their production and delivery. If higher oil prices reduce consumer demand very much manufacturers and retails will find that their profits suffer and that they

have surplus capacity. They will therefore, deter their plans for expansion. This will result in very large energy savings because work is energy intensive.

The concept of public policy can be seen as simply governmental actions or course to proposed actions that are directed to achieving goals (Ikelugbo 1999). Care Fredrick (1980) defined it as government or one of its divisions by government. The main idea of public policy is that it has to do with the government. It is an action or sets of actions taken by public authorities, it is the output or production of governmental process and activtiet. Public involves and affects the wide verity of areas and issues with which government have to do such as the economy, education, health, defence, social welfare, foreign affairs as well as other areas like culture. Sometimes, the government adopts the state coercive agencies like the police to enforce and ensure compliance of policies. Also these coercive agencies end up loosing

their lives in the course of ensuring compliance. A case study is in Ilorin, Kwara state a police officer and a youth were feared dead. Their death occurred during a violent demonstration by the youths that engaged the youths and police into a tow hours fight, throwing missiles which led to the use of live bullets by the police.

The subsidy removal on fuel is an economic policy. Nigeria adopted several economic policies for development. The introduction of economic reform programmes started after her independence in 1960. During this period, Niger derived to embark on a programme for development, which they saw its importance for gaining economic independence especially. Still at that, the past colonial masters of Nigeria still control the affairs of the nation. While the past-independent leaders sort assistance from them for development. This was done through the iprotation of industrial technology amongst others, while the assisting

countries will give out their conditions. And any developing country like Nigeria that will not submit to the scheme of economic demands or conditions of those aiding them or will not accept their advice and control, usually, will have little choice of developing.

The economic policy have been seen or have given the impression that it is a policy which has been influenced by the western countries or foreign investors based on their interest in the country's oil; another way the westerns want to dominate Nigeria again. This has elicited stiff resistance by the Nigeria public through labour unrest and mass protest.

This study therefore, attempts to assess the impact of public opinion on public policy in Nigeria, using the deregulation of the downstream oil sector or oil subsidy removal as our analytical focus.

1.2 Statement of the Problems

It is obvious that the present democratic rule in Nigeria has witnessed increase price increase of petroleum products more than during the past military administrations.

Since independence, successive governments in Nigeria have embark on various policies geared towards developing their country. The first development plan was carried out during the ear of Abubakr Tafawa Belewa (1962-1968), the second was during the era of General Yakubu Gowon (1970-1974), the third was during the era of General Murtala Mohammed (1975-1980), Green Revolution by the government of General Olusegun Obasanjo, Alhaji Shehu Shagari 91981-1985) carried out the operation Feed the Nation Policy (OFN), War Against Indiscipline (WAI) was carried out by the government of general Mohammed Buhari in 1989, General Ibrahim Babangida carried out the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) between 1990and 1992, General Sani

Abacha carried out the policy on War Against indiscipline and Corruption in 1997. At the advent of democratic rule in 1999, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo embarked on economic reform programme, encapsulated in the privatization, liberalization and deregulation programmes.

Notwithstanding, these array of programmes, Nigeria is still looking for a better way for advancement and development as none of these economic reforms of the country. Deregulation of the downstream sector started during Obasanjo's regime as an economic tool that will enhance or foster development. This was justified on the ground that the downstream sector or the oil sector is riddled with corruption as a result of mismanagement and inefficiency.

Some Nigerians especially the political observers see it as a good step that will save Nigeria from her present economic problems. Others see it as a means whereby few

people will benefit, which a large number of the citizens will not, instead, it will be detrimental to them. To some scholars also, it is a channel for development while others see it as a new way or means of penetrating and exploiting Nigeria by the western world. None has however emphasized the role of public opinion in influencing the formulation or abrogation of public policies to assuage the yearning of the populace. This research work therefore attempts to fill this gap to the extent possible by seeking answers to the following questions:

1. Are public policies in Nigeria a product of public opinion?
2. To what extent has public opinion impacted on public policies in Nigeria?
3. Is the deregulation of the downstream oil sector a panacea to poverty and underdevelopment in Nigeria?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This work is channeled at the critical examination and analysis of the impact of public opinion on public policy.

Specifically, the study intends to:-

1. To ascertain if public policies in Nigeria are products public opinion.
2. To ascertain the impact of public opinion in public policies in Nigeria.
3. To determine if the deregulation of the downstream oil sector is a panacea to poverty and underdevelopment in Nigeria.

1.4 Literature Review

It is the commitment of this chapter to discuss the meaning of public opinion, raise pertinent questions in respect of the political life-style of the average citizens. In

the highlight of this, we look on the importance of public opinion and how it influences government policies. How the elite formulate policies and the relevance of public opinion towards policies.

Nwankwo (1990:123) explains that public opinion is one of those terms, which eludes precise definition. In its common use, public opinion refers to the composite reactions of the general public on issues, which affect them. He defined it as not just what people think, more even what they say public, but rather, what in practice they want to bring into effect.

Thomas Hobbes observes that this serves as a basic instrument in evaluating the role and functions of government and the level of its effectiveness and impact on the political system. In every government, public opinion is the measure of central tendency for democracy both in theory and practice.

Taiwo and Olanijan (1974), submit that public opinion refers to the sum total of citizens' view on matters of public policy at any given time; reflecting the way people think on subjects of national interest.

Public opinion can also be described according to Lea (1978), as the opinion held by groups of individuals on a particular issue. Hence, it is not necessary unanimous majority opinion, since minority views can carry more influence if expressed effectively when the rest of the public are divided or apathetic on a particular matter. Public opinion is very crucial in any society. Every democracy is predicated upon the right of the citizen to freely express himself. Even from the time of the Greeks, public opinion has always been considered a guiding ethic of government. The foregoing is given more impetus, if we take into consideration, the fact that elected make policies for the people, based on the peoples' wishes and aspirations, and there is always the

need to listen to the voice of the world that “the voice of the people, is the voice of God”. This voice of the people may either be expressed opinion or feelings toward decision which government has already made (fuel subsidy removal) or contemplates making (adopting gay marriage and the introduction of five thousand Naira note).

The public opinion may be for or against the government. Every government is always assessed at the court of public opinion and that is why it is advisable for government to enunciate programmes that will meet with the approval of the people. The annulment of the June 12, 1993, presidential election by General Ibrahim Babagida, which brought the views of Nigerians under one canopy, there have not been any other issue that made them to have one voice or gave them one voice; but the fuel subsidy removal.

The pervasive importance of petroleum to socio-economic development and political stability of a country make its pricing very crucial and sensitive. Given Nigerians past experience with the price of petroleum, the management and productive of the sector.

In the past three decades, oil has played a critical role in the Nigeria economy. On the average, it has accounted for 70 percent of the government revenue, 90 per cent of foreign exchange earnings and 12 per cent of the real gross domestic product (GDP). In addition, oil, as a energy resource, affects all modes of transportation (air, rail, road and sea) and thus, has implications for the movement of goods, services and people. Developments in the oil sector have also major implications for industrial production as oil and its derivatives are used in the production of goods and services. The unrealizable status of electricity in the country forces many industries firms to operate their own products. In the agricultural sector,

farmers depend on oil products to move their inputs to the farms as well as evaluate their produce. Also, given the country's high dependence on road haulage, gasoline and diesel assumes a high significance in the transportation sub-sector. Clearly, the price of oil products would affect the costs and profitability of many Nigerian firms, as well as the welfare of a vast number of Nigerians. Hence, the price of petroleum products and their availability are of major interests to Nigerian governments, yet, the civil society and the masses. Yet the pricing of crude oil and refined petroleum products in Nigeria has not been generally well understood.

The debate on petroleum pricing has centered on whether the pump price should reflect the full cost of production (including refining and distribution costs) and its opportunity cost (against the background that oil is a tradable good), or contain elements of subsidy. On the other hand, it is often argued that the greatest the

amount of subsidy, the less resources available for it for the execution of development projects. (This view is predicated on the argument that if petroleum on the appropriately priced, it would ensure supply adequacy, efficiency distribution, viability of the firms and enhance government's capacity to generate and undertake core capital projects). There is a strong view that given critical role of oil in the Nigeria economy, pricing domestically consumed crude at export parity is insensitive to the plight of Nigerians, majority of whom live below the poverty line, and the wide wage differential between industrial and developing countries. At this junction, the work highlights on the view of scholars concerning public policies or the deregulation of the upstream oil sector (also known as the fuel subsidy removal), as well as the relationship.

Babs Conley (1998:34), deregulation is the removal or simplification of government rules and regulations

that constrain the operation of market forces. Deregulation does not mean elimination of laws against fraud, but elimination or reducing control of low business done, thereby, moving towards a free market.

Ajinde Olu Washeti (1998:61), had it that deregulation is the removal or withdrawal of side control of economic activities, for the active participation of private sector group and individual entrepreneurs in the economy.

M. Katz and C. Malphaerson (2006:51) who were international Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank representatives support the deregulation programme. They had it that if the governments do not remove the oil subsidy, there would still be lack of transparency in the oil and gas sector, massive corruption, large scale inefficiency and waste.

Babanjide Soyade (12008:14) contributed that the deregulation policy will be beneficial to the Nigerian

economy, because it will create a market environment that will make it easy for the government to sell the countries refineries for better management and efficient, therefore, with out the policy of deregulation, it would be difficult for investors to place appropriate values on the refineries.

President Olusegun Obasanjor (2006) admitted that Nigeria, over the past three decades had not effectively utilized the huge oil revenue. This is as a result of lack of open power governance.

Many socio- political and economic challenges that the nation (Nigeria) face seems to coalesce around that oil has not benefited the vast majority on population of Nigeria

Adaumeokoli (2006:8) say that significant savings in foreign exchange will result when the privatized new refineries are in operation. The nation currency will most likely strengthen and there will be local and foreign

private capital flows into the Nigeria economy and there will be adequate jobs. Based on this assumption above, it is believed that the policy will bring about effective competition and efficiency and this will kick off the price reduction of petroleum.

It is in this highlight of this, that the view of scholars who see the policy of deregulation policy fail to see the consequences of the policy on the local market and industries. And the widening gap-between the rich and poor and developing country-Nigeria. To Mohammad Sumugi (2006:50), the Nigerian government like its counter parts in some developing countries has always communicated the potential benefits of deregulation in absolute terms. In the case of Nigeria, a gradual approach to withdraw subsidy which has raised petrol price by more than 49% between 1999 and 2002 had failed to deliver promised infrastructure, failed to improve the social sector and economic development. In essence, the

deregulation policy is therefore, not capable of developing the Nigeria economy but will only be for the satisfaction of the foreign investors.

Raph Egha (2001:12) see the deregulation policy as a deceitful way of the developed countries, He contributed:

I like the developed nations and their tricks they play on the rest of the world, Asia, Latin America and they compel the third world and trick them to adopt in their invest and to the interest of the developing nation-Nigeria.

To ascertain that the deregulation policy is foreign influence, Alinde Oluwashontin (2006:51) say that Buhari refusal petropetroleum subsidy, privatize and liberalize trade as directed by the IMF and World Bank, had results like Nigeria economic interest globally, the refusal to honour Nigeria's letter of credit, reschedule debts, suspension of all discussions with Nigeria for the

loans. Aduma Ahamed (2006:30) added that the policy of deregulation is for the benefit of the Multi-national companies and in open market, will not give spare for local industries to take part in the policy.

To review on the concept of policy, in everyday discourse, whether private or public sector, the concept of policy is often use. Davis and Filley (1977), “a policy is a statement of a principle or group of principles, with their supporting rules of action, that conditions and governs the achievement of certain objectives to which a business is directed”. Coventry and Baker (1985), see policy as the guidelines, laid down in generd or specific terms to reach the long-range or targets set by the objectives”. In simple terms, Jones et al (1998:203), see a policy as “a generd guide to action”. While Katz and Kahn (1966:477), believe organizational policies are abstractions or generalizations about organizational behaviour, at a level that involves the structure of the

organization. Obikeze and Obi (2004:87), see policy as the guiding principle towards the realization of organizational objectives.

N.U Akpan (1982:32), who defined policy as “a form of law made by the governing bodies of organizations to govern, direct, control, and regulate members of the organizations”. He went further to point out that this “may take legal form of laws passed by the legislature, decisions of a government cabinet, or boards of directions of public corporations or private companies, and even instruction issued by departmental authorities, and so on”.

While Akpan’s Definition may be regarded as general and broad, Thomas Dye’s definition is more specific. According to him, public policy is “whatever the government chooses to do or not to do”. It follows from this definition that it is not only in situations when government decides to take action about issue do we

have public policy but that it is also a policy position, if government decides to do nothing about policy problem' another scholar Carl friedrich, defines public policy as "a proposed course of action of a person, group, or government providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or purpose". Professor James Anderson insists that policy "a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors dealing with a problem or matter concern". In this definition, Anderson further classified that policy "focuses attention on what is actually done as against what is proposed or intended. Another salient feature in Anderson's definition is that public policies are those policies developed by governmental bodies and official', an action which could be influenced by "non-governmental actors and factors".

With the views of the mentioned scholars, we can say that public policy refers to those defined acts or actions of government, geared towards the fulfillment of the obligations of government on the citizens, that is, the maintenance of law and order, and the provision of necessary social and economic facilities needed for an enhanced standard of living of the people-public policy is usually organized around programmes and the strategies to be adopted for its implementation towards the achievement of the stated objectives outlined.

Public policy according to Anderson can be better understood within certain conceptual categories outlined below:

1. Policy Inputs
2. Policy Decisions.
3. Policy Statement
4. Policy output
5. Policy Outcome

1. **Policy Input:-** They are decision refer to all the demands or supports on the system. It can come in a way of demands or supports on the system. Policy demands are those demands or claims made upon public officials by other actors private or officials.
2. **Policy Decisions:-** They are decisions made by public officials that authorize or give and content public actions. In this sense, the decision by the Nigeria government to remove subsidy on fuel is a policy decision.
3. **Policy Statement:-** Policy statements are authoritative pronouncements of government indication what government wants to do and how it wants to do it. The deregulation of the downstream oil sector is seen as a policy statement.
4. **Policy Output:-** It refers to what the government does in response to a public opinion

5. **Policy Outcomes:-** It is the effect or impact of policy on the target population or society as a whole.

To gain deeper insight on the subject matter of public policy, it is worthy to note the two derisions of public policy. The Reformist and nationalist Perspectives. The Reformist scholars are of the view that the public policy (on the fuel subsidy removal). Hence, the two contending scholars (reformist and nationalists) are either in support of the policy or against the policy. The reformist had it that there is the need for interaction between the less developed countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the developed countries of European and America. That this interaction will foster development among the third world countries or less developed countries. The reformist schools of thought is led by an American economist Bill Warren, who also obstacle that imperialist relationship is not of the third world and the developed

world does not constitute an obstacle towards the development of the third world countries.

Other disciples of the reformist school such as M. Katz and C. Malphaerson (2006:51) who were IMF and World Bank representatives support the deregulation programme. They had it that if the government do not remove subsidy, there would still be lack of transparency in the oil and gas, massive corruption, large scale inefficiency and waste.

Babjide Soyade (2008:14) contributed that the deregulation policy will be beneficial to Nigeria economy because it will create a market environment that will make it easy for the government to sell the countries refineries for better management and efficiency, therefore, without the policy of deregulation, it would be difficult for investors to place appropriate values on the refineries.

Adaumeokoli (2006:8) say that significant savings in foreign exchange will result when the privatized new refineries are in operation. The naira currency will likely strengthen and there will be local and foreign private capital flows into the Nigerian economy and there will be the Nigerian economy. And there will be adequate jobs.

The views of the reformist are criticized by the nationalist school. The nationalist, who are mostly influenced by Marxism, had it that the interaction of the third world with the developed countries is of negative effect. Based on their view that industrialization does not mean development but a means to end, which is development. They also had it that most of the industries that exist in the third world countries are merely assembly plant and extension of the industries, located outside the third world, such as the Anamco Motor

industries and Peugeot car assembly (etc). This process is known as transfer of technology (Abeh, 2000:64).

Ralph Egha (2001:12) sees the deregulation policy as a deceitful way of the developed countries. He contributed:

“I like the developed nations and their tricks world, Asia Latin America and they cannel the third world and trick them to adopt in their interest and to the interest of the developing nation-Nigeria.

Aduma Ahamed (2006: 30) added that the policy of deregulation is for the benefit of the multi national companies and in open market, will not give spice for local industries to take part in the policy.

This works however examines the relationship or how public opinion affects whether the deregulation policy is detriment to the Nigeria masses (who are the ruled, and are also in the majority) or is the policy for the advantage of the few ruling class, few individuals as well

as foreign investors, who hide under the umbrella of the multi national or no development in the country.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Recently in Nigeria, public policies have affected the lives of the Nigerian people. The work optimistically will be of great value to the contributors of literature on policy formulation in Nigeria. Therefore, it is to inspire and guide researchers who in the future want to enroll in more studies.

This work will help policy makers and executors to consider their nation while attempting to make policies in Nigeria as well as other nations. With this, it is believed that the study will contribute to the economic, political, educational, social development of Nigeria, hence beneficial to the Nigeria public.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The system theory will be the theoretical framework of analysis. System theory was made popular by David Easton who sees political life as a system of behaviour with established set of interaction for the authoritative allocation of the values of society through an input and output matrix. In this sense, therefore, public policy may be seen as a response of the political system to the demands, expectations and as aspirations, of the citizens or in a more technical sense, to the demands arising from its environment. Input from environment into the system consist of demands and supports.

On the one hand, demands are the claims or expectations of individuals and groups on the political system for action to satisfy interest or needs. On the other hands, support represents the willingness of the citizens to accept the decisions or value allocations,

which is made in response to demands on the system. It is this authoritative allocation (or outputs) that constitute public policy. Output is thus, the converted demands (input) upon the system. Furthermore, systems analysis involves the concepts of feed-back. Feedbacks are new demands from the policy outputs “which lead to further outputs in a never-ending flow of public policy”.

The usefulness of the systems theory lies in its attempt to show how public policy can affect and be affected by the environment, as well as the demand-conversion process. However, beyond this, the theory says very little concerning how decisions are made and policies developed within the “black box” or the conversion process. Thus, according to Anderson, the usefulness of the systems theory is limited by its highly general nature. For instance, one of the most important limitations of the systems theory is the assumption that public policy is the synthesized outcome of system

demands including, of course, demands from such groups as the peasantry. This cannot be entirely true, for the peasants could not have chosen to remain poor and hungry or preferred to have the rural and agricultural sector underdeveloped.

According to Dahl (1991), any collection of elements that can be considered a system, a galaxy, a football team, a legislature, a political party. David Easton in his work believed that, while the political system receives input from the environment in forms of demands and supports, it also produces output. A political system is that system of interactions in any society, through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented in form of policies and decisions. The output flows back into the environment through a feedback mechanism giving rise to fresh demands. A breakdown analysis is described below:

Demand; it involves what the Nigerian masses need, such as basic amenities like good roads, hospitals, schools as well as job creation and security. This demand is defined in terms of **Input**.

Support: it is defined interms of output. It involves the willingness of the citizens (Nigeria) to accept the decisions or value allocations, which is made in response to demands on the system. It is the authoritative allocation, that constitutes public policy. That is the removal of fuel subsidy, to generate employment and provide more basic amenities. Thereby, asking the Nigeria masses to accept the support of deregulation policy.

Feedback: it is the reaction of the people from the output. Hence, the feedback on the Deregulation policy is expressed in terms of public opinion. As the feedback of the policy on deregulation was the unwillingness of Nigerians to accept the policy. To an extent, resulted to strikes among the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC).

To draw the curtain on systems theory, it is seen that in terms of utility, systems theory has been found useful in the study of public policies. First it tends to show that public policies are not made from the vacuum, that they are products of the demands from the environment. Thus, it tends to situate environmental factors as being very important in the policy process. The theory is also very useful in comparative analysis, as it helps in different countries in terms of the response of the political system to the demands of its environment. We can then be in a better position to understand the difference between developing and developed countries in terms of public policy process. Also, this systems theory enriches our study of not only public policy analysis but of political science in general.

1.7 Hypotheses

Drawing from the forgoing, the study will be enriched in the following:-

- i. Public policies in Nigeria are produces of public opinion.
- ii. Public opinion seems to influence public policies in Nigeria.
- iii. Deregulation policy may aggravate poverty and underdevelopment in Nigeria.

1.8 Method of Data Collection /Analysis

Data will be gathered from text books, articles, magazines, internet materials, Newspapers as well as published and unpublished writings, records and documentaries, (secondary source). While the qualitative method will be the method of data analysis.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The research work is on the fuel subsidy policy or the deregulation of the downstream oil sector that was adopted by the federal government of Nigeria, to take effect from January 1, 2012. Though the policy took effect on the given date, the work is the therefore to examine on the impact of the policy on the lives of Nigeria masses as well as the problem of the policy.

1.9 Definition of Terms

Deregulation: The act or process of removing or reducing state regulations.

Subsidy: A benefit given by the government, usually in form of a cash payment or reduction.

Public policy: A system of laws, regulatory measures, course of action, and funding priorities concerning a given topic promulgated by a government entity on its representatives.

Multi National Companies: A corporation that has its facilities and other assets in at least one country that its home country. Such companies have offices and/or factories in different countries and usually have a centralized head office where they co-ordinate global management. Very large multi nationals have budgets that exceed those of small countries. And most times, they come inform of foreign investors.

Underdeveloped or Less developed Countries (LDCS):

Consist of the countries of the third world of Africa, Asia and lain America that are referred to as agricultural because they rely on agriculture and have little or no industries, for manufacturing. Charactersied with:

- a. Economic. Financial, technological and cultural dependency.
- b. Lots of import substitution industries which depend on external resources.
- c. Poverty

- d. High level of child mortality
- e. Unemployment
- f. Political instability
- g. Malnutrition

Developed Countries: They are also known as the advanced countries of Europe and Western America. They are called industrialized countries because of their advanced technology. They are often characterized by the following:

- a. High level of employment
- b. Self-reliance
- c. Independent control of economy
- d. Self-sufficiency in food production.
- e. Increase in the ability to guard national independence

Economic Policy: It is a guideline, used in the economic development of a nation. Example, Structural

Adjustment programme (SAP), deregulation of the downstream oil sector etc.

Chapter Two: The Influence of Public Opinion in Nigeria, a Historical Analysis

2.1 The Colonial Era

Prior to the British colonization in Nigeria, there existed political system in the three major groups before the Nigerian amalgamation in 1914. here, the Hausa/ Fulani group and the Yoruba group adopted a centralized system of government, while the Igbo group practiced decentralized system or acephalous (fragmented) system

of government, which was more a less, democratic. Colonialism according to Jomo kenyatta is the harbinger of rape of democracy.

Nevertheless, during the colonial ear, the British adopted system of government known as indirect rule system. The first encounter between the West and the people of Nigeria had resulted in different manifestations of what might be broadly be called nationalism. The earliest nationalist struggle as an opposition to colonial resistance in Nigeria could be traced back as far as the resistance of King JaJa, king Kosoko of Lagos, the Sultan of Sokoto and the Aba Women riot in the late 1920's.

To investigate in the influence of public opinion in Nigeria during this period is exemplified:

1. The use or adoption of indirect rule
2. Nationalist movement, and constitutional development
3. The Aba women riot (Taxation policy)

4. The Coal miner's riot.

1. **The Indirect Rule System:** This was a system or instrument adopted by the British to govern Nigeria by the use of warrant chiefs. Before the Northern and Southern protectorates were merged into one umbrella (amalgamation of the Nigeria in 1914), the British saw and admired that the Hausa/Fulani group had a centralized government and also the colonial masters to adopt the indirect rule system. This British policy of indirect rule was however opposed by the people as they were not consulted. But the result however was that people like King William Dappa Pepple of Bonny, the Jaja of Opobo, king Nana of Itsekiri and King Overami of Benin were deported, deposed or captured.

Indirect rule was an aspect of the British administrative system or policy aimed at ruling and administering her colonies, through Native Rule called Warrant Chiefs, while the British officials were to advise,

guide and where necessary enforce colonial policies. In other words, traditional rulers were used to govern their own people directly to maintain law and order, and to collect taxes but under the close supervision, direction and instruction of the British overlords or officials.

Hence, as public opinion entails the view of the majority towards governmental policies and decisions, indirect rule policy failed in some parts of Nigeria, partially, successful in some parts also, and a success in some parts. The indirect rule policy made of uneducated traditional rulers and neglecting the educated elites in administration. It gave limited franchise and did not consult the people, while the governor had reserved power. The system was also authoritarian and undemocratic as the people's views were not heard; while the British had power to appoint and depose chiefs.

Indeed, the indirect rule policy was a success in the North due to the following reasons:

1. The North had a centralized system of government
2. The Hausa'Fulani in the North had been used to the system of hierarchy of officials
3. The North had a well theological system
4. Above all, they had a well taxation system.

Coming down to west, the indirect rule policy did not succeed fully in the west as a result of the following factors:

1. The indirect rule policy was a disruption of social and political fabrics of Yoruba.
2. It made the oba, the traditional ruler of the Yoruba to become swollen headed by according him with the title 'sole Authority' which made him power drunk and neglect the obligations t the senor chiefs
3. The Yoruba's were used to paying tributes to the Oba. Thus, indirect rule failed to disrupt the traditional political system already existing.

4. It failed to realize that the Oba cannot make laws without the approval of the senior chides; the policy failed to recognized the checks and balances in the Yoruba.

In the Igbo land and the East in general, the indirect rue policy did not work though the British established warrant chiefs as native Authorities in place of non-existing traditional chiefs. But the policy was rejected and a total failure in the East because of the following reasons:

1. The Igbo's had a decentralized system of government
2. The Igbo's had no taxation system and the imposition of taxes resulted in the Aba woman riot of 1929.
3. The early education which the Christian churches brought to the East helped to give the Igbo educated

ones, the weapon to fight against the indirect rule policy and the British colonial politics.

4. The creation of warrant chiefs to perform the functions of the traditional rulers as it was practiced in the North and Western region, created confusion and instability in the Igbo land. This is because, the Igbo had an acephalous society; where they do not or are not ruled by king, but leadership is based mainly on seniority.

The nationalist movement or struggle also formed a part or played a role as it thus formed as an influence of public opinion on public policy in Nigeria. The British colonial rule was a policy and thus, does nationalism became a public opinion. Nationalism is a political movement, aimed at the removal of alien or foreign rule in order to gain self independence. Several British policies, executions, activities as well as decisions contributed agitated and motivated the nationalist

struggle as an opposition to the British rule; thus, the nationalist struggle now become the impact of public opinion, while the some of the political, economic, cultural and social factors that were responsible for the nationalist movement includes:

1. Denial of Africans the opportunity to participate in government
2. Disfranchisement of Africans.
3. Monopolisation of political power by the British
4. Massive exploitation of Africans.
5. Domination of export and import trade by the foreign companies
6. payment of low salaries to African in the civil service
7. Making African and her culture to look barbaric and inferior to that of the European culture.
8. Removal of African art works only to be kept in British Museum in Europe.

Different groups emanated in opposition to British rule. These anti colonial pressure groups struggle opposed the British policies. They include:

1. The Aborigines Right Protection Society (ARRS)
2. The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA)
3. The West African Youth League (WAYL)
4. West African Students' Union (WASU)
5. Pan-Africanism Movement.

Nigeria was made a true-federal state, yet this failed to satisfy their yearings until they were granted independence in 1960 and as well become a republic in 1963.

Taxation policy introduced by the British also got reaction from the people. The reaction of the people (public opinion) towards the taxation policy (public Policy) was not favorable to the British, instead, it opposed the policy. Hence, the British got a negative

result. A good example is the Aba Women riot of 1929. The riot was a protest carried by the women in the East (Igbo people) over the taxation policy levied on them

In 1895, when the British proposed a house and land tax on the inhabitants of Lagos, in response, about 5,000 Lagos citizens went to government House to demonstrate their strong opposition, and as a result, the tax measure was never enforced. The second wave of protest, occurring late in 1970 and 1908 in Lagos was provoked by government expropriation of property to Lagos Island under the Land Acquisition ordinance in order to provide sites for officials' residence. The resulting popular discontent was expressed in a petition sent to the Secretary of state for the Colonies.

In January, 1908, a third government measure aroused an even stranger outburst of popular resentment, which found expression on several occasions in the following eight years. The government levied a water

rate on the locals population in order to pay loan and maintenance expenditure arising from the development of a potable water supply for Lagos. There were several bases for the strong opposition to the water rate. One was the belief that it was discriminatory; as one educated Lagosian put;

The motive of this measure is not, primarily, to benefit the people, but the Europeans,...the election light scheme was inaugurated under similar pretences...Indirect taxation was imposed for this purpose by raising the advaloem duty from five percent... This increased taxation falls, of course, upon the native community, and that community has had the satisfaction of seeing election light imported and installed in the house of European official...Native quarters are, as a rule, as dark as Erebus;...so it will be with the water scheme...The Europeans will benefit from it, and some excuse will be invented to deprive the native of it.

The protest or riot of the coal miners in Enugu in 1949 will not be left out as a case study. The coal miner's riot began when British managers of the "scabs" and continued dismissals convinced the miners that a "lockout" was imminent. On the 14 of November, the hewers began as sit-in, fearing that management would replace them. Government, in a confronted mood, decided that the sit-in jeopardized public safety because the strikers had access to mine explosives. On November 16 armed Northern Nigeria police were sent to remove the explosives despite the efforts made to mediate on the issue proved abortive but resulted in the shooting of 21 unarmed miners who gathered to watch the execution. The political reverberation were immediate from November 18 through 26, riot occurred in major urban areas of the south east part of Nigeria. The participants were market women, casual labour, small traders and the urban unemployed, the "unruling urban mob" most

feared by the colonial masters. The target of the lootings was expatriate firm, indicting broader cause than revulsion to the massacre.

Report findings made it clear to the British that Nigeria should be decolonized and also, there should be a review on the government trade union policy.

2.2 The Military Era

By the time Nigeria gained her independence, on October 1, 1960, this marked the end of colonial rule, following the federal election crisis in 1964 and the Western election crisis of 1965, it ushered in military government; which Nigerians thought and believed that the military was the only institution in the country, which could stop the political chaos and restore order and stability, as well as public confidence. The first military corps however took place on January 15, 1966 which ushered in major General Aguiyi-Ironsi into power.

The military government is known to be autocratic therefore, it is undemocratic. They rule with decrees and edicts thus, suspending the constitution. They still adopt programmes or policies on plans, geared towards developing the country. Some of the military regimes are the era of General Yakubu Gowon (1970-1974), Murtala Mohammed (1975-1980), Green Revolution, by the government Shehu Shagari, the war Against Indiscipline (WAI) was carried by the government of General Mohammed Buhari in 1989, General Ibrahim Babangida carried out the Structural Adjustment Programmes(SAP) between 1990 and 1992, and General Sani Abacha carries out the policy War Against Indiscipline and corruption in 1997.

War Against Indiscipline (WAI)

On March 20, 1984, the Buhari administration launched its most publicized programme so far- a 'War

Against Indiscipline ‘WAI. This was promptly tagged with the acronym ‘WAI’ by the press and public.

It was dearly in accord with the prevailing public mood at the time of the vast majority of the Nigerian population quickly accorded WAI unqualified support and enthusiasm. Television and radio joined the battle with suitable jingles and film footage that deprecated the more blatant manifestations of indiscipline in the society: jostly, disorderliness, queue-jumping, driving on the wrong side, littering the streets, cheating, inflating of prices, inclination for quick monetary gains, working without commitments, and other habits which bordered on indiscipline. All the state government thereafter, were mandated to launch the WAI in their various states. Based on this, the various states were able to “workout comprehensive strategies” which enabled them to properly mobilize and educate Nigerians on the need to eradicate indiscipline from the nation life.

The federal military government through use agencies swung into action, apprehending and pushing Nigerians who direct to rush into buses/ planes instead of queuing and boarding in an orderly manner. It also punished those who run across the express way rather than the use of pedestrian bridges. Those merchants who inflated prices of essential commodities were also adequately punished. In this case, hoarders of rice, milk and other products, in the presence of the owners were sold to the public at controlled prices. Even those who littered the street were also punished, usually, by soldiers who made them to 'forg jump' or prostrate in the full glare of the public.

Soon, the public, out of fear of being punished, began to gradually imbibe the tenets of WAI. There were also reports of taxi-drivers, who returned large sums of money apparently left behind, to owners. Their noble actions were publicly acknowledged by the government.

Even Nigerians who were already used to emptying their bowels just about anywhere though twice before embarking on the action, simply for fear of being apprehended. The government through its agencies also ensured that illegal structures in all parts of the country, especially within the urban and semi-urban areas were knocked down. WAI equally ensured that traders were restricted to official recognized markets. Perhaps, most prominent, were the ubiquitous queues at bus stops, airports and other public places. In no time at all, queuing became a norm, a tradition of sort among the teeming Nigerian populace.

The government, probably, aware of the need to have a 'standing army' of youth to further instill discipline into the people decided to launch the WAI Brigade nation-wide, to among other functions, check acts of indiscipline in all its ramifications and assist people in distress or need, and also promptly report acts

of lawlessness and vandalism to appropriate agencies. But while the WAI raged, the prices of food items shot sky high and the rate of unemployment in the same vein rose sharply. These could however, be immediately attributed to the battered national economy which was becoming increasingly dicey for the government to manage.

The combination of all theses, including government's enthroned 'austerity measures' became so burdensome on the average Nigerian who, disillusioned, gradually began to perceive programmes like WAI as unnecessary since it did not put food on his table.

However, on April 19, 1984, one month after the launching of the WAI, the 'WAI' sustained a crushing blow. The National Concord Newspapers gave an account of a Brigadier that jumped 'queue' at the external affairs and Armed forces section of the Federal Concord reported that the officer had come to collect his

tax clearance certificate when he was told to apply formally, which also meant that he must join the queue already formed by those who were awaiting the same certificate.

Source said the officer, a brigadier, refused to queue up, insisting that he must be attended to immediately, but was later referred to the most senior officer on duty who told him also to apply formally'. At this point, he ordered the officers to either give him a tax clearance certificate remain hostage in their office. By now, he had already takes position at a strategic point at the door.

The National Concord, on April 21, 1984, identified the officer in charge as Bragadia J.O. Adeniyi. A few days after Adeniyi's incident, a supreme military Council Statements attempted to justify the Barigadia's action. Senior officers", it said "were not normally expected to join queues (along with junior and other ranks.).

The WAI policy was seen to be harsh since it was carried out by the military and autocratic government of General Mohammed Buhari. Nigerians had no option than to obey as noncompliance to the policy will result to punishment using the state coercive apparatus- soldiers. The policy 'did not put food on the people's tables rather, there was a high rate of food cost and unemployment. The policy died at the end of General Buhari regime.

An analytical breakdown is that Nigerians did not buy the idea of the WAI policy because it was too harsh and brutal. Therefore, the effect of the public opinion (Nigerians) towards the WAI policy is that the WAI policy died at the end of the General Buhari regime, therefore, the policy was not favourable to Nigerians

Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)

The Structural Adjustment Programme(SAP) is a policy implemented by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (the Bretton Woods

Institutions) in developing countries. SAP was a ploy used by economically advanced countries to hands-off responsibility on those state-owned industries that were no longer capable of competing “with the new industrial capacity in developing countries” (Toye, 1995:1).

Motivated by the desire to improve the domestic economic performance by increasing domestic savings higher export earnings, and greater domestic production, among other factors, the then government of Nigeria under president Ibrahim Babagida in 1994 engaged in the SAP policy. (Faruquee and Tussian 1994 cited in Nwagbara, 2004). As outlined by Babagida’s regime. SAP as introduced in Nigeria had the following key objectives:

1. To reduce the preponderance of un-productive investments in the public sector
2. To achieve a viable balance of payment

3. To reduce oil dependency and on imports, by restructuring and diversifying the productive base of the economy.

In other to achieve the objectives, the IMF prescribed means which include adoption of appropriate pricing policies in all sectors with greater reliance on market forces; restructuring and rationalization of the public sector through privatization, commercialization and removal of subsidies, trade liberalization adoption of a realistic exchange rate were pursued. While the idea of liberalization was to make the economic environment attractive for foreign investors to come in and do business.

The outcome of the SAP policy in Nigeria was the urban dwellers especially public sector employees were hard hit by the austerity measure. This led to cut in the take home pay of workers, massive retrenchment of worker, high cost of living and removal of subsidies,

among others. It led to the decline of the real incomes of civil servants) who are mostly urban dwellers) by almost 50 per cent. It further led to high inflationary rate, low purchasing capacity of the naira, job and food insecurity led to unprecedented protest by aggrieved interest groups. SAP policy led to social unrest, as the reasons why Nigerians protested against the policy were:

1. The people encounter a harsh conditions of living
2. Subsidies were removed
3. Government retrenched workers and drastically at the pay package of those still in its employ.
4. Unemployment situation in the country worsen
5. Feeling of relative deprivation was intense
6. people were ignorant of the SAP policy
7. SAP package was not in the interest of public sector organized labour
8. The high inflatory trend further enhanced the deterioration of the standard of living of the people.

Policy of Large-Scale Expulsion of Nigerians from Ghana

There have always been a large number of Nigerians in Ghana. The introduction a modern money economy started earlier and progressed faster in Ghana than in Nigeria and as a result, many Nigerians went there in search of employment and trade. By 1931, there were 67,703 Nigerian in the Gold Coast. By 1960, the number had risen to 209,120. By late 1969, the figure was put at about 540,000, according to Dr, Kofi Busia, then Prime Minister of Ghana.

In November 1969, the Busia government gave Nigerians and other Africans without residence and work permits two weeks to leave his country under the Aliens compliance Order. Those not complying with the law were to be forced out of Ghana by the police and the officials of the Ministry of inferior. This led to some panic because most of the Nigerians in Ghana had neither residence nor

work permits and the Busia government made it almost impossible for those with residence permits to obtain work permits. By mid 1970, about 144,000 Nigerians including those had lived in Ghana for over fifty years and those born there, had been thrown out of the country without being allowed to take with them their assets and their beaten and treated by the Ghana police before being expelled. Still others were imprisoned for not having the necessary papers. Indeed, by early 1970, it was reported that over 180,000 Nigerians were being held in prison in different parts of Ghana.

Naturally, all this led to resentment in Nigeria. The Nigerian news denounced the expulsion as an anti-Nigerian move intended to frustrate the federal government's effort to crush the Biafran session. They called for immediate retaliation of the Ghanaians in Nigeria. Some organizations such as the Ahmadu Bello

University branch of the Nigerians society of international law called for retaliatory measure on Ghana.

The view that Nigeria should take reprisal against Ghana was not confined to the press and some voluntary. On 5th January 1970, Mallam Umrau Dikko, Commissioner for finance North Central state, condemned the expulsion order and asked the federal government to replace all the Ghanaians in the administrative and commercial sectors of the country's economy. A few days later, Alhaji Aminu Kano, the federal commissioner for communications, called for the stern action against the Busia government. About a fortnight later, the military governor of the North Western state, Chief Superintendent of police Usman Faruk, attacked the mass exolusion of Nigerians from Ghana as an unfriendly act and added that the federal government should retaliate by giving asylum to Ghanaians

opponents of Dr Busia government especially to Dr Kwameh Nkrumah.

Although the federal government especially to Nkrumah could not go as far as the press and public wanted, for two main reasons; first there were few Ghanaian in Nigeria, about 7,561 by the 1963 census compared with 100,000 Nigerians still residing in Ghana after the expulsions. Secondly, the federal government strongly believed that it was country to the principle of African unit and the spirit of the organization of African unit charter for African government to refuse to allow the citizens of other African countries to live and work in its country. This ruled out the expulsion of Ghanaians from Nigeria. However, the government had to take some actions to assure the public as well as the expellees that it cared about their interests. First, in mid December 1969, Dr Arikpo was sent to Ghana to gain first-hand information about the plight of the Nigerians there.

Before leaving Ghana Brikpo met the Ghana leaders to express Nigerian's concern at the ill treatments of the expellees. Secondly, the federal government entered into negotiations with the Accra government about how the expelled Nigerians could recover their assets. For a number of difficult reasons, the two governments entered into negotiations until December 1971.

Under the agreement, two estates firms in Accra, namely, Frank Boret and Co and A.K Boakye and Co. were appointed to handle the return of the assets of Nigerian expellees.

Although under the agreement, Mr Peter Onu, then Action Nigeria High Commissioner in Ghana, said in June 1972, that over 75% of the expellees had their property returned, the federal government handling of the expulsion was not liked by many people and some sections of the press. For instance, for much of 1970, the "Daily sketch ran a series of editorial criticizing the

government for not acting swiftly to make Accra government return the assets of the expellees. Reviewing the foreign policy of the country in May 1972, the New Nigerian said one of the failings of Nigeria's policy was the inadequate response to the expulsions of Nigerians from Ghana and other African countries.

2.3 The Civilian Era.

The first decade of Nigeria's independence dramatise the difficulties of coming of age as a nation in 20th century. When Nigeria achieved independence on October 1, 1960, it was with minimum internal cohesion. The country adopted a federal constitution by which her leaders hoped they would achieve a viable unification of various territorial sub-sections and the different peoples which the British colonial power had previously together under one administrative umbrella for their own convenience. However, post-independence experience, soon

demonstrated that more meaningful factors, other than federalism and common colonial historical heritage, had to be utilized in our efforts to achieve the degree of national cohesion that could assure a political development and a stable society.

The post- independence political experience of Nigeria was particular turbulent one. Several factors contributed to it. The major contributory factors included the shaky tripartite federal structure with strongest regionalism; disparity in the sizes and populations of the three regions. In the first republic, the desire to attain more political power was strongest with the Action Group political party. After the AG crisis in 1962/1963, another crisis took off in 1965; which was the National Election. The census crisis of 1973. And since other issue had brought Nigerians together until 1993, following the annulment of the June 12 elections and the deregulation

of the downstream oil sector (fuel subsidy removal) in the fourth republic on January 1, 2012.

The making of the Nigeria's fourth republic in May 1999, Nigeria transitioned to a democratic form of government that allows freedom of expression and speech, it has therefore given Nigerians the right and choice to accept or reject any policy made by the government. Policies like privatization, commercialization, deregulation, as well as liberalization are called economic policies made for the growth and development of the nation's economy. Other policies include the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), poverty alleviation policy, policy of nationalization and indigenization.

Recently, policy like gay marriage introduction was initiated; which attracted massive condemnation. The policy on introducing a new currency note of five thousand naira (5,000) was also criticized by the public.

As well as the scrapping off of the Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examination (UTME) popularly known as Joint Admission and matriculation Board (JAMB) which is under the education sector. The policies of privatization , national Health Insurance scheme (NHIS), Gay marriage introduction shall be discussed.

The critical question here remains how many of these policies have been able to restructure the nation's economic, political social, educational sector to the tune of alleviating the yearnings and aspiration of the working class.

Privatization and Commercialization Policy

The world no doubt is moving towards capitalization and any nation that is not moving towards this direction is seen as either not developing or even retrogressing. Since capitalism that allows for private accumulation of wealth, it discourages monopoly but encourages competitive market, it therefore enhances efficiency and high

productivity which is very vital in any developing country's economy. In Nigeria, most government owned industries and establishments remain citadels of corruption, studies in efficiency and consequently a heave attain on the economy. As a means of curbing this menace, the Brettonwoods institutions (IMF) and world Bank) have advocated the twin policies of privatization and commercialization. Nigeria has adopted and is embarking on it with frenzy.

Privatization can be defined as the transfer of ownership and control of enterprises from the state to the private sector. Ihome, (1997) defines privatization as any of a variety of measures adopted by government to expose a public enterprise to competition or do bring in private ownership or control or management into a public enterprise and according to reduce the usual weight of public ownership or control or management.

Commercialization is act of marketing government owned enterprises profit oriented. It can be full or partial.

Privatization and commercialization today in Nigerian enterprises faces a lot of challenges in tackling the menaces of corruption and mismanagement of public funds. It is because of social issues like economic inequalities, unemployment that made the state to interfere in economy of Nigeria. Government chose public sector as a means or medium for economic and social development due to poor managerial skill, weak technological base etc. this enhanced the need to establish various enterprise institutions in Nigeria. Following the trend the Nigerian economy has come to embrace the privatization as a cardinal principle of the state's economic policy. Over the years, the Nigerian government has encouraged the development of the public sector, since independence in 1960 and particularly 1970s but has been commonly non successive because of

government attitude towards public enterprises business management. Most government owned businesses remains citadels of corruption, and as a means of combating this menace, the IMF and World Bank introduced on advocated the twin policies of privatization and commercialization in Nigeria.

It is important to not that the introduction of SAP in 1986 serves as a bench mark in economic policy-making in Nigeria with the resultant liberalization deregulation, privatization and commercialization measures. But the critical question here remains how many of these policy have been able to restructure the political economy of Nigeria in turn alleviating the yearning and aspiration of the working class.

The world no doubt is moving towards capitalism and liberalization, and any nation that is moving towards this direction is seen as either not developing or even retrogressing. The vision of “global market civilization”

(was well as globalization) has been reinforced by the policies of the major institutions of the global economic government.

Public enterprises privatization and commercialization act 1999, where the democratically elected government of president Olusegn Obasanjo picked interest in the privatization and commercialization exercise. He gave the exercise a boost by establishing the National council on privatization (NCP) with the vice president; Alhaji Atiku Abubakar as the chairmen.

Politics of privatization in Nigeria is a means of wealth accumulation. From former Nigerian military president General Ibeahim Babangida to president Good Luck Jonathan passed the ownership and control of Nigerian state owned to their friends, families, and relations all in the name of privatization and commercialization. For example, some of the celebrated Nigerians privatized public assets during Obasanjo

regime (1999-2007) including Ajaokuta steel mill, Oshogbo machine tools and Takpe Tron Ore Company. Others include Nigerian Airways, Nigeria Telecommunication Company (NITEL) and its mobile phone subsidiary company-MTEL, Nicon Hilton Hotel (Transcorp Hilton Hotel), African Petroleum Limited (AP), National Oil and Petro Chemical Company, National Fertilizer Company (NAFCON), cement companies, oil blocks and banks, just to mention but few. The way and manner in which these assets changed hands and the selection of who owns and act what price are still generating many unanswered questions and concerns to Nigeria. The privatization of the energy sector from the national electric power Authority in 2008 (NEPA) to the power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) in 2005.

The Obasanjo privatization exercise did not please Nigerians because the exercise was done in bad faith and were out of tune with the principle of transparency,

accountability and due process. Moreover, they widened the existing gap between the “haves and the “have-nots”. In addition, the much tanued expected improvement of service and product delivery did not happen particularly in the energy sector. The scheme created a lasting sense of injustice, parochialism, nepotism and favoritism. The exercise discredited the anticorruption stance of the administration.

The political economy implications of the affair are many. For example, the scheme created a new crop of oligarchs in the mould of transcrop and other similar outfit with concentrated economic and political powers in their hands. These concentrated and economic powers are dangerous to the sustainable of democracy institutions, rule of law and good governance in Nigeria. Privatization and commercialization served as a money laundering instrument to a great extent in order to legalize illegally accumulated wealth, such as income

from international drug trafficking, advanced free fraud (429).

Amnesty Policy in the Niger- Delta Area

The wikipedia free encyclopedia as a “pardon extended by the government to a group or class of persons, usually for a political offense; the act of a sovereign power officially forgiving certain classes of persons who are subject to trial but have not yet been convicted”. It includes more than pardon, though it obliterates all legal remembrance of the offense.

Nigeria is a federation in which the constituent units that make up the country, predominantly the major ethnic groups, have embarked on separate developmental course. This development flows from the artificial creation of British colonialists and their adopted policy of divide and Rule. As a response, the nationalist had attempted to create a common Nigeria by recruiting actors from various ethnic backgrounds into the anti-

colonial struggle. As observed by Thomas Imobighe, “they did not quite. Succeed in evolving a nation with an organic unit”. This has precipitated various forms of incessant and/or sporadic ethno-religious conflicts or what the freedom House calls “simmering tensions” among the country’s about 350 ethnic groups, as well as between religious communities”. In illuminating the instability of the Niger-Delta, an oil rich region enmeshed in various forms of communal and resources conflicts, a number of descriptive have ensure. The Resident coordinator of the United Nations system in Nigeria Alberic Kacou calls the Delta “a place of frustrated expectations and deep-rooted mistrust”. Ikelegbe described it as a region that is “generally restive, with pockets of insurrection and armed rebellion”.

The history of oil in the area is traced to 1956, when shell company discovered oil in Oloibirir in Bayelsa state. This culminated in Nigeria’s first export of crude cargo in

1958. Media reports succinctly describe the growth of Nigeria's oil industry, with a current potential of producing three million barrels of crude oil daily, in spite of the organization of petroleum Exporting countries (OPEC) limit on crude oil production. Out of a total 126-84) billion barrels held by the Africa continent, Nigeria holds 37.2 billion barrels, which translates to 29.3 per cent of the continent's serve. This earns her the status in Africa, after Libya.

Oil spillage in the area has affected the ecological environment, admits the complains of the people of the area regarding the issues of environment pollution, poverty and under development in the region. They believed they have not got a fair treatment from the Nigerian state. Agitation by youths in the region precipitated a regime of restiveness, which resulted in the formation of several militia groups, some based on ethnicity, kidnapping and sometimes, outright murder.

On assumption of office in May 2007, former Nigeria's president Umaru Musa yar;Adua induced the Niger-Delta as part of his administration's seven-point agenda. The government scheduled a meeting with the stakeholders in the region, which Reuben Abati described as "an insincere attempt to keep the people talking". The administration also proposed a Niger-Delta Ministry to focus mainly on the needs of populations in the region. To address the worrisome situation in the Niger-Delta, and considering the failure of previous efforts at resolving the conflict, the government set up the Niger-Delta Technical Committee, which was mandated to collate and review all previous reports and recommendations on way of resolving the conflict. Thereafter, the president committee on Amnesty and disarmament of militants in the Niger-Delta was mandated to design a framework of disarmament, demobilization and rehabilitation or reintegration of the militants. The culminated in the

presidential proclamation of amnesty on 25th June, 2009, to encourage non-state actors in the Delta to abandon violence which lapsed on 4th October 2009, pursuant to section 175 of the 1999 constitution of the federal Republic of Nigeria.

In the amnesty document, government acknowledges the inadequacies of previous state interventions at meeting the population's needs. Government also noted the threat to peace, security, order and good governance of the Nigerian economy by militant agitation of certain elements of the region. The amnesty proclamation also acknowledges the need to harness the emergence of able-bodied youths for development in the region. Consequently, "all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the commission of offences associated with militant activities in the Nigeria Delta" were to surrender and handover "all equipment, weapons, arms and ammunition" including

“execution of the renunciation of militancy form specified in the schedule. The disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process was followed by a monthly stipend for the ex-militants. An initial component of the programme was the payment by government of millions of dollars to the militant leaders for handling their weapons at the outset. Government also invited the ‘top generals’ as they call themselves for extended stays in the upper most executives floor of Abuja’s Hilton Hotel, where they spent weeks or months “rubbing shoulder with the country’s leading politicians and influence peddlers, who often live in the floor’s of 700 dollars a night art deco-rooms”.

Educational and vocation classes have also been arranged for the ex-militants in foreign sites, such as Houston, London, Seoul and South Africa. In 2011, Nigeria’s state oil company, Nigeria National petroleum company (NNPC) commercial paying Mujohid Dokubo-

Asari 9 million dollars yearly to pay his 4,000 former foot soldiers to protect the pipelines they attacked in the past. NNPC also signed a 22.9 million dollar a year contract with government 'Tonpolo' Ekpemupolo to guard and maintain pipelines his boys used to attack. NNPC also gives 3.8 million dollars yearly a piece to General Ebikabowei 'Boyloaf' Victor Ban and Ateke Tom "To have their men guide the pipelines they used to attack"

Amnesty Policy for the Boko Haram Sect.

The administration of president Good luck Jonathan on April 17, 2013, constituted 26 member president committee on Dialogue and peaceful Resolution of security challenges in the North part of Nigeria, in a bid to end the Boko Haram insurgency. The president also constituted a 17-member presidential committee commissioned by the government to consider fresh ways of addressing the security challenges in the northern Nigeria.

The terms of reference of the 26-member committee, headed by Minister for Special Duties Kabiru Turaki, including developing a framework for the granting of amnesty to members of the Islamic terror sect, Boko Haram, drawing up a plan through which disarmament of the insurgents could happen within 60 days, developing a comprehensive victims' support programme, and preparing a mechanism to address the fundamental causes of such insurgencies with the aim of preventing future occurrences.

Though, the leader of the mainstream Boko Haram sect, Abubakar Shakau, has rejected the amnesty proposal, many opinion leaders in the north express confidence in the process. Believing that the committee will help resolve the region's security crisis. Since 2009, the government has been cracking down on the group and they have been criticized for being oppressive. But recently, the government started to change course,

looking at the possibility of dialogue and amnesty to the insurgents. This has mired in a lot of controversy. Many are questioning the rationale for amnesty to a people who political, religious and traditional leaders in the north say they do not see or know. Even the governments of the affected states have said they do not know Boko Haram members. Parallels being drawn between Boko Haram amnesty and Niger- Delta amnesty are not the same as the situations are different. Besides, amnesty is a very expensive policy and project and experts wonders where the many would come from.

The alternative- military option seems simply ruinous: more civilian deaths than insurgents and the unremitting northern states, which breeds more poverty, the ammunition Boko Haram desperately needs both the court sympathy with the locals and resentments of the military. Book Haram insurgency intensified after the

2011 presidential election, with attacks on Christians and state institutions.

For now, Nigeria can only hope for the best as the Boko Haram amnesty committee gets down to brass tracks. The military say they are steadily gaining major victories against Boko Haram and extensively weakening the group. And proponents of the amnesty said it is on course, despite the contradictions. Something may certainly be better. But building a region where everyone feels safe to live and do business could well be the greatest test for the amnesty committee and the federal government.

Same Sex Marriage Policy in Nigeria

Nigeria recognizes neither same-sex marriage nor civil unions for the same-sex couples. Homosexualities can landmen up to 14 years prison in Southern Nigeria and

capital punishment for men in area under the sharia Islamic law. Proposals to constitutional ban same-sex marriage compacted with several penalties to those convicted of performing or participating in such, here twice surfaced.

On January 18, 2007, the federal Executive council approved a law, same sex marriage (prohibition) Act 2006, prohibiting same sex marriage and sent it to the National assembly for urgent action. The proposal bill calls for five years imprisonment fro anyone who undergoes, performs, witness, aid and or abets” a same-sex marriage. It would also prohibit any display of a “same-sex among relationship”, and adoption of children by gays or/lesbians. The same bill would also call for five years imprisonment for involvement in public advocacy or associations supporting the rights of lesbian and gay people. Included in the bill are a proposal people. To ban any form of relationship with a gay person. The intent of

the bill is to ban anything remotely associated with being 'gay' or just gay in the country.

Chapter Three: The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy in Nigeria

3.1 The Abrogation of the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact and Non Aligned Policy

Annulment of the Anglo-Nigeria Defence pact/ Agreement was one of the major acts of the government in foreign policy. The decision to abrogate the agreement had been preceded by a protracted and keen struggle. As far back as the constitutional conference of 1957-1958, the British government sought to preserve control over Nigeria's armed forces. During the may talk in 1960, the British representatives brought strong pressure to bear on the Nigerian delegates to basic provisions of a future bilateral defence agreement.

The text of a draft defence agreement was published in a white paper on November, 14, 1960 and on November 19, the federal House of Representative after strong debates approved the Anglo—Nigeria Defence Agreement by a vote of 166 to 38. But the results of the voting in parliament did not reflect in the relationship of forces in the country. Approval of the agreement incensed the people in the capital and many other towns.

The reactions of the youth-university and college students, second dry school pupils and young factory and office works- were particularly stormy. On November 28, 1960, more than 3,000 demonstrators surrounded the building of parliament demanding abrogation of the agreement. Mass demonstrations were held in many towns at the end of 1960.

The agreement came into force on January 5, 1961. But even after this, the opponents of military agreement with the imperialists kept up the struggle. The Anglo-Nigeria Defence pact was in the focus of attention at the first All-Nigeria people's conference convened in Lagos in the summer of 1961 to formulate the positions of the main political parties and also public, culture, educational, workers and other organizations on basic problems of the country's foreign and home policy. The delegates unanimously approved a declaration calling for the annulment of the defence agreement. As a result, a

year after the agreement had come into forces, the government officially announced its abrogation (on January 21, 1962). This decision notable reinforced the country's sovereignty. Another measure along the same line was the proclamation of the Nigeria a republic on October, 1, 1963. This took place during the era of Abubakr Tafawa Balewa.

Much controversy has surrounded both the making of the pact and all reasons for its abrogation. It is still not clear how the decision to abrogate the pact was taken. No cabinet meeting considered the matter, no parliamentary committee deliberated on it and parliament itself which had ratified the pact had no direct say in its abrogation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact has provided a fertile field for speculation.

The pact has also provided fodder for the perennial controversy over the primacy on relative significance of the domestic over the external factors in foreign policy

decision-making in Africa. To some foreign policy decision-making in Africa to personalistic, with political leaders as independent actors having a free hand in policy –making. To most, African leaders are constrained in their policy-making capacity by international capital and international political forces, by domestic bureaucratic politics, interest groups and public opinion, just like leaders in the more industrialized countries around the world. And yet, to some other, Africa leaders merely play an arbiter role among foreign and domestic ‘veto groups’ among captive associations, and among other autonomous if less particularistic and partisan interest articulating and aggregation agents. Given the extreme polarization of African states, the notion of several constraints on policy-makers would appear normal and is to be expected.

In the extent case of the Anglo- Nigeria Defence pact, the consensus among the general public was that

external force, Britain specifically, forced the pact on Nigeria. Its abrogation, however, was a different matter. Here, the consensus by domestic factors or external factors or both. The domestic which opposed the pact, in particular the vocal opposition by the leader of the opposition, chief Obafemi Awolowo, and the demonstrations of student groups and trade union organizations. The external factor was the necessity of bringing the so-called Casablanca powers to attend a conference of independent African states scheduled to hold in Lagos, 22-24 January, for Heads of states and government. The prime minister's prestige and claim to be one of the foremost African leaders hinged on the success of the conference and attendance by the Casablanca powers was considered to be essential for this success. But these powers were bitterly opposed to the Anglo-Nigeria Defence pact. To ensure their attendance, Balewa pulled his trump card a day before

the foreign ministers' began, he announced the abrogation of the pact.

The Mass Public and Interest Group Pressure.

The question of the influence of public opinion (and interest groups) in African foreign policy (public policy) is as insoluble as the question whether the economic or the political factor is the most significant. Some writers have, however, attributed the pact abrogation to the 'patriotic outcry' of the Nigerian people and to the pressures of the interest groups, particularly the intelligents in the professional, the unionist and bureaucratic elites and the opposition action Group. The evidence adduced—the official statements of abrogation concerning 'widely misunderstood' scope and purpose of the pacts' was doing to the country, and navy minister Mbu's statement that the pact would be abrogated if the Nigerian public so demanded.

The truth is that the Defence Pact becomes a public issue of serious concern as early as March / April, 1960. Mass opposition and pressure against the pact mounted, reaching their peak in November when massive demonstration was organized to prevent its ratification. The riots following ratification were quickly quelled by the police and the student organizers were band over to keep the peace by the courts. The pact was not abrogated then it was not to be for another fourteen months. And when the following September chief Awolowo capitalized on the ill-fated, ineptly stage-managed All-Nigerian's people's conference which got out of hand to rise the question of abrogation once again, he was promptly censured. Indeed, the parliament passed a motion approving the government's conduct of foreign policy and condemning those African countries that have been trying to interfere in (Nigeria's) internal affairs (by using) the conflict

existing in the trade unions and certain forces (to) subvert the existing authority.

The Defence pact case proves the rule that in Nigeria of the early 1960s public opinion and interest groups, though 'aggressive, nationalistic and uncompromising' in articulating their view were, like parliament and even the cabinet, 'neither original nor central to the policy-making process; they constituted 'no threat' to the government control of foreign policy. The government and the opposition used their chains of newspapers to attempt moulding public opinion in support of their foreign policy view, not the other way round.

The policy of non-alignment was an attitude of non-involvement adopted by newly independent and less developed countries as a means of safeguarding their interests in the global arena. Non-alignment was a by-product of the cold war both major and minor world

issues were coloured by cold war perceptions and interpretations. Those countries felt that the interests protected and enhanced if they maintained a position of active neutrality towards the two leading superpowers—United States of America and the Soviet Union (USSR)—with their contending ideologies of capitalism and communism. Non-alignment, as a policy was based, not on neutrality per se, but rather on a cultivation of friendly disposition towards every side without getting unduly involved with either side on an issue, especially if such involvement would antagonize or isolate the other.

The government of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (1960-1966) in theory preached a condition of non—alignment but in practice, has was determined not to offered or stay too far way from these countries regarded as Nigerian's traditional friends, particularly Britain and the United States. He felt that a closer report with these two countries would help Nigeria meet her domestic economic

needs without necessarily compromising the sovereignty of the young state.

Despite its non-alignment posturing, the Balewa government, emerging at the peak of the cold war, adopted a pro-west attitude in relations to the two opposing blocs. Femi Otubanjo observed that Balewa perceived the world as a dangerous terrain in which Balewa felt it better to relate with known friends, (the West) rather than opening up to stronger (the East).

At independence, Nigeria leaders spurned all attempts by the communist bloc, especially the soviet union, to get on the-road into the new nation. Communist literature was not allowed and soviet aid and technical assistance were equally not welcome. Nigerian citizens were discouraged from studying in the soviet zone. Her diplomatic freedom within Nigeria was undiplomatically constrained. On the other ands, Nigeria welcomed western influence in all aspects of her national

life especially from Britain and the united states, all sectors of the economy were not only controlled by the west, but was entirely dependent on their capitalist orientation for the country's consumptive pattern and 'developmental' efforts.

Nigerian's political economy of alignment with the capitalist bloc was dictated by several factors which according to Remi Anifowose, imposed several limitations on possible radical posturing of Nigeria's political and economic alignment. Practically among this was the first National Development plan which depended heavily on the resource and finance capital of the west particularly the US and Britain. Balewa was so as naturally cautious in his decisions and actions so as not to offend these benefactors. He however, later enter into series of economic agreement with the socialist bloc countries

3.2 The Rejection of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Loan and the Organization of the Islamic Conference Membership (OIC). Rejection of the IMF Loan

In an under-developing economy characterized by a chronically persistent and seemingly permanent shortage of capital and financial resources, external borrowing becomes a critically important public policy issue that quite understandable receives well-deserved attention. With ample justification, the culture of external borrowing is venerated, assiduously cultivated and generously nurtured, even when there is commitment to a policy of self-reliance. Also, the encouragement, promotion and attraction of foreign investment have become a fundamental goal and preoccupation of public policy in Nigeria.

Nigeria's independence constitution and the 1963 republican constitution also cated responsibility for

external borrowing to both the federal and regional governments, which means that between 1960 and 1966 decision making machinery existed at both the federal and regional governments and institutions. Since the military coup of 1966, external borrowing for the purpose of the federal and any state has become the exclusive constitutional responsibility of the federal government. This is consistent with and indeed reflects the need not only to maintain a single voice and international personality in the conduct of Nigeria's international relations but also assure the protection by the federal government of the credit worthiness of the nation within the international financial community.

Requests for external loans are processed through the ministry, but recommendations for approval are made by an inter-ministerial committee when all technical, economic and political circumstances have been taken into consideration. Debtor countries, seeking

rescheduling or new loans from the major creditor institutions to reach a structured adjustment with the IMF before such requests are considered places considerable pressure on debtor countries to accept conducting which may in the long-run prove counter-productive to their economies. Policy decisions on foreign debt management have enormous political and economic implications.

IMF arrangements provide countries with increased access to foreign exchange during balance of payment crisis. Because ready access to foreign exchange may lower the incentives of governments to pursue policies which will avoid such crisis, the fund imposes conditions upon countries in return for the loan of foreign exchange. Hence, the conventional understanding is that governments entering arrangement is that governments need an IMF loan and have no choice but to accept a IMF conditions.

One can rightly say that Nigeria is a victim of IMF without a program. Nigeria faced its worst balance of payment crisis in 1982. The overall balance of payment deficit reached 7.28 per cent of GDP and foreign reserves dropped 1.2 times average monthly import requirement.

At this period, Nigeria had no option to turn the IMF for a loan, accepting whatever conditions demanded. But it did not. Why did the Nigerian government choose not to enter an IMF program? No government of Nigeria had ever submitted to the IMF, this “colonization without an occupation force”. Nigerian president, Alhaji Shehu Shagari was reluctant to go down as the first government to accept IMF conditions.

Thus, at the beginning of the crisis, Shagari negotiated for IMF loans under special facilities not involving conditions (financial Times: June 10, 1982). The economic crisis continued in 1983. However, and the government finally approached the IMF for a stand-by

arrangement in May. Yet, elections were on the horizon and Shagari made it clear to the fund that he would not submit to conditions until after elections. The question here is this'.., would the government have entered on IMF agreement in 1983 if it had not been on election year? The economic crisis had depended to the point where the government was willing to pay the venalities of sacrificing sovereignty in return for a loan. Upon reelection, the Shagari administration's first priority was to conclude the IMF negotiations (financial Time,' August 16, 1983:14). Within one month, the government reached preliminary agreement for a three years arrangement. Two stumbling blocks remained before his arrangement could be finalized. One was a reluctance on the government's part to devalue Nigeria's currency, the Naira. Some considered the naira as a symbol of its sovereignty and devaluation accordingly became the one condition the would not accept. The other was the IMF's budget constrain.

With more, while the balance of payments indicates the flow of exchange, ultimately what matters to governments is whether they have foreign exchange or reserve. Thus, the foreign reserve position is a better measure of how much choice a government has than the balance of payments position. Thus, throughout the paper, the focus is on foreign reserve.

Time ran out on the Shagari's government. No agreement was signed and on December 31 1983, Shagari was deposed by the military. The case of Nigeria illustrates the following:

1. The penalties for ascribing a country's sovereignty by submitting to IMF conditions are high when earlier government have not done so.
2. Secondly, governments may prefer to wait until after elections before incurring sovereignty costs.
3. Thirdly, IMF decisions; the funds may be constrained by its budget when attempting to sign

an additional country. Worldly to note that the funds play the role only of lender of last resort but also of scape goat.

After a bloodless cap in August 27 1985 which ushered major General Ibrahim Babangida into power, his government went further to reject the IMF loan. Babangida further pointed out he would not accept the loan if the people rejects its harsh terms. Opposing the 2.4billion dollar loan one of whose condition is devaluing the nation. General Mohammed Buhari stated that he would not accept the IMF loan with its conditions as he did not to see people rioting on the streets.

When the IMF loan became a public debate issue as early as 1982, the most objectionable aspects of the loan were the conditionality, with experts of different social classes having divergent views. For instance, the NLC and NANS and radical intellectuals insisted that the devaluation of the naira, withdrawal of subsidies on

petroleum, the reduction in public spending and privatization, were going to compound the economic crisis, and generally reduced the independence of Nigeria, as well as cause intolerable hardship for the workers and peasants.

Hence, the result of the debate was not in favour of receiving the loan, but the military government went ahead to receive this loan. During the course of the three months debate “a concession which was actually forced out of Babangida who in his famous interview with the *New Nigeria* said that there were advantages for taking the loan and disadvantages for not taking the loan” it became obvious that the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), NANS (National Association of Nigeria Students) and other democratic organizations had done their job well. This was helped by the serious problem facing Nigeria, there was overwhelming rejection of the loan.

However, after accepting the peoples verdict, the government twisted the issue to sound as if IMF loan necessarily meant lack of sufferings. It was made known that since Nigeria rejected the loan, she should prepare to suffer. As part of the sacrifice, and efforts to depend on themselves, IMF conditionality, to the crudest, were accepted for implementation (so why reject the loan if we will implement the conditionality), to all intents and purposes therefore, the 1986 budget represent a reversal of the verdict (o the people) on the IMF loan. In other words, the budget, despite the press euphoria, meant the defeat of the anti- IMF campaigning. After rising hopes by placing emphasis on rural development, and abolishing non-existent primary school fees (since in most state, levies are still being paid), the budget decided to:

1. Subsidies capitalist export “and infact, abrogate the laws hindering the ecports of some goods. Those

who export would be allowed to retain 25% of the foreign exchange received.

2. Imposed a 30% charge on imports, which will be passed on the consumers;
3. Devalue the naira “as in the budget regular re-adjustment or the external value of the naira. Now, on the international market, the naira buys less of what it uses to buy. The bogus chanting of overvalued naira notwithstanding.
4. Withdrawal of subsidies on petroleum products so as to ostensibly use the saved monies on education and rural development.
5. Dubious imposition of charges on declared profits.
6. Withdrawal of government from direct participation in agriculture and also withdrawal of subsidies in fertilizers. This latter policy is important, because in the long run hunger will increase for two reasons:

- i. Fertilizer will be too costly for the peasant farmers.
- ii. Only the big companies, which will produce for export to earn foreign exchange will afford fertilizers.

The Rejection of the OIC Membership

The rejection of the organization of Islamic Member (OIC) is an other area of the impact of public opinion on public policy in Nigeria. The government of General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993) inherited a foreign policy that was poised to make a healthy impact at the world stage.

Six months after assuming in office, Nigeria was given a full membership of the OIC and this happened without the knowledge of Bolaji Akinyemi the then foreign affairs minister. As a foreign Minister, he ought to be informed if only as a matter of courtesy. When called to defend the action of the government, Akinyemi told the

nation that he “knew nothing about Nigeria Joining the OIC”.

Babagnida brought Nigeria into the OIC as a full member after 17 years on the feace as an observer. His argument was that Nigeria had enjoyed interest-free loans from wealthy members of the OIC and that Nigeria could enjoy greater leverage as a full member. He argued that Nigeria may in future turn to the organization for loan and aid facilities rather than depending on the IMF and their cut-throat conditions

This move received vociferous condemnation from the Christians in Nigeria. The Christians were of the view that membership of the OIC was aimed at appeasing the powerful Islamic influence extorting itself over Babangia’s government. They assent that the notion of economic interest was not realistic since most of the members states of the OIC were in much the same economic mess as Nigeria. The few-affluent ones among them were not

known exactly as father- Christmas reputations. The Christians argued that membership of a religious body for whatsoever reason negates the secular status of the Nigerian state. To appease the Christians, Babangida's regime restored normal relations with the state of Israel. After twenty years of diplomatic isolation, Nigeria finally established diplomatic relations with Israel in May, 1993.

3.3 Establishment of Anti-Corruption Agencies and Palliative Measures.

Successive administrators in Nigeria have adopted different strategies in combating and fighting corruption several institutions. The existing institution are the policy, the Code of Conduct Bureau, the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), the Economic and financial Crimes Commission (EFCC,, the Judiciary, the Office of the Attorney General, the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA).

The National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA). The NDLEA was established under Decree 48 of 1989 to exterminate illicit drug trafficking consumption in Nigeria. Prior to the NDLEA establishment, the interdiction of drug traffickers fell under the purview of the custom and police. Until recently, the use of narcotic drugs was not widespread in Nigeria. Apart from marijuana, popularly known as Indian hemp, which is not regarded as a hard drug in some countries or consuming country. Hard drugs did not constitute much security problem in the country until in the earl eighties. Before then, the few Nigerians who were involved in the drug business simply took advantage of the high demand of hard drugs in some of the leading Western countries to make quick money.

Thus as a matter of fact, Nigeria's initial entry into the fight against drug was more as a result of a concern for the country's international image than a concern for

its use domestically. That point of the country that efforts were concentrated in combating the menace of the initial stage of the war against hard drugs. Nigerian government inadvertently contributed to the negative international attention the country has received since 1984. It was the promulgation by the government of Buhari of Decree no 20 of 1984 imposing capital punishment on offenders that sent the wrong signal to the international community.

Whereas, the regime introduced the tough measures for maximum deterrent effect to stem what it saw a signal of problem that had gone out of hand. The immediate result was the particular focus of international searchlights on Nigeria travelers. This is what lead to the ordeal Nigerians have international airports, in the hands of anti- narcotic agents.

The Nigerian Police Force

The police act empowers the Nigeria police to investigate the commission of all crimes in the statute book (corruption inclusive). Recently, the Supreme Court affirmed the prosecutorial powers of the police at superior court of records. The consequences of this are that the police are lawful authorized to arrest, investigate and prosecute anybody on charge of corruption.

The Code of Conduct Bureau Tribunal:

The code of conduct is another anti-corruption agency. It derives its powers from the constitution, the enabling provisions are contained in the 5th schedule of the 1999 constitution of federal republic of Nigeria (CFRN). The code of conduct is circumscribed under section 1-4 of part 1 of the 5th schedule of the 1999 constitution, while sections 15-18 of part 1 of the same constitution and schedule provides for the establishment of the code of conduct tribunals and its powers by virtue of section 12, part 1 of the said schedule:

Any allegation that a public officer has committed a breach of or has not complied with the provisions of this code shall be made to the code of conduct bureau. In practice, the bureau then transmits such allegation or position to the conduct of conduct tribunals for trials or prosecutions. Section 18, part 1 of the fifth schedule provides that: Where the code of conduct tribunal finds a public officer guilty of contravention of any of the provision of this code, it shall impose upon that officer any of the punishment specified under sub paragraph (2) of this paragraph and such other punishment as may be prescribed by the national assembly.

The punishment prescribed under sub-paragraph (2) include taxation of seat, disqualification from holding public office for a period of ten years and seizure of property acquired by a way of abuse of public office or corruption. In essence, it is obvious that the code of

conduct tribunals also has the prosecution powers on public officers on charges of corruption.

Sub-paragraph (3) of section 18 of the mentioned schedule provided that the sanctions mentioned above shall be without prejudice to the penalties that may be imposed by any law where the law of conduct is also a criminal offence. Sub-paragraph (6) of section 18 of the said schedules provides that:

Nothing in this paragraph shall prejudice the prosecution of a public officer punished under this paragraph or preclude such officers from being prosecuted or punished for an offense from being prosecuted or punished for and offense in a court of law.

The combined effect of the provisions is that, the police, Attorney General of the federation or state, customs EFCC and ICPC could prosecute a public officer in respect of conduct for which he may have been sanctioned by the code of conduct tribunal. This is a

stack contradiction of the provision of section 36(9) of the 1999 constitution, which stipulates:

No person who shows that he has been tried by any court of competent jurisdiction or tribunal for a criminal offense and either convicted or acquitted shall again be tried for that offense or for a criminal offense having the same ingredient as that offense save upon the order of a superior court. These inherent contradictions must be reviewed.

The Attorney General of the federation (AGF)

Section 174 of the 1999 constitution empowers the AGF to:

- a. Institute and undertake criminal proceedings against any person before any court of law in Nigeria...in any respect of any offense created by or under any act of the national assembly.

- b. To take over and continue any such criminal proceeding that may have been instituted by any other authority or person
- c. To discontinue at any stage before judgment is delivered any such criminal proceedings instituted or undertaken by him or by any other authority or person in view of the supremacy of the constitution over any written law, the attorney general has the exclusive right to initiate, continue or discontinue any criminal proceedings. Any exercise of this constitutional power in respect of proceeding initiated by the EFCC may create public outcry, yet that will be valid and constitutional. The public outcry against the request of the AGF was simply a demonstration on the loss of public confidence in the ability of the office to honestly prosecute corruption related cases.

**The Independent Corrupt Practices Commission
(ICPC)**

This commission was established by the ICPC act 2000. Section 6 of the act confers on it the general duties of receiving, investigation and prosecuting persons who violates it provision. The act is however nor without some contradictory provision. Section 26 (2) of the act provides that:

Prosecution for any offense under this act shall be initiated by the AGF, or any person or authority to whom he shall delegate his authority in the superior court of records so designed by the chief Judge of the state or the Chief Judge of the FCT Abuja under section 61(3) of this act. Even prosecution for an offense under this act or any other law prohibiting bribery, corruption, fraud or any other related offense shall be deemed to be initiated by the Attorney General.

This implies that any prosecution arising from the investigation of a person for corruption must be initiated by the attorney general or any of his delegates if the ICPC

must initiated such prosecution must be with the express consent of the attorney general. Another area of overlap is inherent in section 69 of the act which provides that:

Nothing contained under this act shall derogate from the power of a police officer to investigate any offense under this act or to prosecute any person that the police shall bring to the attention of the commission every case of bribery, corruption or fraud being investigated or prosecuted by them after coming into force of this act.

This section confirms the investigative and they must bring powers of the police, say that they must bring such cases to the notice of the ICPC

The Law Court

Section 6 of the 1999 constitution confers judicial powers on various court, established and enumerated under sub section 5 of the 1999 constitution. Subsection 6(1) extended the judicial powers of the court to:

All matters between persons or between government or authority and to any proceedings relating thereto, for the determination of a question as to the civil rights and obligation of that person. In addition, section 36(5) of the 1999 constitution provides that:

Every person who is charged with a criminal offense shall be presumed to be innocent until he is proved guilty. The combined effort of these provisions is that the appropriate courts have power to try persons of allegation or charges of corruption and until such is done, no person should be made to suffer any detainment in respect of such allegation. This is a sharp contradiction from the role played by the EFCC in the past, especially at the heels of the 2001 April election, where some persons were recommended by the body for disqualification on the basis of EFCC “indictment”.

**The Economic and Financial Crime Commission
(EFCC)**

The EFCC was established by the amendment in 2004. its duties are circumscribed under part 111 of the act, while section 19 of the Act confer on the federal High Court, state High Court and the High Court of the FCT charged for any offense under the Act, section 43 confers on the AGF power to make rules and regulation with respect to the exercise any of the duties functions or powers of the commission under the Act. Section 13 (2) of the Act however, empowers the legal and persecution unit created under section 12 (1b) to prosecute offenders under the EFCC act. A study of the act reveals that the commission is empowered to investigate, prevent and detect, arrest and prosecuted person alleged to have indulged in corrupt practices and most importantly, coordinates the activities of other agencies charged with the responsibilities of fighting corruption and economic crime. While the argument coordination is the best strategy for overcoming the obvious bottlenecks and

conflict inherent in the multiple anti-graft agencies, it is intriguing to note that the EFCC act has conferred the responsibility of coordination on the commission created it.

Since it is argued that the AGF rather than the EFCC has the constitutional right of coordinating all prosecution consequently unlike the ICPC act, the EFCC act does not concede to the AGF the power to prosecute or grant consent to persecute offenders under the Act. It has also not let anybody in doubt about its drivers role in coordinating the fight against corruption. This is evident in the following provisions: ‘

Section 6(c) provides for the coordination and enforcement of all economic function conferred on any other person or authority. (m) Taking charges of supervising, controlling and coordinating all the responsibility function and activities relating to the current investigation and prosecution of all offenses

connected with or relating to economics and financial crimes.

(n) The coordination of all existing, economic and financial crimes investigation units in Nigeria.

Section 7(2) provides that in addition to the power conferred on the commission by this act, the commission shall be coordinating of the provision of (a) the money laundering act, the failed banks act, the advance free fraud and other related offenses act 1995 etc by virtue of the definition by “economic and financial crime”. Under section 46 of this act, corruption is evidently subsumed.

Chapter Four: Polices for managing poverty and Underdevelopment in Nigeria

41 The Policy of Nationalization and Indigenization

One of the fundamental ways that the underdeveloped countries to introduce a new

international economic order is to endeavour to get the indigenes of those countries to determine their own economic fortune, by using equity ownership as a stepping stone into the board room where policies and programmes are discussed and determined, and into management where they are implemented. The indigenization or could be called nationalization medium was adopted. Countries like Nigeria, Togo, Sierra Leone, Zambia Somalia Congo, Benin, Mali Malagasy, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia and Guinea have either nationalized or indigenized. Nigeria will be the focused on the policy of nationalization and indigenization.

In Africa, nationalization and indigenization has played a major and complete dominance. This situation resulted from the fact that Africa was forced into the international economic system at a time when it was not ready. In the era of master-slave relationship, the possibility for her generating locally enterprises was very

insignificant, thus, non existence since the colonial policy was to stifle any domestic economic initiative that stood in the way of the metropolis. In the early part of the twentieth century, large foreign trading companies spread their tentacles all over the continent to buy raw materials and to sell consumer goods. Subsequently, these trading companies and the European settlers (reference to Eat Africa) established small manufacturing plants to process domestic products and make simple articles.

These companies have not come to Africa because they love Africans or have any genuine interest in developing Africa. In fact, they have taken keen interest in Africa's underdevelopment. They are here because African countries offer them excellent investment terms, which include cheap labour, and agreement to allow them to export profits.

Foreign domination of African countries economically has contributed in small measure to underdevelopment and has not shovelled the issue of poetry. Nationalization refers to the taking over of foreign-owned companies by a government. Indigenization is a situation in which a government restricts participation in particular industries to indigene of the country thereby, forcing foreign business owners to sell them. Africanization is the replacing non-African employees by Africans.

The trend out of underdevelopment began about four centuries ago. A long and aduas journey to most African countries nationalization and indigenization seems to be the solution to the issue of underdevelopment. Rodney has argued the African countries have resorted to nationalization and indigenization because of their lack of respected for international law. As long as the international law is

concerned, the USA is regarded as not only seen but is the greatest outlaw, an international bandit. USA pays lip service to international law and creates a beast; the CIA, licensing it to move about like a lion, looking for a prey to devour prey who only commit the crime of refusal to oppose to the US by adopting policies that are opposed to the business and political interest of the USA.

Nationalization and indigenization aside being the result of lack of respect for the sanctity of law, have resulted from the genuine belief of the exploited peoples of suited from the genuine belief of the exploited peoples of the third world, that the only way out of their present underdevelopment consists of their exerting a significant control in their economic lives. The degree categorized certain selected areas of the economy into schedules. Schedule 1 and schedule 11.

Schedule 1 were to be taken over by Nigerian from April 1, 1974, while for schedule 11 enterprises, it was

mandatory to have, by the effective date of the Decree, a paid up capital of over 400,000 naira or an annual turnover of 1 million naira with 40% equity participation by Nigerian citizens or associations'

Schedule 1 was designed to give protection to existing indigenous businesses in areas where there had been intensive local investment and to also offer them additional opportunities in areas which were up till then dominated by aliens. Such areas included advertising agencies and public relations business, blending and bottling of alcoholic drinks blocks, bricks and ordinary file manufacture for building and construction, bread and cake making (bakery), candle manufacturing, casinos and gaming centre, cinemas and other entertainment places, hairdressing, manufacture of jewellery and related or tickles, newspaper publishing and printing, municipal bus service taxis, radio and television

broadcasting, rice milling, singlet manufacturing and tyre retreading.

Schedule 11 was designed to help Nigerians gain equal participation in service industries and commercial companies and industrial /ventures such as beer brewing, boat building, bicycle and motor cycle tyre manufacturing bottling soft drink, coastal and inland waterways, shipping, construction industries, cosmetic and perfumery manufacture, departmental stores and supermarkets, estate agency, furniture making, manufacture of bicycles, manufacture of cement, manufacture of matches, manufacture of metal containers, paper conversion industries, poultry farming, books printing, travel agencies, whole sale distribution. All these constituted what is known as indigenization phase 1.

The policy of indigenization as stated by Dr Adebayo Adeji, former federal commissioner for Economic

Development and Reconstruction, “would optimize interests of foreign investors as well as those of the government and people of Nigerian...our policy of indigenization simply means local participation through negotiation and the payment of equitable prices for the equity shears of those policy. Foreign investors were they given a three year period during which they were given orderly transfer of their business to Nigerians willing and able to buy them. And to ensure equity in such transactions, the Federal Military Government (FMG) set up a national enterprise promotion board as an overseer. The FMG foresaw two problems:

1. money to buy over alien business and
2. lack of management skill and knowledge (know-how) among the Nigeria businessmen

One of the solutions was the establishment of the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Board and the Council for management Education and Training. This Board

has launched a country wide scheme of management training for local businessmen. The government established a liberal lending programme to help domestic businessmen. It also established the small scale credit scheme (SSCS) to give loans to small scale industrialists in order to set up viable manufacturing processing or service industries in the scale sector. It also establishes Industrial Development Centres (IDCs) to provide free consultive and extension services as well as managerial and skill training for staff of small scale enterprises.

General Obasanjo then claimed that significant progress had been made in transferring equity ownership to Nigerians under-phase 1 and 11 of 1972, the Head of State claimed about 500 million shares, valued at 471 million naira, had been transferred to Nigerians from foreign share holders. Obasanjo further added that some 1,858 companies had been affected

and that their operations cover the entire range of economic activities.

Still at that, the Head of State did not see the indigenization programme just as a means of transferring shares and earning of dividends. The basis for indigenization was political. It aimed at “getting Nigerians themselves to determine their own economic fortune by using equity ownership as the spring board and into the board room, where policies and programmes are discussed and determined, and into management where they are implemented”. There have been instances, which the government threatened to take drastic action against certain foreign enterprises which did not comply with the Decree. But within a few days, Nigerians emerged with millions of naira to buy up the expatriates as their employees. There also have been instances in which the government wanted to sell shares to private citizens in

order to embark on a new industry. Sometimes, Nigerians have emerged with fantastic sums of money. There was a case in which a state government wanted to build a certain industry and it encouraged citizens to buy shares. Suddenly, a person, who has been heard of in the world, finance, came up with 1.4 million naira to buy 30% of the shares. All that he said was that he had worked abroad for a foreign company and accumulated that much money, and that government of that country had been so magnanimous as to allow him to transfer the money into Nigeria.

Finally, it has not been possible to document that Nigerians are being used as fronts because the government is very cautious in the matter of knowing fully well that these foreign countries can always invest their money in some other countries, where they will not worry about nationalization and indigenization.

4.2 The Policy of Poverty Alleviation

This work examines the various government policies targeted towards poverty alleviation in Nigeria. It is obvious that governments in power often seek to introduce their own new policy and in the process, any other policy inherited from successors are gradually either abandoned absolutely or rendered impotent. It was first thought that lack of succession planning was responsible, but in the process, it was observed that some government dying prematurely to give birth to another. Each of these programmes has different orientation and strategic focus and as such it was recommended that all policies should henceforth be harmonized under that same umbrella, and each unit being accountable and responsible for their actions. The name, “poverty Alleviation Agency for Nigerians

(PAAFN)” was suggested to house other agencies and to be responsible directly to the presidency.

Poverty has been a serious challenge to governments in Nigeria. Its effect, which included lack and deprivation in the basic necessities of life, is worrisome. Poverty humiliates and dehumanizes its victim Ukpong (1996). Poverty itself is as old as the world. The poor exist in every midst. To this end, government and people in authority almost strive to ensure that adequate structural programmes are enshrined to see that poverty if not eradicated is reduced to the barest minimum. “Poverty has earned recognition in the extent of its ravaging society and the affairs of humanity at the international and national and local levels, the need exists now for urgent actions towards its eradication and control. Indeed, poverty is a spare. It is dehumanizing. It must be eradicated” (Obada 1996). The cause of this state of poverty in the

country may be traced to the under-listed, among other factors:

1. Corruption
2. Bad Government
3. Debt Overhang
4. Unemployment
5. Low productivity
6. Burgeoning population growth
7. Globalization
8. Unfocused government policies
9. Lack of effective skills training

In a bid to overcome poverty of Nigeria, government has initiated different policies and structural programmes between 1977 till date. These programmes include:

1. Directorate of food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFFRI)
2. Better Life Programme (BLP)

3. National Directorate of Employment (NDE)
4. People Bank of Nigeria (PBN)
5. Community Bank(CB)
6. Family Support Programme (FSP)
7. Family Economic Advancement Programm (PEP)
8. National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP)
9. National Economic Empowerment Strategies (NEEDS).

Their aims are to ameliorate the suffering of the people by providing them employment opportunities and access to credit facilities to enable them establish, their own business.

Poverty has no precise definition but, in the simplest form, it refers to the in ability of an individual to attain the minimum slandered of living. It can also be defined as social condition characterized by inadequate access to basic human needs (food and non-food) to the sustenance of socially acceptable minimum, standard of

living in any given society. Some of these basic determinants of well being include adequate food, shelter, portable water, health care, education and employment opportunities (Akintola and Yusuf, 2001).

Poverty reduction becomes the most difficult challenge of the world, Nigeria in particular. There are enormous factors responsible for the poverty incidence. The causes are ubiquitous and in the psyche of the ruled and rulers. While the role struggles to escape the poverty circle, the rulers are conscious of sliding back to experience poverty; thereby promoting corruption, misrule, injustice and other social vices.

These scenarios notwithstanding, must be seen as taking conscious efforts to address the problems of poverty. This attempt though may be turned with deceit and or sincerity of purpose, but deserves an assessment of these policies.

Poverty Incidence in Nigeria Pre-Democratization Era

In Nigeria, the earliest poverty alleviation programme was in 1972 during the General Yakubu Gowon's Administration named "National Accelerated Food Production Programme (NAFPP) and the Nigeria were entirely devoted to funding agriculture. In 2004, the NAFPP turned out to be a colossal waste and nothing was achieved. Successive governments have tried to address some of these issues (poverty related) through the enunciation of poverty related programmes. Whether these programmes have succeeded in either alleviating poverty or not is a moot point. Suffice it to say however, after these first two were operation feed the Nationa (OFN) was enunciated in 1979 by Gen-Olusegun Obasanjo.

Similarly, OFN expended more money and efforts in getting ill-prepared university graduates to go the rural areas to teach the peasant farmers how to farm. The

irony of the programme is the programme is those teaching farmers, who make their living on farming; how to farm. The scheme only success was increasing awareness of food shortages and the need to tackle the problem.

The programme had the specific focus of increasing food production on the premise that availability of cheap food will mean higher nutrition level and invariably lead to national growth and development

The military regime of Gen. Muhammad Buhari/Brig. Lunde Idagbon (1983-1985) did not have a specific poverty alleviation programme, but the government aimed at fighting corruption. Their policy was (WAI).

Gen. Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993) is known to be one of the states that introduced a welfare poverty alleviation programmes. These include the Peoples Bank (PB), which sought to provide loans to prospective

entrepreneurs on soft collaterals. It also regulated to an extent the activities of community Banks (CB) that also sprouted as adjuncts of the peoples Bank and as a sources of cheap funds for communities and their members.

Another Babagida's numerous programmes was the Directorate of Food Roads and Rural infrastructure (DFRRI), which sought to open up rural areas via construction of feeder roads and provision of basic amenities that would turn them into production centres for the national economy.

The Nigerian Agricultural land development Authority (NALDA) was another programme that tried to head -off the scourge agricultural sector. This policy was intended to reduce the prevalence of subsistence agriculture in the country and in its place infuse large scale commercial farming by assisting farmers with inputs and developing land for them to the point of

planting, at subsidized rates. While all these programmes collapsed at one point or the other, nonetheless, at least one of these programmes enunciated by the Babaginda regime- the National Directorate of Employment (NDE)- has had some years of staying power up till date. By this mandate, NDE was to design and implement programmes to policies aimed at developing work programmes with labour intensive potentials. From its programmes and its staying power, this was a scheme that could be adjusted as the most successful of Babangida's saw unemployment as one of the key issues challenging the agenda of government since it posed a potential danger to the socio political and economic system of the nation.

Similarly, the Agricultural Development Programme (ADP), and the Strategic Grains Reserves Programme (SGRP) have equally influenced and health sector too. The primary Health Care scheme and the Guinea worm

Eradication Programme have after reaching effect on alleviating the suffer in of the poor masses, who could probably not afford paid health care services.

The regime of late Gen. Sani Abacha (1993-1998) was known as the mid wife of the family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP) in Nigeria's question a way out of debilitating poverty, as this was the period that marked Nigeria's relapse into the global bracket of 25 poorest countries. Significantly, FEAP existed for about two years (1998-2000) during which it received funding to the tune of #7 billion naira out of which about 3.3 billion naira was disbursed as loans to about 21,000 cooperative bodies/ societies nationwide that were production oriented. Such projects targeted for assistance included poultry production, garri making, soap making and animal husbandry.

As a rider to all poverty alleviation programmes enunciated over the years in the country, it must be

recalled that spouses of Heads of state also joined in the fray with novel programmes that not only elevated the status of these first ladies, using state funds. Most noticeable were the Better Life for Rural Women heralded by Mrs. Mariam Babangida and Mrs. Mariam Sani Abacha's Family Support Programmes also tried to introduce a gender element into anti-poverty programmes, (FSP) (the two Mariam's or our time).

These programmes also tried to introduce a gender element into anti-poverty programme, acting on the assumption that women needed special treatment in the light of their immense contributions to the nation economy, both as small-scale entrepreneurs and home keepers. Nonetheless, most of these poverty alleviation programmes suffered the same fate as a recent government assessment showed. It found that all failed due largely to the fact that:

1. They were mostly not designed to alleviate poverty.

2. They lacked a clearly defined policy framework with proper guideline for poverty alleviation.
3. They suffered from polity instability, political interference, policy and macro economic dislocations.
4. They also lacked continuity
5. They are in most cases poorly implemented.
6. They are characterized by corruption on the part of government officials and public servants.

The Democratization Era

Shagari (1979-1983) shared almost the same poverty reduction idea with his predecessor, Obasanjo. He came up with his own pet project named the Green Revolution, which also emphasized food production. The objectives of the Green Revolution were: reduction in food importation, viral boosting of crops and fibre

production in the country. Besides, the overall objective was mechanized farming. Meanwhile, various manipulated farming. Meanwhile, various manipulations for land acquisition, characterized this programme, most especially, by top civil service employees. At the end of the programme, by 1983, a colossal amount of money was considered wasted. Taking cognisance of this, the present day democracy, which as, it root from may 1999, poverty eradication was set out as revealed in the approved blue print for the establishment of the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP)-a central coordination point for all anti-poverty efforts from local government level to the national level by which schemes would be executed with the sloe purpose of eradication absolute poverty.

This is the only government embarking on eradication; a shift from the traditional concept of alleviation. Such schemes include:

1. Youth Empowerment Scheme.
2. Rural Infrastructures Development Scheme (RIDS)
3. Socio Welfare Services Scheme (SOWESS)
4. Natural Resources Development and Conservation Scheme (NRDCS).

On the whole, these schemes were designed to spearhead government's ambitious programme of eradicating absolute poverty-a condition where a person group of persons are unable to satisfy their most basic requirement for survival in terms of food, clothing, shelter, health, transport, deduction and recreation-amongst Nigerian's.

Nigeria has embraced the process of outlining it own Poverty Reduction Strategy Process (PRSP) which will eventually bring its anti-poverty efforts

into the mainstream of new global thinking that fighting poverty needed to be driven by some acceptable principles. Experts have opined that given our dismal performance in the past, the PRSP holds some promise for success because “poverty programme are to be derived in an integrated way from a distillation of each aspect of poverty into its component parts. Government, the poor and stakeholders then work together to develop an overall plan to make progress, with coordinated roles for sartorial ministries and other agencies.

Selected Government Programmes From 1972-2004

S/N	Programmes	Year	Government	Targeted Group	Nature of intervention
1.	National Accelerated food	1972	Gen. Gowon	Peasants Farmers	To educate Farmers.

	programme (NAFPP)				
2	Nigerian Agricultural Cooperative Bank (NACB)	1927	Gen. Gowon	Peasants Farmers	Agricultural Financing
3	Operation Feed the Nation (OFN)	1979	Gen. Obasanjo	Rural Dwellers	Increase food production
4	War Against Indiscipline.	1983	Gen. Buhari and Tunde Idiagbo	The entire society	War Against Indiscipline
5	Directorate for food, Roads and Rural Infrastructur e	1986	Gen. Babangi da	Rural Dwellers	Feeder road rehabilitation , rural water supply and rural electrification .
6	National Directorate of Employment	1986	Gen. Babangida	Unemploye nt youth	Training , financing and guidance
7	Better Life Programme (BLP)	1978	Gen. Babangida	Rural Women	Self help and rural development

					programme, skill acquisition and health care.
8	People's Bank of Nigeria (PBN)	1989	Gen. Babangida	Under privileged in rural and urban areas	Securing loans and credit facilities
9	Family Support programme	1994	Gen. sani Abacha	Families in rural areas.	Health care and child welfare development.
10	Family Economic advancement programme (FEAP)	1998	Gen. sani Abacha	Rural dwellers	Credit facilities to support the establishment of cottage industries.
11	National Health Insurance scheme (NHIS)	2004	Chief Olusegun Obasanjor	The entire society	To provide easy access to health services.
12	National Economic	2004	Chief Olusegun		Government reformation

	empowerment and development strategy (NEEDS)		Obasanjo		growing private sector, access to health, education, welfare employment empowerment security and participatory governance.
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Sources: Oladeji and Abiola (1998) and Author's Compilation

From the foregoing, if only various government programs can ensure the following in their policies of poverty alleviation:

- a. Sincerity of purpose.
- b. Continuity in programmes
- c. Monitoring of prospects and beneficiary

- d. Ensuring that the beneficiaries are the targeted acutance
- e. Corruption free society

The resultant effect could be what is termed poverty era-alleviation or better still “eralleviation”, which encompasses eradication and alleviation.

4.3 The Policy of Deregulation, and the Opinion against Deregulation

The deregulation policy came as a result of the inefficiency of the public sector to provide the services to which they were created. Since the inception of the Obasanjo administration in 1999, deregulation among other policies is targeted towards liberalization some sectors in the economy such as oil sector and privatization of the non-oil sector.

Deregulation as the downstream sub-sector of the oil began as a result of the incessant crisis in the oil

sector which manifest in shortages of petroleum products. It was the deregulated to remove the Nigerian National Petroleum corporation (NNPC) monopoly in sector and for actors to come into play that giving other private individuals and foreign investors to compete, to ensure that petroleum products are consistently made available to the consumers in an uninterrupted manner and at affordable prices.

One of the merits of deregulation is that it leads to more employment opportunities. This is as a resulted of the fact that there is a room for both domestic and foreign investors to engage in economic activities and as such, more people will be employed. It improves the wages level and working conditions of workers.

It provides better service as a result of competition. Whereas, competition creates room for workers effectiveness and efficiency because good product sells itself and every body works hard to merit standard.

It leads to the expansion of the privatized sectors.

On the demerits of deregulation, it leads to the increase of unemployment. This is when the public sector workers are retrenched due to the fact that private sectors or industries are in charges, these cause in the countries because those who are working are now doing nothing. It also leads to social vices like Advance fee fraud (known as 419), prostitution, this is so because the people are idle. And on idle mind they say is the devil's workshop. They engage in such vices to survive and earn a living.

Like in the price of petroleum products is perceived to be a global phenomenal problem in the international oil market according to Executive Report (2005:10) since January 5, 2004, a barrel of crude oil has painfully run up from 38.78 dollars to 69.81 dollars in August 30, 2005. In April 18, 2006, crude oil price further rose to 71.35 dollars per barrel. In this case, Nigeria is not an

exception. Fuel products have been on a constant increase.

S/No	Date	Administration	Price	Percentage Change
1	1978	Obasanjo	15k	-
2	1990	Babangida	60k	300%
3	1992	Babangida	70k	17%
4	1992	Babangida	#3.35k	364%
5	1993	Babangida	#5.00	54%
6	1994	Shonekon	#11.00	120%
7	1994/98	Abacha	#11.00	-
8	2000	Obasanjo	#20.00	82%
9	2000	Obasanjo	#22.00	10%
10	2001	Obasanjo	#20.00	18%
11	2003	Obasanjo	#40.00	54%
12	2004	Obasanjo	#45.00	13%

13	2007	Obasanjo	#70.00	56%
14	2007	Yar'Adua	#65.00	0.07%
15	2012	Jonathan	#141.0 0	117%

Source: Communiqué by South Elders and Leaders

The fuel subsidy removal was seen as President Jonathan's controversial New Year gift. As Nigerians wormed up for a mass protest over Jonathan's removal of oil subsidy in the wake of monitoring security challenges treating the very existence of the country.

After the visit of the President Jonathan to the victims of the Christmas day bomb blast in 2011 at St Theresa Catholic Church, Madalla Niger state, the people thought that the president visits was a sign of hope for them. But their optimism was misplaced. As survivors of the blast pondered over their fate on hospital beds scattered across the state, and even the FTC, many of

them were yet to come to terms with the death of their loved ones. In several cases, entire families were wiped out. Many families lost their bread winners while couples became childless.

The thought on most minds was how to survive in the New Year. Then they were jolted by the mid-day announcement on January 1, 2012 of a jack up in the pump price of petrol from #65.00 to #141.00 per litre, about 115.38 per cent rise, due to abrupt removal of oil subsidy by the federal government.

The immediate removal of fuel subsidy rather than the April 2012 earlier promised caught many Nigerians unawares, more so, at a time, the country was facing its most potent security threat from Boko Haram, the Islamic fundamentalist group. Aside the Mandalla bombing, the seat had hit targets in Adamawa, Plateau, and Yobe states with several casualties on Christmas day.

Given to this world outage, the least people expected was an unpalatable New Year gift from the leader. But President Jonathan glossed over the myriad of problems staring his administrative in the face, especially the seemingly intractable security challenges and the lingering strike by the Academic Staff union of Universities (ASSU).

Notwithstanding, President Jonathan compounded the problem with fuel subsidy removal. The unpopular decision was provoked widespread outcry among Nigerians. Millions of them who traveled for the Christmas and New Year festivities were stranded as transport fare shot up instantly. A Lagos based indigene of Akw Ibom state who was stranded on his way back at Uyo told Newswatch that when he got to the motor park on Monday, January 2, obvious of the new fuel regime, he had to sell his phone for #3,000 to make up his return

fare-whereas, he paid #3,500 on the Lagos-Uyo tire the return Journey cost #8000.

Apart from arbitrary increase in transport fares, food stuff prices also increased instantly as soon as traders got the fuel subsidy removal information on Sunday, January 1. A bag of rice a staple food for Nigerians which sold for 8,000 before Christmas now goes for #11,000 in Lagos and other big cities. Festus keyamo, a lawyer said the sudden withdrawal of the subsidy was a complete disservice to Nigerian as it “negated the primary function of government to protect the weak from the powerful and the poor from the manipulative tendencies of the rich”.

As a result of inflation ripple occasioned by the fuel subsidy removal of which Nigerians felt the pains inflicted on them by the recent removal of fuel subsidy, they prepared for battle against the federal government. As many Nigerians quarter of 2012 for the fuel subsidy

removal to take effect. It was therefore, a rude shock, when on the new year of 2012, the petroleum products pricing Regulatory Agency (PPPRA), announced the subsidy withdrawal and the sale of petrol at #138.per litre. Many saw it as what was unread, until they were confronted by the astronomical rise in transport fare for example, a bus ride from Berger bus terminus to Ojota, in Lagos state, which used to be #70, had gone up to #150. This in essence that there was increase in transport fare across the country.

The oil subsidy removal also made some filling stations to adjust their pump price. For instance, in kaduna state, filling stations did not hesitate to adjust their pump price to between 138 to #140, per litre, while at the black market fuel is sold at #250 per litre. The subsidy removal triggered spontaneous demonstration in some states of the federation. While in some places, the demonstration was violent, and in some place also, there

were. Fight between the youths and the police. This however, led to death of some Nigerians, who either died, got shot or injured; during the demonstration. Similarly, protests took place in New York, Ghana and South Africa by Nigerians. Apart from those who lost their lives in the fight and demonstrations, another factor that faced the nation was the nation wide strike organized by the Nigeria labour congress (NLC), to protest against the subsidy removal. To an extent, that during this period in some states like Lagos, there was curfew. While public schools and tertiary universities were not in sessions.

Among the oil traders in the country their major challenge during the period were most of the major imports of the petroleum motor spirit (PMS) stopped importing and this brought about scarcity of fuel. The petroleum Equalization Fund (PEF) on transportation was removed. This, making the landing cost of PMS to

the northern part increase. Sales become poor as they could not confidence in some customers.

Hence, the deregulation of the downstream oil sector caused a nation wide strike as well as protest. It also affected business and commercial activities, hence, grinding the nation's economy to a halt, as well as the increase in food items.

At Ojota Lagos state, the people protested dramatically with hilarious adeptness at the mass protest rally. A crowd of about 100,000 people brought the good, the hilarious and the odd out of Nigerians for instance, they displayed cards inscribed "Badluck Egberere (a Yoruba word meaning strange spirit) Jonathan, IMF puppet". Niyi Osundera, a professor of literature enjoined President Jonathan, according to the Newswatch to smart-up. "let him out on his thinking cap- I don't mean the Niger-Delta cap let him show that he really earned his PhD. He is not smart enough. We want to be ruled by

more intelligent people. He is a good man. It is important to have good luck but good luck is something you have to defend all the time so that it doesn't turn to back luck". He further added, quoting Chuna Achebe's Arrow of God "a man who already had tubercubsis, you are asked him to add to elephantiasis of the scrotum as well. Nigeria already has a terrible disease in Boko Haram, shouldn't we do everything to avoid another problem to this? It looks to me that what we are likely to have will be something that traditional ruler pay visits to Aso Rock will not be able to solve"

The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), Trade Union Congress (TUC), the National Assembly, the clergy, opposition political Parties and all patriots said an emphatic no to the removal of fuel subsidy. But Jonathan and his cohorts glossed over the danger and the consequences of an Arab spring. Adding that if the issue of the fuel subsidy was removed earlier as part of the

components of deregulation, by now we would have seen private companies both indigenous and foreign investors in both domestic and export oriented refineries across the country as they did in the upstream sector.

Dino Melaye, a former member of the House representatives, earlier arrested by the security and after being released by the police. According to him, “this is a government that is strong against the weak, but weak against the strong.” The argument is that Nigerians are being made to pay for the greed of the influential few. Not only has that Tunda barkare, who was the vice-presidential candidate of the Congress for progressive change (CPC) also wanted government to reduce its overhead cost. said he, “It is pure machess that over to percent of our annual budget is spent financing the fancy and appetite of our political office holders. In the current 2012 budget before the National Assembly, the presidency alone has a feeding allowance of

approximately #1billion. Over #1billiom, has been allocated for fuel and generators. The presidency has also budgeted for medical treatment at the Aso Rock clinic. 280 million naira was budgeted to buy tow-bullet proof cars, and 300 million naira for dinning sets. The least security vote allocated to governors is 6 billion a year, some governors receives over I billion naira a month. This unbridle folly must be challenged and thwarted.”

In a public message posed by the Neighbour to Neighbour Initiative (N2N) they asked a rhetorical question on whether “ the poor are really benefiting from petroleum subsidy?”. It goes like this: Government’s subsidy on 1 litre of petrol was #75.70.

Mama lives in maza village in plateau state. She walks to her farm and back. Cook her meals with fire wood. She has no need to commute by but or use any petroleum products. She got #0.0 kobo as subsidy.

Adam, a gateman, takes a bus from Kubwa a satellite town in the FTC to federal secretariat and back. It takes a bus about four litres to do this journey and back. This bus takes sixteen commuters. Fuel subsidy on the 4 litres of fuel used #302.8. if you divide this by 16 people in the bus it gives you #18.90. Adam got #18.90 as subsidy.

On the other hand, Joe Collin, on Executive has 6 cars. His official car, one for school runs, one for his wife, one family car, one after-hours car and one for the dogs. He buys up to 300 litres of petrol. Multiply that by #75.70k subsidies. Our Executive got a subsidy of #22.710 each time he bough petrol.

The question new is who is really benefiting from the subsidy?

The sticky issue of oil is on longer a new phenomenon in the global political lexicon. Though oil has been in existence for edges, buried beneath debris, it

had enjoyed a steady metamorphose into what we refers to as crude oil: crude oil earns foreign exchange and as a result has led to trade liberalization in the world. Deregulation policy has global been embraced by several countries in order to lessening public sector dominance and of developing a liberalized market while ensuring adequate supply of products. For this policy to be successful in these other countries they had planned and mapped out an effective policy response which transcended into full deregulation. Such is the story in Peru, Argentina, Pakistan, Japan, USA, Canada, Mexico and Venezuela, all of which have systematically dismantled their state-owned oil companies for a significant point in the success story of their oil industry reform efforts.

The economic reforms of the government became rather imperative since they are geared towards reviving the ailing sectors'. The precedence of some sectors that

have been fully deregulated and their achievements are so tremendous that Nigerians had forgotten the scares of the initial experiences. Over a decade now, government deregulation the telecom industry by allowing private investors to run the sector thus de-emphasizing government control-the initial prices of Sim cards from MTN and other service providers were within the rages of #25,000 to #10,000. But today, the story is that sim cards are virtually free by all the service providers

Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1 Summary

Prior to the British colonization, there existed political systems in Nigeria, where they practices centralized system of government among the Hausa/Fulani group and the Yoruba groups, and the decentralized or acephalous (fragmented system of government among the Igbo group. Colonialism is seen to be responsible for all the policies Nigeria had adopted since independence. According to Jomo Kenyatta, “colonialism is the harbinger of rape or democracy”. Until the amalgamation of the Nigeria in 1914, the British introduced the indirect rule policy; where it was a success in the north, parshall success in the west and total failure in the east. Regional government was introduced in 1946 as another British policy which was known as “divide and rule’.

Evaluating this assertion, it could be seen that adopting a particular national policy for economic reformation passes a great challenge for the country. As Nigeria existed as a result of colonialism where they merged the pre-colonial groups, mainly for economic exploitation. And thus, for the newly independent merged nation to rule itself, sees it as alien and difficult. Hence, this could be seen as the origin of policy rejection by the people.

At independence in 1960, there was still the existence of foreign domination political independence and decolonization proper. Political independence as defined by E.I Nwene-Osuh (1973:9) is “a independence with strings attached arrangements, which permits(ed), the continued exploitation by the industrial west of (post-independence government) natural and human resources”. This is attributed to the tendency of some leaders of the struggle for national independence to

conceive political independence as means to an end. A case in point is the Nkrumah's famous dictum "seek ye the political freedom and other things will be added unto it, thereafter.

However, when the implication of the above statement of his earlier position dawned on him, he amended; "neocolonialism is the worst form of imperialism. It means exploitation without redress". To be sure, political independence is a kind of divorce without dalmomy in that it grants local autonomy and maintained the economic benefits of the old relationship, while leaving the burden of defence and foreign relations to the metropolitan. The choice of political independence alone to us is the indication of the "Daddy knows the best" (example SAP policy) attitude pf colonial powers that the colonial powers never wished to decolonize us. Hence the option for political independence as the best means of preserving economic and other links. The

political independence is therefore a mere replacement of alien political powers and authorities with such obedient and loyal servants and collaborators. In this circumstance, we discover that most of the colonial political, economic and social apparatus were merely “overhauled by the emergent indigenous political leaders.

Despite the fact that we have been granted independence, we still have a major problem that has constituted a stumbling bloc to our development-neocolonialism. Kwame Nkrumah (1963:ix-xxx).

neocolonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility, and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress.

Neocolonialism is based on economic backwardness. Two major material base of neocolonialism are the integration of the neo colonial states into the system of the consequent peripherization of their

economies to the centre of the international capitalist system.

The second is the relation of important positions in the vital economic sectors of the neocolonial states by the foreign finance capital.

Neocolonialism in practical terms involves continuing economic dependence on the former colonial over loads. Superficial economic and socio-political blocs and infiltration through foreign capital investments, aid and technical partnership. Consequently, neocolonialism is characterized with the following:

1. Survival of the colonial structures and values.
2. Foreign investment aid
3. Intermittent political instability, economic crisis and social dislocation
4. Dependency and distorted development
5. Competitive economic environment.

6. Endless struggle for a self –reliant economic system.

Such as the structural Adjustment programme (SAP).

The implications of neocolonialism is that politically, Nigeria is at pains to establish a viable, stable and virile democratic polity. This has resulted to the many military interventions in the country and the insurgency in the country (the Boko Haram).

Economically, Nigeria is experiencing deprivation, exploitation and marginalization in some areas. Neocolonialism has made us dependent on foreign said that has throat cutting conditions (the IMF loan of 1986). Also the involvement of Multinational corporations in the mining, petroleum, industrial and manufacturing, banking commercial and construction sectors of economy and the role of African's indigeinous quisling, makes it extremely difficult for the continent to exercise

meaningful autonomous influence over its strategic resources.

There is the need to put the blame on neocolonialism for the interception, disruption, truncation, obstruction, distortion and even destruction of developmental strategies in Nigeria. Hence it has made us to remain dependent on outside technology and foreign experts for the exploration, exploitation, processing, distribution and making of its vital products.

5.2 Conclusion:

From the observation so far, in the course of writing, it is seen that lack of self reliance is one of the major problem facing the Nigeria state. And as a result of this, issue, different governments adopts different policies, which are sometimes foreign oriented example, the structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).

Self reliance is the ability of the country to depend on itself without external aggression (a case study is the rejection of the IMF loan in 1986). Self reliance can be in terms of political factors, social factor or economic factor. A self reliance independence body or country or the economy of a country should be controlled by nationals and not multinationals. Event though multinationals operate in every society these days, these operations in less developed countries like Nigeria are usually exploitative. The ability of a nation to solve its economic problem without the country inviting others has showed and proved such country self reliance.

Dependence on import should be minimized for a country to be self-reliance. The society must be able to be able to generate needs within so as to be able generate with other societies on equal footing. This implies that the industries (agricultural, manufacturing and construction) must have a multiplier effect on one

another. A linkage, a beneficial relationship must exist, and in that case, the product of agriculture and saving there from could be used beneficially in other industries and vice versa.

Lack of self reliance is the opposite and the way of self reliance, which involves a nation depending on the external factor for aid. A society that lack this self reliance does not have effective control of its policy process, this can be seen in Nigeria, whereby some economic policies were favoured the interest of the policies were made like SAP of the foreigners and the external world and this also lack greater share of international trade, in the since that if a country is self reliance, the production, possibilities of a self reliance society places it at an advantage over other societies in international trade. Nikita Krusher (1988), trade is like a barometer which points to the direction of policy, a greater shear of international trade would easily placed a

country at an advantageous position in diplomatic relation with other countries.

Obviously, why most policies fail is because Nigeria do not have the confidence to carry out or effective implement some of the initiated policies. Besides, they still depend and live on the notion “daddy knows the best. Implying that the advanced capitalist countries of the western world know what, who and how the country (Nigeria) needs development. On the other hands, these western countries are mere lions, looking for a prey to devour”. Hence, Nigeria is still dependent on the advances capitalist world.

5.3 Recommendations.

When one discovers the cause of a problem, that means, the problem is half solved. Tackling the problem of individual recklessness is one of the way out. This is a situation where most people tend to satisfy themselves

even at the detriment of others human beings. Example, in Nigeria, most people use a generating set. A rich man who lives closer to a poor man can put on his generating set, which produces harmful gas (carbon mono oxide) and which is dangerous to human system. Also, in this issue of individual recklessness, most of our politicians make policies that will satisfy their needs without even considering those who elected them into power, thereby making the electorates to revolt and reject some policies (a case study of the fuel subsidy removal in 2012).

Going back to agricultural as we were before the discovery of oil will help reduce the every day policies that are not implemented. All least, before the discovery of oil agriculture gave Nigeria about 70% of her income. During the British colonial ear in Nigeria, it was the exploitation and exportation of Nigeria's agricultural products they used in developing their countries. Such products like Palm oil (found in the east) cocoa (found in

the west) which were cash crops. At least, it will reduce the number of youths especially who prefer white collar jobs and it will generate more employment.

The elected politicians should be role model to most Nigerians. This is because the younger generation looks up to them for higher expectation. But what is seen among the politicians that is now the orientation and the message they are passing on is that the only successful way in the country is done through policies. Whereby the national cake' the oil money', the 'Ghana must go bags' is being distributed and shared among the politicians. The only successful way to be famous, wealthier and powerful is by so doing. In that case, our elected officials end up representing their pockets instead of representing the electorates who voted them in office.

Each day, the Nigerian tertiary institution produces thousands of talented graduates, who most times end up jobless. Some of them now prefer to run away to the

western world, where their talents will be valued. Some engage in criminal activities like kidnapping, drug trafficking, prostitution, advance fee fraud (419), terrorism among other vices, thereby posing security threats in some areas of which there is more economic development in a secured society. This therefore poses a challenge to development as well as increasing the poverty rate in the country. Aside that, it has made most Nigerians that each time they woke up their prayers are usually negative like “God punish this country’ or God punish the country or God punish the politicians or Nigeria is a nonsense country’ or they can sing ‘Nigeria na jagajaga, everybody scatter scatter’. This is as a result of the bad and poor conditions they found themselves. Unlike in the USA that even inscribed on their dollars currency, “in God we trust”. There is a Greek saying that goes this way “voice of people, voice of the

gods.” In that case there is needs for Nigerians to think and say positive of their country.

The anti-corrupt agencies should not fold their arms and watch. They should make sure that any corrupt officials or individuals found with misconduct should be brought to book without fear or favour. In some situations. Some indigenious economic elites in the process of policy making use the medium to accumulate profit, especially when it comes to for when it comes to foreign oriented policies.

If all hands are put together on deck, there will be a greater change, thus, it is assumed that no policy has ever satisfy the greater happiness and ness of the people. Because it is through the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the people, that three will be a limitation to the rejection of the government policies.

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