



# Sustainable strategy for achieving effective local government administration in Nigeria

Ibrahim Baba and Musa Adamu Mahdi

Department of Public Administration, Mai Idris Aloomo Polytechnic Geidam, Yobe State, Nigeria  
babale194@gmail.com

Available online at: [www.isca.in](http://www.isca.in), [www.isca.me](http://www.isca.me)

Received 6<sup>th</sup> May 2020, revised 20<sup>th</sup> August 2020, accepted 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2020

## Abstract

*Local government administration in Nigeria seems to be heading towards doom due to authority's inability to deliver the required basic social services needed to improve the living condition of people at the community level. Many even argued that, local government system in Nigeria has failed in meeting the need and aspiration of the people therefore, it should be abolished as a subnational government in the country's federal system. As the closest authority to people at the grass root level, local government in Nigeria needs to exist if only it can be strategized to deliver the required basic social services leading to the improvement of peoples living condition at the local level. This work examined the causes of the failure of local government in Nigeria in delivering effective administration at the local level. It also examined possible sustainable strategies needed for achieving effective local government administration in the country. The study was conducted with the used of primary and secondary methods of data collection. The study found out that, increased statutory allocation to local government and total stoppage of joint account practice are part of the sustainable strategies needed for achieving effective local government administration in Nigeria. The study recommended that, monthly subvention or statutory allocation to local government from the federation account be increased and joint account practice be stopped totally, if effective local government administration is to be achieved in Nigeria.*

**Keywords:** Administration, Government, Local, Strategy, Sustainable.

## Introduction

Modern local government system was considered unnecessary before 1976 in Nigeria because of the duties rendered by native authority in the country's three administrative regions in the colonial and early post-colonial eras. In the middle of the people at the grass root level and colonial administration at the central and regional levels, native authority played an intermediary role. Through Native Authority, social and basic amenities were delivered to people at the community level. Native Authority representing regional and central government take responsibility at the community level for collecting taxes and other levies appropriately accounted to higher government elsewhere outside the community.

Community needs and aspirations are swiftly provided by higher governments through Native Authority. People at the community level do not even care to know whether higher governments existed outside their localities because the Native Authority was very prompt in responding to their needs. The functionality and agility of the Native Authority to people needs at the community level and the praises its received from the people thus, made central and regional governments unpopular among the people. Attention is more focused on Native Authority than on central and regional governments<sup>1</sup>.

Cultural affiliation between traditional institution and people also helped in galvanizing the role, place and position of Native Authority as social services provider in the lives of the Nigerian people before and during the early years of political independence.

Nigeria like other countries colonially administered by British witnessed the principle of indirect rule introduced by British colonial administration through Lord Lugard. This principle was well implemented as a result of the existence of traditional institution British met in both north and western Nigeria. Outstanding centralized administrative system established by traditional institution in these regions of the country before colonialism provided the basis upon which indirect rule was successfully implemented the regions<sup>2</sup>.

Unlike the north and western regions of the country, there was no outstanding central administrative system in eastern Nigeria. In order to make the principle of indirect rule successful in eastern Nigeria and colonial administration possible in the region, artificial native administrative system was required in the region<sup>3</sup>. This requirement incubated and hatched the establishment of artificial or warrant chiefs leading to the emergence of traditional institution which laid the foundation for the consolidation of native authority in eastern Nigeria<sup>4</sup>.

The establishment of non-existing traditional institution in eastern Nigeria was welcomed with grievances and resistant responses from people in the region.

Though, shortly after tension doused, native authority established in the region with those found existing by colonial regime in north and western Nigeria performed the role of local administration before the country's local government reform policy was adopted in 1976.

Government activities and expenditures at both central and regional levels before 1976 and especially during the colonial period were funded with revenue generated at the local level. Agriculture during this period was the major employer of labor in Nigeria. The post-colonial era shortly took away this pride from agriculture as oil boom era attracted government attention to oil sector with minimal attention to agricultural development<sup>5</sup>. The economy during colonial era was an Agriculture allied one and as such, local communities were not only the center piece of wealth but also the most significant areas which got higher government attention than any other sector in the nation<sup>6</sup>. This was probably because, local government communities were the sites where agricultural products for exportation were produced.

Non-indigenes who have drifted outside their region of origin started experiencing problem because the three regions of north, west and east had different system of native administration. Disloyalty to Native Authorities and their rules by non-indigenes or Nigerians or different regions became very common and traditional institutions as a result of this phenomenon started losing recognition and respects. This further justified the need and basis for a modern local government system and structure in Nigeria<sup>7</sup>. A unified local government system and structure for all states of the federation and which will enjoy central funding in addition to its internally generated revenue was conceived. The same system of local government was also needed to strengthened national unity and to aid the reconstruction of facilities destroyed during the nation's civil war<sup>8</sup>. The promotion of federalism which deals with single national government and development is also additional reasons why modern local government system and structure were opted for Nigeria. And the 1976 local government reform of the then Federation Military Government of Nigeria marked the beginning of modern local government system and structure in the country.

**Statement of problem:** Since 1976 local government reform in Nigeria, local government administration has been suffering from several problems which has also been affecting its ability to deliver basic social services to people at the community level in the country. Politicization of local government administration, lack of autonomy, insufficient statutory allocation and joint account syndrome among others seem to be affective local government role of effective administration of community affairs in territories under its jurisdiction.

Several studies like Odu, Olowu and Oyeyipo among others have been conducted on local government system and administration in Nigeria. But such studies paid more attention to local government sources of revenue without pointing out modalities necessary for positioning it for effective administration aimed at delivering the common public services to people at the community level. Also, these studies were conducted using secondary method of data collection in which the views of people especially experts in local government were not sought for and analyzed.

In order to position government at the local level for effective administration required for delivering social services to people at the community level, it is important to adopt both primary and secondary methods of investigation so as to collect and analyze the views of experts on alternatives necessary to make local government administration effective. It is also useful to examine some of the obstacles truncating the sustainability of initial strategies adopted to enhance effective local government administration in Nigeria. It is however in order to bridge up these gaps created in knowledge that this study was necessitated.

**Research objective:** The research objectives are to; i. Examine the causes of the failure of local government in delivering effective administration at the local level in Nigeria. ii. Find out sustainable strategies needed for achieving effective local government administration in Nigeria.

**Research question:** The research questions include; i. What are the causes of the failure of local government in delivering effective administration at the local level in Nigeria? ii. And, what are the sustainable strategies needed for achieving effective local government administration in Nigeria?

**Hypothesis:** The hypotheses formulated to guide the study are; i. H1; Low statutory allocation and joint account syndrome are the causes of local government failure in delivering effective administration at the local level in Nigeria. ii. H2; Increase statutory allocation and stoppage of joint account are sustainable strategies needed for achieving effective local government administration in Nigeria.

**Literature review:** Native Authorities became irrelevant in the administration of local affairs as traditional institutions role as active agent of government stopped with the adoption of local government reform in 1976 accompanied with the operation of modern system and structure of local government in Nigeria. This development culminated in the adoption of a unified system of local government administration for all the states of the federation. Unifying local government system throughout the country was also supported by the desire to stabilized and rationalized government at the grassroots level. And, in order to achieve this objective, significant functions, later to be performed by the state government were decentralized to the new local governments.

Since then, a new constitution has been introduced under the presidential type of government. Superficially, the original motivations for the 1976 reform and therefore, the aims and functions of these local governments have remained the same<sup>9</sup>.

Functions under both concurrent and residual matters were allocated to local government<sup>10</sup>. The 1976 local government reform in Nigeria, allocated functions in areas relating to concurrent and residual matters to local government in the country. In areas such as education e.g. primary and adult education, health e.g. primary health care delivery services e.g. vaccination, immunization, prenatal, antenatal and postnatal care services, dispensary and other community health services provision, local government can formulate and implement policies<sup>11</sup>. Local government also operates in areas of water supply and electricity provision e.g. boreholes, hand pumps, wells, solar energy provision, community generator power supply. Local government also make bye-laws in issues of taxation so as to boost its internal revenue generation e.g. laws on review of liquor, hawker and trade patent licenses, registration of births, deaths and marriages<sup>12</sup>. The local government in Nigeria also collect taxes on cattle and agricultural produce such as the popular livestock tax known as Jangali in the northern part of the country. It also provides sites for cemetery, community viewing center, recreation center, etc.

Furthermore, modern system and structure of local government created an atmosphere for intergovernmental relations between local government and state as well as central governments<sup>13</sup>. But then, the pattern of intergovernmental relations obtainable in Nigeria placed the local government at disadvantage to both the state and federal governments. This affects the level of autonomy local government is expected to enjoy as an independent level or tier of government in the country. People resides in the community which is territory under local government administrative jurisdiction. But still, local government share of subvention is lower to those of the state and central governments in Nigeria. Local government in Nigeria is conceived as an extension of state government and thus not has the power to operate independently on issues that affects it. State administrators intervened in some local government matters and affairs. Local government in Nigeria is vulnerable to state control. In some instances, state has dragged local government into maintaining joint account with it; leaving local government with financial inability to execute capital projects required to improve the living condition of people at the community level.

Democracy has made local government administration an extension of central government in unitary states and subjects of both regional and central authorities in federal states<sup>14</sup>. State chief executive dissolves local government council at will and calls for election to same in some states in Nigeria. And this has clipped the wings of local government chief executive who in most cases administers local administration as desired by state chief executive.

Complains are also high in some cases that all local government administration in Nigeria does is payment of workers' salaries and overhead administrative cost of it council. This portrays an ineffective administration on the side of local government. Although, local government in Nigeria has areas allocated to it by the country's law and from which it can internally generates revenue to fund its capital projects and other expenditures. Internally generated income may not be sufficient to financed local government projects without the monthly subvention from federation account.

Diverse methods of financing local government affairs are created by law where it exists as a tier of government. These various means are in order to make fund sufficiently available for provision of basic social services to the people at the grass root level. In these means created, central government becomes an active agent in financing local government<sup>15</sup>. Local government finance in Nigeria suffered indirectly as its central finance known as subvention is delivered to it through state government<sup>16</sup>. This does not give local government total control of its fund from the federation account jointly shared by the central and subnational governments on monthly basis. Local government finance comes from both internal and external sources. Internal source account for funds generated by local government within its area of administrative jurisdiction while external source are funds collected from outside its territory like the monthly allocation from federation account, loan, donation, appeal fund, etc.<sup>17</sup>. Although, due to loudly pronounced level of corruption and looting of public fund identified with leadership in Nigeria, internally generated revenue at local government level is not remitted into the local government account. It finds abode mostly in individual pocket or account leaving people at the community level with shortage of social services and infrastructures needed to improve their living condition.

## Methodology

The study used primary and secondary methods. Closed ended questionnaire was administered on 30 respondents systematically chosen from the 6 geo-political zones in Nigeria. Each of the zone is represented by<sup>5</sup> respondents that is 3 experts in local government and 2 local government officials. The experts were chosen from universities and the officials from local government councils. The questionnaires were administered and retrieved by the researcher. The frequency-percentage, mean and standard deviation statistical tool was adopted in analyzing data collected and testing the hypotheses formulated to guide the study.

## Results and discussion

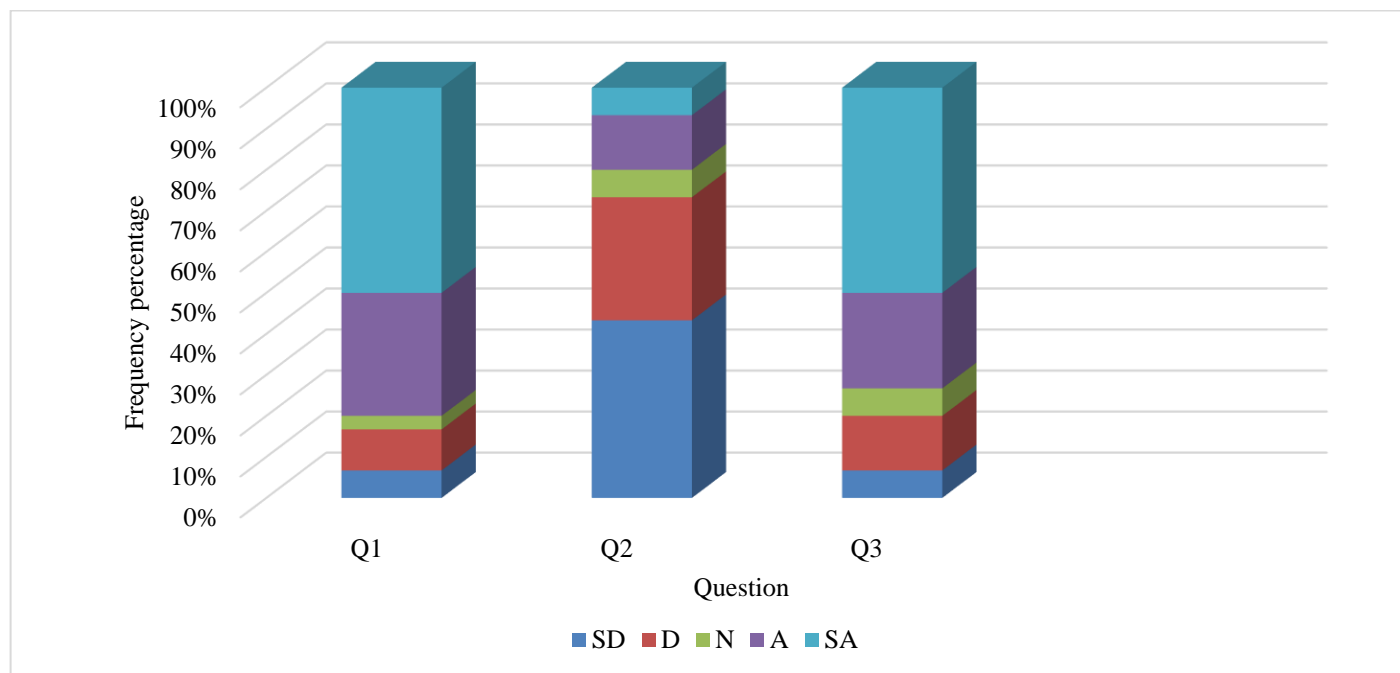
Table-1 shows that 6.7% of the respondents involved in this study strongly disagreed (SD) with question 1 (Q1), 10% of them disagreed (D), 3.3% were neutral (N), 30% agreed (A) and 50% % of them strongly agreed (SA) with question 1 (Q1).

Also, 43.3% of them strongly disagreed (SD) on question 2 (Q2), 30% of them disagreed (D), 6.7% were neutral (N), 13.3% agreed (A) and 6.7% of them strongly agreed (SA) on question 2 (Q2). Table-1 further shows that, 6.7% of the respondents strongly disagreed (SD) about question 3 (Q3), 13.3% disagreed (D), 6.7% were neutral (N), 23.3% agreed (A) and 50% of them strongly agreed (SA) about question 3 (Q3).

**Table-1:** Achieving effective local government administration in Nigeria

S/No	Variables/Questions	Frequency Percentage (FP)				
		SD	D	N	A	SA
Q1	Local government in Nigeria has failed in delivering effective administration at the local level.	2 6.7%	3 10%	1 3.3%	9 30%	15 50%
Q2	Politicization of appointment into local government service, lack of autonomy, low statutory allocation and joint account syndrome are not the causes of the failure of local government in delivering effective administration at the local level in Nigeria.	13 43.3%	9 30%	2 6.7%	4 13.3%	2 6.7%
Q3	Depoliticization of appointment into local government service, total autonomy, increased statutory allocation and stoppage of joint account syndrome are sustainable strategies needed for achieving effective local government administration in Nigeria.	2 6.7%	4 13.3%	2 6.7%	7 23.3%	15 50%

Q-Question, SD-Strongly Disagreed, D-Disagreed, N-Neutral, A-Agreed, SA-Strongly Agreed.



SD-Strongly Disagreed, D-Disagreed, N-Neutral, A-Agreed, SA-Strongly Agreed

**Figure-1:** Achieving effective local government administration in Nigeria.

**Table-2;** Testing the hypotheses

Hypotheses	Strongly Disagreed	Disagreed	Neutral	Agreed	Strongly Agreed
H1; Low statutory allocation and joint account syndrome are the causes of local government failure in delivering effective administration at the local level in Nigeria.					
H2; Increase statutory allocation and stoppage of joint account are strategies needed for achieving effective local government administration in Nigeria.					

Table-2 shows that hypotheses 1 and 2 (H1 and H2) recorded equal mean (M) score of M=6. It also shows that hypothesis 2 (H2) has the highest standard deviation (SD) score of SD=52.4 while hypothesis 1 (H1) recorded the lowest standard deviation (SD) score of SD=30.8. On a general average, Table-2 shows that 26.65% of the respondents agreed (A) with the hypotheses tested and 58.35% of them strongly agreed (SA) with the hypotheses tested. These percentages show that the hypotheses formulated to guide the study tested positive on 85% of the respondents (A=26.65% + SA=58.35%=A + SA=85%). This implies that the hypotheses formulated to guide the study tested positive and reliably guided the study.

**Discussion:** Local government in Nigeria has failed in delivering effective administration through the provision of adequate social and basic amenities at the local level. People at the grassroots complain frequently of acute shortage of basic and social services required to improved their living condition. Local government administrators' responses to such complains are that, council is operating under insufficient fund which cannot meet its administrative cost talk less of developing life improvement services and facilities at the community level. In fact, what some local government councils do in Nigeria is to pay staff salaries. And even in others, council is indebted to workers due to accumulated salary arrears which have not been paid. Water supply system, primary health care service, local and adult education programs, community power supply system as well as feeder roads to link up rural communities with the ones in urban centers are in total state of failure and shame. In places where they exist, they are drifting toward collapse due to over utilization caused by acute shortage of the facilities. Lack of well-coordinated poverty reduction program and projects necessary to promote rapid community development with sustainable empowerment scheme have left several community members disappointed in the caliber of administration rendered by local government in Nigeria. The failure of local government in Nigeria to deliver effective administration at the local level manifested in high rate of poverty, illiteracy, diseases, hunger, homelessness, joblessness and displacement due to rising environmental hazards which form the lots of several communities in the country.

Appointment into local government service in Nigeria has also been politicized. This has created opportunity for incompetent people to become staff and officials of local government council while competent ones' roam about searching for jobs to do from one place to another. Ruling party at the state level has hijacked local government service and turned it into instrument of rewarding party loyalists. As competent educated people are suffering from joblessness, politicization of local government service has made it possible for political thugs to form majority of the staff on local government pay roll. Some of these thugs do not even do the job they are appointed to do. But because of political support they have rendered, they remained untouchable in the service claiming salaries they have not worked for.

At all time, the community is starving and waiting for social service delivery and infrastructural development, but those appointed to render such services are products of party politics and do not even care to visit the community not even to deliver the necessary services to the people at the grassroots level. This has continued to make the caliber of administration runs by local government in Nigeria ineffective.

The modern local government system adopted since 1976 in Nigeria is suffering from lack of autonomy. It has failed to enjoy full independent as a tier of government in the country's federal structure since its adoption in 1976. The central and state governments view local government as lower authority subservient first to the state and next to the central authorities. State on so many cases has intervened in the jurisdiction of local government and operated in those aspects as if it has full control of local government. State electoral body conduct elections for local government chairman and councilor thus making it possible for state chief executive to decide and control who becomes chairman of local government. Local government in Nigeria is deprived of full autonomy in different areas. This has made it possible for its economy, finance and administration to be interfered with by state government. Lack of autonomy has made it possible for local government to be deprived some of the roles allocated to it on concurrent and residual matters by the law and today, state has taken over some aspect from which local government ought to be generating revenue. This problem of lack of independence to local government which has also made it possible for its administration to be tempered with has often made it impossible for it to deliver effective administration of affairs at the local level in Nigeria.

In terms of subvention or statutory allocation to tiers of government in Nigeria, the local government is at disadvantage. Although, some guiding principles and formula are adopted in allocating subvention to the three tiers of government from the federation account. In this aspect still, local government is treated with minimal dignity as a tier of government. Government fund is expected to be invested in areas where it will touch positively, the lives of the people. The local government is actually the area because the community is where the people reside. Allocation formula favor first, the central and next the state governments. Percentage share given to local government is a peanut compare to those allocated to state and central authorities. This has contributed in the lingering problem of insufficient fund needed for effective administration of affairs at the local level by local government councils in Nigeria. Some local governments hardly pay workers' salaries talk less of life improvement services and facilities at the community level.

The unconstitutional joint account syndrome adopted by some states in forcing local government into maintaining joint account with them has left local government with lack of financial independent to decide how and which areas to invest its fund. Some states using this system have starved local government of fund to executive social services and life improving

infrastructures at the local level. In other cases, states have used local government fund from the account jointly maintained with them to execute state capital projects leaving local government with no fund to do same. It is biased to note that local government has no access to joint account it contributed to, the state does and decide what to give to local government to administered it affairs at the local level. In some cases, what the local government is given by the state from the joint account is her workers' salaries as well as administrative and over-head costs. State has consistently justified its superiority of committing local government into maintaining joint account with it and serving as signatory to the account. State claims its reason for doing so is to checkmate corruption, mismanagement and looting of statutory allocation at the local government level. But state itself has suffered accusations at different times of similar offenses. Therefore, it has no outstanding accountability record and basis to justify its reason for forcing local government into running joint account with it. In such situation which local government money is handled for it by the state, it has no access to enough fund needed to deliver effective social services and develop infrastructures at the community level. Thus, joint account syndrome contributes seriously to ineffective local government administration in Nigeria.

**Major findings:** The findings of the study are; i. Local government in Nigeria has failed in delivering effective administration at the local level. ii. Ineffective administration breeds poor local governance at the local government level in Nigeria. iii. Call for the abolishment of local government system in Nigeria is high. iv. Local government system should not be abolished but position to deliver effective administration and good local governance at the local level. v. Politicization of appointment into local government service, lack of autonomy, low statutory allocation and joint account syndrome are the causes of the failure of local government in Nigeria in delivering effective administration at the local level. vi. Depoliticization of appointment into local government service, total autonomy, increase statutory allocation and stoppage of joint account syndrome are sustainable strategies needed for achieving effective local government administration in Nigeria.

## Conclusion

Based on the findings made, the study reached the conclusion that, Local government in Nigeria has failed in delivering effective administration at the local level in the country. The study also concluded that, the call for abolishment of local government system is high in the country but instead of abolishment, it should be positioned to deliver effective administration and good local governance at the local level. The study came to conclusion that, politicization of appointment to local government service, lack of autonomy, low statutory allocation, and joint account syndrome are the causes of the failure of local government in Nigeria in delivering effective administration at the local level.

The study landed at the conclusion that, depoliticization of appointment into local government service, total autonomy, increase statutory allocation and stoppage of joint account syndrome are sustainable strategies needed for achieving effective local government administration in Nigeria.

As a result of the conclusion drawn by the study, the following recommendations are made; i. Appointment into local government service in Nigeria should be depoliticized. Membership or loyalty to ruling political party should not be used as a criterion for appointment of persons to local government service. Educational qualification, experience, professional skills and sound character should be adopted as criteria for appointing people into local government service instead of political party membership or loyalty. It is until and unless competent people are appointed into local government service irrespective of political party membership or loyalty, effective local government administration in the country will hardly be achieved. Competent people capable of delivering local services to people at the community level should be considered for job than party's political thugs often been favored with job placement even if they are unqualified as appreciation for their loyalty and role in bringing into power a particular political party. ii. Local government in Nigeria should be empowered by law to operates as an autonomous tier of government like state and central governments in the country operate. It should be positioned by law to enjoy full independent as federalism provides. Local government should not be seen or considered as a unit of state government or a subservient authority helping the state and central governments at the local level. Its autonomy must be backed up by law to an extent that its effort towards good local governance and administration of local affairs cannot be interfered with by other tiers of government. And it should be free as independent tier of government to decides its relationship pattern with other tiers of government as in the case of inter-governmental relations system. The local government should not be dictated to, it should be autonomous in deciding issues that affect the living condition of people at the local or community level. It should also be free to runs its administration of affairs at local level without interference from state and ruling political party. If local government is fully independent, it will be easier and possible for it to deliver effective administration at the local level in Nigeria. iii. There is also an urgent need in Nigeria to review the revenue allocation formula in used. The formula favors both the state and central governments against the local government. It must be reviewed to ensure that percentage share of local government is increased. This will lead to increase in statutory allocation to local government. Problem of inadequate fund for executing community projects and running of other administrative matters will come to end. Local government is the closest authority to the people at the community and grassroot level therefore, it understands the basic needs and aspirations of the people than elsewhere state or central government. Percentage statutory allocation to it should be increased and that to both state and federal governments should

be reduced to enable local government to be financially sound and capable of delivering basic services to people at the grassroot level. iv. Finally, joint account committing local government to save its allocation from federation account with state government under the watch and custody of state government should be immediately and totally stopped. Local government should have financial independent to decide how it saves and spends its statutory allocation like the other tiers of government. This will give local government not only financial or fiscal independent and power of its fund but it will also give it financial capability of running its administrative affairs and delivering the common public goods as good local governance demands at the community basis to people at the grassroot level. The accusation of state depending on local government money to execute its projects will also end and local government will not be left with financial capability of paying only staff salaries and running to state to ask for its money to execute community projects. This will in turn translate in not only good local governance but also in effective local government administration of local affairs in Nigeria.

## References

1. Umoren, Earnest (1994). Principles and Practice of Local Government in Nigeria. Fab Ameh (Nigeria) Limited, Jos-Nigeria, pp 21-31.
2. Olowu, D. (1983). Local Government in Nigeria; An Overview and Prospect. In Odoh, Austin and Oyeyipo, Ayo. (Ed) (1983). Local Government as a vehicle for National Development, Ahmadu Bello University Printing Press, Zaria-Nigeria, pp 46-51.
3. Okoli, Francis. (2003). Foundations of Government and Politics (Reprint Edition). Africana First Publishers Limited, Onitsha-Nigeria, pp 21-29.
4. Ademolekun, Lanre and Rowland, Larry. (Ed) (1979). The New Local Government System in Nigeria. Heinemann, Ibadan-Nigeria, pp 12-18.
5. Adedeji, Ayodele and Rowland, Larry. (Ed) (1992). Local Government Finance in Nigeria. University Printing Press, Ile Ife-Nigeria, pp 19-22.
6. Odu, N. M. A. C. (1983). Property Rating as the Source of Revenue to Nigeria's Local Government. In Odoh, Austin and Oyeyipo, Ayo. (Ed) (1983). Local Government as a vehicle for National Development, Ahmadu Bello University Printing Press, Zaria-Nigeria, pp 22-35.
7. Oyeyipo, A. (1983). Role of the Federal Government in Local Government Affairs. In Odoh, Austin and Oyeyipo, Ayo. (Ed) (1983). Local Government as a vehicle for National Development, Ahmadu Bello University Printing Press, Zaria-Nigeria, pp 4-18.
8. Odu, N. M. A. C. (1983). Property Rating as the Source of Revenue to Nigeria's Local Government. In Odoh, Austin and Oyeyipo, Ayo. (Ed) (1983). Local Government as a vehicle for National Development, Ahmadu Bello University Printing Press, Zaria-Nigeria, pp 22-35.
9. Donald, Richard (1981). International Handbook of Local Government Re-Organization. Greenwood Press, Westport, PP 22-28.
10. Sealy, Hassle. (1978). Local Government Explained. Macmillan, London, pp 48-56.
11. Odoh, A. (1983). The Intervention of the Federal Government in Local Government Finances; Some Implications. In Odoh, Austin and Oyeyipo, Ayo. (Ed) (1983). Local Government as a vehicle for National Development, Ahmadu Bello University Printing Press, Zaria-Nigeria, pp 42-58.
12. Stanyer, Julius. (1976). Understanding Local Government. Collins, Fontana, pp 14-22.
13. George, Jude. (Ed) (1980). New Approaches to the Study of Central-Local Government Relations. Gower Publishing Company, London, p 19.
14. Almond, Gabriel. (Ed) (2006). Comparative Politics Today; A World View. 8<sup>th</sup> Edition, Darling Kindersley (India) PVT Limited, New Delhi, pp 690-738, ISBN 81-7758-674-2
15. Appadurai A, A. (1974). The Substance of Politics. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp 117-234.
16. Diamond, Larry, Kirk-Green, Anthony and Oyediran, Ola. (Ed) (1997). Transition Without End; Nigerian Politics and Civil Society under Babangida. Boulder CO, Lynne Reiner, pp 16-22.
17. Laski, Harold, (1986). A Grammar of Politics. 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, Allen and Unwin, London, pp 148-286, ISBN 0043200184.