

**ELECTRICITY GENERATION, TRANSMISSION AND DISTRIBUTION POLICY: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NIGERIA (1960-2011) AND SOUTH AFRICA (1994-2011).**

BY

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DEDICATION

To my beloved son, Mesoma.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis submitted to the University of Fort Hare for a doctoral degree in Public administration, apart from the duly acknowledged works, is entirely mine and has not been previously submitted to any other university for the purposes of any degree.

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ALL GLORY, ALL PRAISE, ALL ADORATION TO THE LORD ALMIGHTY FOR HIS ABUNDANT BLESSINGS!

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ABSTRACT

The electric power policies in Nigeria and South Africa are considered the governments' intention to provide quality and affordable electricity to the people. A comparative study on the electric power policies focuses on the similarities and differences in the policy approaches, the policy issues that affect electrification, and the impact of the policy issues in achieving the goal of universal access to quality and affordable electricity power in both countries.

The methodological approach allows for an in depth textual study on the electric power policy documents in both countries. In Nigeria, the government intends to address the massive demand-supply imbalance and achieve the goal of electrification through reforms that focus on private sector-led growth in the sub-sector. In South Africa, the identification of electrification as a public problem by the post apartheid government leads to an integrated policy framework that focuses on balancing economic concerns with social and environmental considerations.

The study identifies electricity provision as a social welfare responsibility of the governments in both countries and examines the policy issues in the context of public welfare. In Nigeria, the policy issues are found to be self serving and not in line with sustainable public interest, given the socio-economic challenges. As a result they, exert less impact on achieving the goal of universal access to quality and affordable electricity in the country. In South Africa, good governance in the sub-sector has enabled the identification of policy issues in line with sustainable public interests of social equity, poverty alleviation and environmental sustainability; and government using public administration agencies to play a key role in service delivery.

Recommendations of the study mainly derive from the South African experience on electrification, and are intended to offer some policy-lessons to Nigeria in the sub-sector. The study contributes to new knowledge in the discipline of public administration by opening up new vistas for a comparative analysis of electric power policy issues in both countries in the context of public welfare. Besides, a comparative study on electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from a policy angle contributes to the existing knowledge base in the discipline.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION	ii
DECLARATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
CHAPTER ONE	1
GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF STUDY	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
1.2 RATIONALE/MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY	7
1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	8
1.4 STUDY OBJECTIVES	9
1.5 STUDY QUESTIONS	10
1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	10
1.7 STUDY RELEVANCE	11
1.8 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	12
1.8.1 Research design	12
1.8.2 Research methodology	13
1.8.2.1 Quantitative research methodology	14
1.8.2.2 Qualitative research methodology	15
1.8.2.2.1 Case-study	16

1.8.2.2.2	Content analysis	17
1.8.2.2.3	Data analysis	18
1.8.2.2.4	Study report	19
1.9	ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	20
1.10	SCOPE OF THE STUDY	20
1.11	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	21
1.12	CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS	21
1.12.1	Public administration	21
1.12.2	Public policy	25
1.12.3	Electricity power policy	27
1.12.4	Electricity	27
1.12.5	Electricity power generation	28
1.12.6	Electricity power transmission	28
1.12.7	Electricity power distribution	28
1.13	THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK	28
1.13.1	Comparative public administration theory	29
1.13.2	Systems theory study approach	31
1.13.3	Advocacy coalition framework	33
1.14	STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY	38
1.15	CONCLUSION	40
	REFERENCES	41
	CHAPTER TWO	45
	LITERATURE REVIEW	45
2.1	INTRODUCTION	45
2.2	THE THEORITICAL CONTEXT REVIEW OF THE STUDY	46

2.2.1	Comparative public administration theory	47
2.2.2	Systems theory	49
2.2.3	Advocacy coalition framework	54
2.3	PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY	61
2.4	PUBLIC POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY	70
2.5	PUBLICATIONS ON ELECTRIC POWER POLICY IN NIGERIA	85
2.6	PUBLICATIONS ON ELECTRIC POWER POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA	96
2.7	OTHER PUBLICATIONS ON ELECTRIC POWER POLICY	110
2.8	COMPARISON OF REVIEWS	116
2.9	CONCLUSION	119
	REFERENCES	121
	CHAPTER THREE	129
	HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA	129
3.1	INTRODUCTION	129
3.2	THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF NIGERIA	129
3.3	ISSUES IN THE NIGERIAN FEDERAL STRUCTURE	132
3.3.1	The nature of the federal units	133
3.3.2	Nigeria fiscal federalism	135
3.3.3	The politics of resource control	137
3.3.4	Intergovernmental relations	139
3.3.5	Sub-national aggression	142
3.3.6	State creation	144
3.4	ETHNICITY AND SECTIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS	148

3.4.1	Ethnic background of Nigeria	150
3.4.2	Ethnicity and power struggle in Nigeria	151
3.4.3	Implications of ethnicity on national integration	154
3.4.4	Implications on public policy and the study context	156
3.5	THE ISSUE OF RELIGION	158
3.5.1	Politicization of religion in Nigeria	159
3.6	IMPLICATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES IN NIGERIA ON THE STUDY CONTEXT	161
3.7	HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICA	162
3.8	THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA	163
3.8.1	Apartheid in South Africa	167
3.8.2	Apartheid legislations in South Africa	169
3.8.3	Oppositions to Apartheid	171
3.9	THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (RDP)	174
3.9.1	The principles of reconstruction and development programme	177
3.9.2	The reconstruction and development programme impacts	179
3.10	THE GROWTH, EMPLOYMENT AND RE-DISTRIBUTION POLICY (GEAR)	180
3.11	A DEVELOPMENTAL SOUTH AFRICAN STATE	181
3.12	RECONCILIATION AND REDRESS	183
3.12.1	South Africa's effort at reconstruction and redress	183
3.12.2	Issues beyond the reconciliation process	186
3.13	POVERTY AND INEQUALITY	189
3.13.1	Poverty and inequality in the present South Africa	190
3.13.2	Government's effort at poverty alleviation	192
3.14	IMPLICATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICA ON THE STUDY CONTEXT	194

3.15	CONCLUSION	196
	REFERENCES	198
CHAPTER FOUR		206
THE PLACE OF ELECTRICITY POWER GENERATION, TRANSMISSION AND DISTRIBUTION POLICY IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION		206
4.1	INTRODUCTION	206
4.2	ELECTRICITY POWER AS A PUBLIC GOOD IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA	208
4.3	GOOD GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC INTEREST IN ELECTRIFICATION	212
4.4	ELECTRICITY POWER POLICIES IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA	217
4.4.1	Electricity power policy in Nigeria	219
4.4.2	Electricity power policy in South Africa	227
4.5	ELECTRIFICATION AS A FUNCTION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	233
4.5.1	Public administration as a system	233
4.5.2	Public administration as an activity	235
4.6	CONCLUSION	241
	REFERENCES	243
CHAPTER FIVE		247
STUDY FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS		247
5.1	INTRODUCTION	247
5.2	ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN NIGERIA 1960-2011	248
5.3	ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA 1994-2011	267
5.4	FINDINGS ON ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN NIGERIA	276

5.4.1	Need for reform in the sub-sector	277
5.4.2	The reform process	278
5.4.3	Rural electrification	280
5.4.4	Funding	282
5.5	FINDINGS ON ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA	282
5.5.1	Public problem	283
5.5.2	Access and affordability	284
5.5.3	Sub-sector restructuring	286
5.5.4	Funding	287
5.6	COMPARISON OF FINDINGS	288
5.7	STUDY ANALYSIS	292
5.8	ANALYSIS OF ELECTRIFICITY POWER POLICY IN NIGERIA	292
5.8.1	Policy issues and public welfare	293
5.8.2	Impact of the policy issues	296
5.9	ANALYSIS OF ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA	297
5.9.1	Policy issues and public welfare	298
5.9.2	Impact of the policy issues	300
5.10	COMPARISON OF ANALYSIS	301
5.11	CONCLUSION	305
	REFERENCES	307
CHAPTER SIX		311
SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION		311
6.1	INTRODUCTION	311
6.2	SUMMARY	311
6.3	RECOMMENDATIONS	315

6.4	SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS	320
6.5	CONCLUSION	321
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	325

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACF	Advocacy Coalition Framework
ANC	Africa National Congress
APC	Arewa People's Congress
DME	Department of Minerals and Energy
EBSST	Electricity Basic Service Support Tariff
EDRC	Energy and Research Development Centre
EPP	Electricity Pricing Policy
EPSRA	Electricity Power Sector Reform Act
ESKOM	Electricity Supply Company
FBE	Free Basic Electricity
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GRA	Government Reserved Area
HYPPADEC	Hydro Power Producing Area Development Commission
ICWA	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union
KWH	Kilowatt Hour
MASSOB	Movement for the Emancipation of Sovereign States of Biafra
MBO	Management by Objectives
MBR	Management by Result
MDG	Millennium Development Goal

MW	Megawatt.
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NEC	National Energy Council
NEEDS	National Empowerment and Economic Development Strategy
NELF	National Electrification Forum
NEP	National Electrification Programme
NEPA	National Electric Power Authority
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa Development
NERC	Nigeria Electricity Regulatory Commission
NGC	Nigeria Gas Company
OAU	Organization of African Unit
OMPADEC	Oil and Minerals Producing Areas Development Commission
OPC	O'dua People's Congress
PHCN	Power Holding Company of Nigeria
PPBS	Planning, Programming, Budgeting System
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
REA	Rural Electrification Agency
REF	Rural Electrification Fund
SANNC	South Africa Native National Congress
SOMPADEC	Solid Minerals Producing Area Development Commission
UN	United Nations

UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1.1 Comparative Public Administration Project.
- Figure 1.2 A model of the Political System.
- Figure 1.3 Diagram of the Advocacy Coalition Framework.
- Figure 3.1 Poverty rate, population share and poverty share by population groups in South Africa.
- Figure 4.1 Contextual representation of electricity power policy process in Nigeria and South Africa.
- Figure 4.2 Administration as a System.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The United Nations is concerned with effective electricity power generation, transmission and distribution within member nations, specifically in Africa but also in developing countries and elsewhere. Its agencies therefore, seek to encourage responsible and sustainable policy development by national governments in this area. The World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) adopted a plan that calls on the international community, including the United Nations system, to take joint action and improve efforts to work together at all levels to improve access to reliable and affordable general energy services and electricity in particular for sustained development sufficient to facilitate the achievement of the millennium development goals (MDGs) Secondly, the plan also calls for dealing effectively with energy problems in Africa through establishing and promoting programmes, partnerships and initiatives to support Africa's efforts to implement the NEPAD objectives on energy (UN 24: vii).

This is, therefore, in line with the United Nation's view that reliable and affordable electricity power, plays a vital role in underpinning economic development and in enabling the achievement of the millennium development goals (UN 2004:83). The understanding is that without access to electric power and other modern energy services, it will be difficult to achieve the objectives of the millennium development goals (MDGs). National governments are challenged to make access to electricity and at an affordable cost a policy priority. The production of bulk electricity, its transmission and distribution to consumers/ end users is therefore, a great policy challenge to the governments of both Nigeria and South Africa. The policy challenge in this context systematically provokes effective policy-making in respect of electrification.

Dror (2003: xiii) views policy making as the main aspect of all public life. 'It might best be viewed as a main existential expression of the very being of a community, and as a main aspect of collective life and historic processes'. Policy-making in the context of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa is imperative as a result of the socio-cultural and historic exigencies characteristic of the two countries.

Gerston (2010: 8) on the other hand identifies some constant components in the public policy universe as issues that appear on the public agenda, resources affected by those issues, institutions that deal with issues and the levels of government that address the issues.

Electricity power development in Nigeria and South Africa cannot be separated from the policy realities and public policy- making requisites prevalent in the two countries. Nigeria and South Africa are therefore, confronted with similar challenges in the electricity power sub-sector. Similar socio-political and historical experiences of colonialism in Nigeria and apartheid in South Africa, which encouraged 'separateness' in general infrastructural development and the electricity power sub-sector in particular, constitute essential conditions for comparing the electricity power policy of the two countries.

The central research concern is to compare the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa and their impact in achieving the goal of a universal access to quality and affordable electricity power in the two, countries. In Nigeria as in South Africa, 'the provision of quality and affordable electricity power to the people and to achieve access for all' is the central electricity power policy objective of each government (National Electric Power Policy 2001:225; Reconstruction and Development White Paper 1994:8; White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:41). The distinct nature of this research project is the comparism of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from a policy perspective. This comparison is therefore, intended to help us understand the policy issues that affect electrification, and the impact of the policy issues in achieving the goal of universal access in Nigeria and South Africa. The study is therefore, concerned with discussing the policy approach to electrification and the impact in achieving the goal of universal access to quality and affordable electricity power in both countries.

NIGERIA

In Nigeria, prior to independence in 1960, the electric power policy was only limited to the provision of services to urban populations. Like other colonial policies, there was separateness and arbitrariness in socio-economic development (Ake 2001: 3). The electric power policy was not intrinsic and designed with the background of sustaining and underpinning the economic, technological and social development of the country. The electricity policy was not designed to meet economic and socio-economic objectives (Gaunt 2005: 1309). It was rather intended to provide electricity services to the

colonial administrators' residences, (GRAs), government establishments and a few other commercial and industrial areas. Electric power was extended to the sea ports, railways and other strategic commercial and industrial places to facilitate the export of goods from Nigeria and the importation of colonial goods, basically, to facilitate colonial administration. At independence, in 1960, Nigeria inherited a weak and skeletal electricity power policy from Britain. The development of the electric power base of the country so as to achieve better access by a greater percentage of the population was not integrated into the national development agenda of the then new government. Rather, there was a bland continuation of the colonial arrangement, though efforts were made by the government to extend electricity services to more areas within the emerging urban metropolis in the various regions.

In 1966, democratic government was cut-short and the incursion of the military into Nigeria politics ushered in a long period of devastation and confusion in the Nigeria socio-economic and political terrain. The counter coups and the civil war created a general undemocratic atmosphere, and the military came with policy regimes that were incapable of conceiving a development oriented policy in the electricity sub-sector. This situation hampered a sustained policy development in the electric power sub-sector of Nigeria. Iwayemi (2008:3) writes that the military created political and institutional problems that resulted in distortions in evolving a development oriented electric power policy in Nigeria. For instance, in the various national development plans concocted by the military between 1966 and 1979 and December, 1983 and 1999, electric power development received little attention. The early period of civil governance between 2000 -2008 was more of policy rhetorics; there was no strong deviation from past policy experiences. Electricity supply was never seen as an essential service which required a strategic policy action. Ikeme & Ebohon (2004: 1213-1221) also identified a faulty policy approach in the electric power sub-sector as being characteristic of the period, and generally, assert that the Nigeria experience underscores the place of electricity at the heart of critical economic, environmental and development issues facing Nigeria.

Nigeria is endowed with sufficient energy resources to meet its present and future electricity requirements. The country possesses the world's sixth largest reserve of crude oil, the gas reserve is about 5000 billion cubic meters, coal and lignite reserves are estimated at 2.7 billion tons, while the tar sand reserve represents the equivalent of 31 billion barrels of oil. Identified hydroelectricity sites have an estimated capacity of about 14,250 MW. Nigeria has significant biomass resources to meet both traditional and modern energy uses, including electric power generation. The country is also exposed to

a high solar radiation level, with an annual average of 3.5 – 7.0 kwh/m²/day (Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006:4-5; National Electric Power Policy 2001:221-222; A New Policy Framework 2010).

The current installed capacity of grid electricity is about 6000 MW, of which about 67 percent is thermal and the balance is hydro-based (Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006:4-5). The generating plant availability is low and the demand-supply gap is crippling. Poor electricity services have forced most industrial customers to install their own power generators and most Nigerian households now depend on private generators for household electricity services at costs to themselves and the Nigeria economy. Access to electricity power in Nigeria is very low. About 65 percent of the population of over 160 million people is not adequately served with electric power. The per capita consumption of electricity is approximately 100 kWh. The chronic shortage of available generating capacity has negatively affected the industrial and manufacturing sectors. Also, with self-generation prevalent in the industrial, commercial and domestic sub-sectors, the electrical energy demand in Nigeria, which is currently estimated at 10,000 MW, is actually not known (Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006: 5).

SOUTH AFRICA

Prior to the inception of democratic government in South Africa in 1994, South Africa had an extremely energy-intensive economy, a world class electricity supply industry in the form of the state utility Eskom, and a 55% reserve margin due to over-building in the 1980s (Bekker et al 2008:3126). Electric power was the engine of industrial and economic development, though with less social significance. Economic and socio-economic considerations drove the development of the electricity sub-sector (Gaunt 2005: 1310). From the basic need for lighting, heating etc, electric power was made the dominant form of energy for stationary application and the railways. Also, during the 1970's and 1980's, spurred by political pressures, Eskom (the power utility company) extended subsidized supplies to farms and rural service centers. The justification was to keep farmers in business and extend service supplies to the rural areas of socio-economic importance (Gaunt 2005:1310). However, the policy then was to provide electricity services to industrial installations, commercial and farm needs, the minority white areas and a few Black/mixed settlements to the exclusion of the majority Black population. The electric power policy was part of the general apartheid policy of 'racial differentiation' in infrastructure provision (Bekker et al 2000:3125). This disparity was evidenced in the access to other basic infrastructural services including electricity.

According to (Davidson & Mwakasonda 2004:32) only 36% of the South African population had access to grid electric power in 1993. This triggered the government's decision to fast-track electrification through the National Electrification Programme (NEP) initiated by the democratically elected government in 1994. The National Electrification Programme (1994 - 1999) is undoubtedly, the major policy reform with the greatest impact on electricity provision in South Africa, especially for the poor (Malzbender 2005:9). The National Electrification Programme had its roots in the Reconstruction and Development Programme of the newly elected ANC government. According to Bekker et al (2008:3126), the 1996 population census indicated that only 58% of the country's population had access to electricity, and only one in four non-urban Black South African household had electricity, as opposed to 97% of the non-urban white households. Bekker, et al (2008: 3126) further write that the main barriers to widening access to electricity in the late 1980's were institutional and political.

However, both barriers were swept away by the democratic transition in the early 1990's which provided not only a fundamental shift in the political landscape, but also an unusual institutional environment for policy-making. With the dismantling of apartheid structures in 1994, and the institution of democratic governance, the electric power policy framework assumed a radical and positive focus. Malzbender (2005:4) also writes that when the new democratic government came into power in 1994, South Africa's energy policy saw a new fundamental shift in focus. The new government placed developmental objectives at the forefront of its policies and the energy sector was no exception. Under the slogan 'access to electricity for all' the new government made the provision of electricity to the disadvantaged one of the cornerstones of its development policies. Eberhard (2004:227) also admits that the shift in the political economy of South Africa in the 1990's helps explain the context of policy reform in the electricity power sub-sector. With the democratic revolution of 1994, a great deal of policy emphasis was given to improvement in the electricity sub-sector. The first ANC led government, adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). This was an integrated policy plan designed to re-distribute land, create employment, promote affirmative action, alleviate poverty and provide social amenities such as water and electricity etc, to the people. Eberhard (2004: 227) further writes that the reforms in the electricity industry in South Africa over the past decade have taken place within a context of radical transformations in the country. Gaunt (2005:1310-1311) also writes that the desire to implement social development and poverty alleviation programmes by the new democratic government was a serious drive to policy reforms in the South African electrification programme. For instance, the 'Electricity-for-All' programme commenced at the same

time that South Africa started going through political changes from apartheid to a broadly based democratic government.

South Africa as well, has a high energy capacity to meet its electricity needs. The country is not a producer of crude oil but possesses very high quality coal reserves. South Africa is the fifth largest producer of coal in the whole world and also the second largest exporter. Coal is the most important energy source of electric power generation in South Africa. There are significant biomass resources and the country is also exposed to high solar radiation (DM.E 2009). The current installed capacity of grid electricity power is about 42, 000MW. Generating plant availability is very high and the demand supply gap has narrowed. The national transmission grid covers 27,000Km and the distribution lines are commensurate to the generating and transmitting capacity. Access to electric power is high in South Africa. Per capita consumption of electricity is about 4,500 Kwh. Over 81% of the population of about 45 million people is currently served with quality electric power (D. M. E 2010). However, due to population expansion and increase in demand, electricity power provision especially in the rural areas has been slow, and power blackouts are occasionally experienced in the cities.

A comparative study of the electric power policy in Nigeria from 1960 – 2011 and South Africa, from 1994 – 2011 is based on data drawn from the Federal ministry of Power in Nigeria and the Department of Minerals and Energy in South Africa. The study looks at the two countries in relation to the electric power policy approaches. In Nigeria, the national electric power policy of 2001/ the electric power policy reform act of 2001, the Electric Power sector reform 2005, the electric power policy guidelines of 2006/ draft renewable energy master plan of 2005, the National energy policy of 2003, the Roadmap for power sector reform 2010, and the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) of 2004 shall be compared with the provisions of the Reconstruction and Development Programme White Paper of 1994/the National electrification policy, the White Paper on Energy policy of 1998, the Free Basic Electricity Policy 2003, the Electricity regulation act no. 4, 2006, and Electricity Pricing policy 2008, of the Republic of South Africa.

This comparism is expected to shed light on the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. The study examines the similarities and differences in the policy approaches, ie the policy issues that affect electrification and their impacts in achieving the goals of ‘access to quality and affordable electricity power’ by the people in Nigeria and South Africa.

1.2 RATIONALE/MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY

The rationale/motivation of the study constitutes the researcher's reason(s) for carrying out a comparative study on electric power generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The researcher is strongly motivated by the observed gap in the literature on electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. Most of the scholarly work in this area centers mainly on institutional comparisons, in other words, more attention has been paid to comparing the power utility companies, for instance, NEPA (now PHCN) in Nigeria and ESKOM in South Africa on the basis of such criteria as performance and outcome, control, resources and accountability etc. These comparisons are done without bringing the policy angle into focus.

The policy dimension is strategic in comparing electrification in the two countries. The researcher considers that the policy angle can help in understanding and explaining the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. And also, being guided by Anderson's (2006: 6) submission that the policy process is not culture bound; it lends itself to manageable comparisons such as how problems reach governmental agenda, how policies are legitimated or how policies are implemented in various countries.

In the study context, the policy angle concerns comparing electrification in both countries through a policy process approach. The goal of electrification in both countries is to achieve universal access to quality and affordable electric power, and this constitutes policy concern. This involves the extent of identifying lack of access to quality and affordable electric power in both countries as a policy problem (how it is structured as a need/challenge) and the strategies. The policy angle is important because it leads to identifying and discussing the policy approaches in both countries. Nigeria adopts a market-led approach, and South Africa is committed to address the efficiency, accessibility and affordability issues in the sub-sector through expanded role of the state. Identifying and discussing the policy approaches, therefore, leads to understanding the impact of the policy issues in achieving the goal of electrification in both countries.

Secondly, the researcher is Nigerian but is resident in South Africa. Therefore, the researcher understands the policy environment in Nigeria and South Africa which comprises the interplay of historical and institutional factors, geographical factors, demographic variables, political culture, social

structures, and the economic system etc, and these considerations are similar. They generate the policy issues that affect policy-making in the electricity sub-sectors of both countries.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The electric power policy, which in the study context is considered government's intention to provide access to quality and affordable electricity for her citizens varies in content and objective in different countries (Gaunt 2005:1309). In both Nigeria and South Africa, the policy aims to achieve 'universal access to quality and affordable electricity power for the people' (National Electric Power policy 2001:221-222; RDP White Paper 1994:8; White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:41). Haanyika (2005:1) identifies policy level and institutional framework as key issues in the performance of the electricity sub-sector of any country. Accordingly, the success or otherwise, of the electric power project depends on how rooted it is in the national government agenda. Policy in this context subsumes clearly defined goals and strategic level of plans and actions (Hanekom 1986:25; Ijeoma 2010:12), 'purpose or goal oriented actions' (Anderson 2006:7). As such, the identification of electrification as a policy problem, and its proper placing in the public agenda, becomes imperative. According to Dror (2003: xvii), such goals must also have values and utilitarian reasons including beneficial effects on central policy-making itself. Policy-making in this context has to be driven by the public benefit agenda.

Constant electricity failure in Nigeria has been blamed on government policy. Electric power development over the years has not been clearly and strategically rooted in the national government agenda. Irukere & Isiekwana (2009:154) blame the situation on weak policy, legal and institutional framework. Ikeme & Ebohon (2004: 5) view this as the failure of the Nigerian government to define and establish the importance of electricity for national development. The situation therefore, constrains the strategic level of policy development to achieve the sought after goal of electrification in Nigeria.

Comparatively, in South Africa, there is clear definition and establishment of electrification, as a fundamental public problem. In this context, policy problems are thus, the outcome of a specific policy environment rather than a mere reflection of a societal problem (Bekker et al, 2008: 3126). Policy development in this context becomes a product of environmental exigencies. Gaunt (2005:1317) writes that electrification in South Africa is based on combined novel models of economic, socio-economic and social reasons. The South African government in the same vein acknowledges the relationship

between having energy (electric power) and alleviating poverty. The Department of Minerals and Energy's Guidelines for the Free Basic Electricity Policy states that 'the provision of electricity supply makes a direct contribution to the socio-economic well being of the poor, and has a particular effect on women and female children who are mainly responsible for carrying firewood, and other energy carriers necessary to maintain a functional household' (Adam, 2010: 6). It's against this background that the South African government identifies electricity as a public problem that has to be properly placed on the public policy agenda for strategic policy-making.

The study observes that much of the scholarly attention given to the issue of electricity generation, transmission and distribution in Nigeria, in comparison to South Africa is on institutional perspectives, which focus more on management and organization of the electricity power utility institutions in Nigeria and South Africa (Agba 2011; Okonkwo 2010; Tarfiq 2010; Oni 2008). This general perspective reveals less about the policy approaches to electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. Drawing a comparison between electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from a policy angle is therefore, the central purpose of this research. To address this research concern, the study focuses on the policy issues that comparatively affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, that is, the issue of identifying and establishing electricity power as a policy concern, proper placing of electricity on the public policy agenda and formulating effective policy based on the strategic importance of electricity in Nigeria and South Africa. What are the similarities and differences in electricity generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria and South Africa? What are the policy issues that comparatively affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa? What are the impacts of the policy issues on achieving the goal of 'universal access to quality affordable electricity power' in both countries? These questions are central to the study.

1.4 STUDY OBJECTIVES

Marshall & Rossman (1999: 32) write that a research objective is a statement of the purpose of the study which tells the reader what the results of the research are likely to accomplish. Basically, the comparison is intended to help explain the policy issues that, affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. Policy issues according to Cloete & Meyer (2011: 106) are conflicts or disagreements about the nature and origin of policy problems and about a difference in the approach to problem solving. The electricity policy is a substantive policy issue in Nigeria and South Africa and by its very nature lingers on the public agenda and continues to generate conflicts in the problem-solving approaches. The study

enables us gain an understanding of the impact of the policy issues in achieving the electricity policy goals, in Nigeria and South Africa. Policy issues have an impact on the extent to which electricity is identified as a public problem in Nigeria and South Africa, placing it on the public policy agenda, prioritizing it and mobilizing support for policy-making. These are the central objectives of the study. Further objectives include:

- i. To examine the similarities and differences in electricity power generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria and South Africa.
- ii. To examine in comparative context the policy issues that affect electrification in the two countries.
- iii. To compare, the impact of the policy issues in achieving the goals of universal access to quality and affordable electricity power in Nigeria and South Africa.

1.5 STUDY QUESTIONS

Based on the above objectives, the study examines the following research questions:

- i. What are the similarities and differences in electricity power generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria and South Africa?
- ii. What are the policy issues that, affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa?
- iii. What impact do the policy issues have on achieving the electrification goals of universal access to quality and affordable electricity power in Nigeria and South Africa?

The overarching question for the study, therefore, is what are the similarities and differences in electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa, and what are the impacts of the policy issues in achieving the goals of electrification in both countries?

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

According to Marshall & Rossman (1999: 34) convincing the reader that the study is significant and should be conducted entails building an argument that links the research to important theoretical perspectives, policy issues, concerns of practice, or persistent social issues that affect people's lives. Marshall& Rossman (1999: 34) therefore, view a study's significance as discussing ways that the study is likely to contribute to existing knowledge. Who might be interested in the results? With what groups might they share: scholars, policy-makers, practitioners, members of similar groups, individuals or groups

usually silenced or marginalized? A study's significance is therefore, vital in developing a link between the research concern, the outcome, and the contributions to knowledge building in the discipline.

The literature on electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa focuses on the management, organization and performance of the electricity power utility institutions. This is to the neglect of the policy perspective. Comparing electricity generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria and South Africa is therefore, intended to achieve the central research purpose of understanding the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, and the impact of the policy issues on the achievement of the government's goals of electrification, which are the provision of 'quality and affordable electricity power to the people and achieving access for all'. This research seeks to understand and, explain the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa and the impact of the policy issues on the achievement of the goals of electrification in both countries.

The study therefore, seeks to make a contribution to the discipline of Public Administration by discussing the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. The study also contributes to the existing knowledge base in the discipline by comparing electrification in both countries from a policy angle. The following are the contributions of the current research project.

- i. To compare the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.
- ii. To increase the understanding of the policy issues in the electricity sub-sectors of Nigeria and South Africa.
- iii. To understand the impact of the policy issues on the achievement of the goals of universal access to quality and affordable electricity power in Nigeria and South Africa.
- iv. To make a scientific contribution to the existing body of knowledge in the field of public administration.

1.7 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

Some research writings are directed at explaining the patterns related to the phenomenon in question or to identify plausible relationships in shaping the phenomenon and are therefore, interested in the particular events, beliefs, attitudes or policies that shape this phenomenon or how these forces interact to result in the phenomenon. Some document and describe the phenomenon of interest and are interested in the salient actions, events, beliefs, attitudes and social structures and processes occurring in the phenomenon (Marshall & Rossman 1999:33).

This study compares the electricity generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The concern of the research is to investigate ignored or little-understood phenomena in this area. These are the policy issues that, affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, and the impact of the policy issues in achieving the governments' goal of electrification in the two countries. The research is being guided by the various relevant research questions in investigating the phenomenon. In the context of the study, a cross national policy comparison of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa offers a better understanding of policy-making in the sub-sector and may, in addition, provoke further research in this area.

1.8 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In the context of the study, the research design is clearly separated from the research methodology. Besides, a proper conceptualization of the research design leads to an understanding of the application of the methodology.

1.8.1 Research Design

A research design is a plan or blueprint of how a researcher intends to conduct the research (Mouton 2001:55-56). It provides the framework for data collection and also shows what shall be studied, when and where. Bless et al (1995: 63) also write that a research design involves 'the planning of any scientific research from the first to the last step...' It is a programme to guide the researcher in writing, analyzing and interpreting observed facts. Research in social and behavioral sciences is often undertaken with a view to studying causal relationships. The research design is therefore, necessary for the management of the entire research endeavor since it requires, specifically, planning, organizing, leading, controlling including managing, thinking, visualization of data and the problems associated with the employment of those data in the entire research project (Huysamen 1994: 20; Leedy 1994: 93). In the context of the study, the choice of the two countries is based on their good disposition to abundant human and natural resources. The two countries, at different times in their political history, gained the political freedom to make and implement policies within their respective domains. Nigeria gained independence in 1960 and South Africa in 1994. Nigeria and South Africa also have similar electric power policy objectives, which are, 'the provision of quality and cheaper electricity to the people and the provision of access access for all'. Moreover, the process of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa is influenced by a series of environmental factors that have either similar or different features. The researcher is Nigerian and will be able to access policy

documents at the Federal Ministry of Power in Abuja, Nigeria. Also, the researcher is resident in South Africa and can access policy documents at the Department of Energy in Pretoria, South Africa.

For the purpose of this comparative national study on the electric power generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria and South Africa, the study adopts a causal comparative design. It attempts to explore cause and effect relationships. Where causes already exist, it makes use of existing data and explains the occurrences. The study makes use of existing data, in the form of electric power policy documents in both countries to compare, explain and understand the policy issues that affect electrification and the impact. The mode of observation or data source(s) is therefore, secondary. Data sources include policy documents on electric power in Nigeria and South Africa, relevant information/data from professional journals, newspaper publications, magazines, textbooks, the internet and other related textual materials. The study examines these materials to identify the similarities and differences in the policy documents. A cross-national comparative study of electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa based on the causal comparative design enables the selection and discussion of the electricity policy documents in the two countries, and is intended to:

- i. Compare and, discuss the various electricity policies in Nigeria from 1960 - 2011 and South Africa from 1994 - 2011;
- ii. Examine, the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa within the period under study;
- iii. Examine the impact of the policy issues in achieving the goals of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.

1.8.2 Research Methodology

Brynard and Hanekon (1997: 27) define research methodology as the ways of collecting data and the processing thereof, within the framework of the research process and the kind of tools and procedures to be used. According to (Mouton 2011:65) research methodology focuses on the research processes and the kind of tools and procedures to be used; the point of departure is 'the specific tasks at hand'. It also focuses on the individual steps in the research process and the most 'objective' procedures to be employed. Research methodology according to (Leedy&Ormrod 2005: 135) has two primary functions, which include: to dictate and control the acquisition of data and, to corral the data after their acquisition and extract meanings from them, ie interpretation of the data. Denscombe (2007:247-248) identifies two

types of research methodology: they are quantitative research methodology and qualitative research methodology.

1.8.2.1 Quantitative Research Methodology

The quantitative research method is a widely used research methodology in many social science research studies. Denscombe (2007:248-250) identifies the following characteristics of quantitative research: it tends to be associated with numbers as the unit of analysis; it tends to be associated with analysis; it tends to be associated with large scale studies; it tends to be associated with a specific focus; it tends to be associated with researcher detachment; and it also tends to be associated with a predetermined research design. According to Leedy & Ormrod (2005:182) this type of research involves either identifying the characteristics of an observed phenomenon or exploring possible correlations among two or more phenomena. Generally, in quantitative research, the researcher strives to be as objective as possible in assessing the behavior being studied. Bryman (2004: 75) identifies four distinctive preoccupations that can be discerned in quantitative research. They include:

- i. Measurement. Issues of reliability and validity pose a serious concern for quantitative researchers and they strive to achieve this.
- ii. Causality. Quantitative researchers are rarely concerned merely to describe how things are but are keen to say why things are the way they are.
- iii. Generalization. In quantitative research, the researcher is usually concerned to be able to say his or her findings can be generalized beyond the confines of the particular context in which the research was conducted.
- iv. Replication. The result of a piece of research should be unaffected by the researcher's special characterizations or expectations. If biases and lack of objectivity were pervasive, the claims of the scientist to provide a definitive picture of the world would be seriously undermined.

In the context of the study, the use of quantitative research methodology proves unreliable. The study draws heavily from such unquantifiable and complex phenomena as issues that affect electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa, within a specified period of time. These issues are dynamic and cannot be subjected to any standard form of measurement.

1.8.2.2 Qualitative Research Methodology

Bless et al (2006:44) state that certain types of information are difficult to record using the quantitative methodology. In this case, language or words are better used to record information about such phenomena or occurrences in the human/social world. Denscombe (2007:248-250) also identifies the following characteristics of a qualitative research. They include: qualitative research tends to be associated with words or images as the unit of analysis; it tends to be associated with description; it tends to be associated with small-scale studies; it tends to be associated with a holistic perspective; and it also tends to be associated with an emergent research design. According to (Leedy & Ormrod 2005:136) qualitative research studies typically serve one or more of the following purposes:

- i. Description. They can reveal the nature of certain situations, settings, processes, relationships, systems, or people.
- ii. Interpretation. They enable a researcher to:
 - gain new insights about a particular phenomenon,
 - develop new concepts or theoretical perspectives about the phenomenon, and/ or
 - discover the problems that exist within the phenomenon.
- iii. Verification. They allow a researcher to test the validity of certain assumptions, claims, theories, or generalizations within real-world contexts.
- iv. Evaluation. They provide a means through which a researcher can judge the effectiveness of particular policies, practices or innovations.

In view of the above available methodologies, the qualitative research methodology is used in carrying out this comparative study on the electric power policy in Nigeria, from 1960 - 2011 and South Africa, from 1994 - 2011.

This methodology will enable the researcher:

- i. To gather relevant data about the study, through secondary sources which comprise policy documents on electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, from the Ministry of Power in Nigeria and Department of Energy in South Africa, professional journals, relevant materials from the internet, texts books, newspaper articles and magazines.
- ii. To, bring into focus the electric power policy process in Nigeria and South Africa.

- iii. To identify the similarities and differences in electricity power policy in Nigeria, between 1960 and 2011 and South Africa, between 1994 and 2011.
- iv. To analyze the data collected as to gain insights on the policy issues that, affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.
- v. To understand the impact of the policy issues in achieving the governments' goals of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, which are 'the provision of quality and affordable electricity power to the people and the achievement of access for all'.

This study compares the electricity policy in Nigeria, between 1960 and 2011 and South Africa, between 1994 and 2011. In view of this, the study uses the case-study and content analysis qualitative research approaches as identified by (Leedy & Ormrod 2005:137) to, discuss the policy issues that affect the electrification and the impact of the policy issues in achieving the goal of universal access to electric power in Nigeria and South Africa.

1.8.2.2.1 Case-Study

Mouton (2001:149) writes that case-studies are studies that are usually qualitative in nature and that aim to provide an in-depth description of a small number (less than 50) of cases. In a case-study, a particular individual, programme, or event is studied in depth for a defined period of time. In some cases, researchers focus on a single case, perhaps because its unique or exceptional qualities can promote understanding or inform practice for similar situations. In other instances, researchers study two or more cases, often cases that are different in certain key ways to make comparisons, build theory, or propose generalizations (Leedy & Ormrod 2005:137). Data collection in a case-study involves the collection of extensive data on the individual (s) or event (s) on which the investigation is focused. These data could be in form of observations, interviews, documents etc. The researcher records details about the context surrounding the case, including information about the physical environment and any historical, economic and social factors that have a bearing on the situation. According to Leedy & Ormrod (2005: 138) data analysis in case-study typically involves the following steps:

- i. Organization of details about the case, the specific 'facts' about the cases are arranged in a logical (e g chronological) order.
- ii. Categorization of data; categories are identified that can help cluster the data into meaningful groups.

- iii. Interpretation/analysis of single instances: specific documents, occurrences, and other bits of data are examined for the specific meanings that they might have in relation to the case.
- iv. Identification of patterns: data and their interpretations/analysis are scrutinized for underlying themes and other patterns that characterize the case more broadly than a single piece of information may reveal.
- v. Synthesis and generalization: an overall portrait of the case is constructed: conclusions are drawn that may have implications beyond the specific case that has been studied.

In the context of the study, the case-study qualitative design is used to gather relevant data, organize the data accordingly, and analyse the data based on observable phenomena. The electric power policy in Nigeria from 1960-2011, and in South Africa from 1994-2011 are two different cases with different but comparable features. The study is therefore, concerned with discussing the similarities and differences between the two. The case-study design is relevant in gathering, organizing and analyzing all relevant information about the electric power policy in the two countries in the said period of time.

1.8.2.2.2 Content Analysis

Mouton (2001:165) writes that content analysis is studies that analyze the content of texts or documents such as letters, speeches, annual reports etc. Content analysis is usually aimed at public documents, and the methodology involved ‘concerns the principles and procedures of selecting the data or documents (Mouton 2001:166). Data collection in content analysis according to Leedy & Ormrod (2010:144) involves the following:

- i. The researcher identifies the specific body of material to be studied.
- ii. The researcher defines the characteristics or qualities to be examined in precise, concrete terms: the researcher may identify specific examples of each characteristic as a way of defining it more clearly.
- iii. If the material to be analyzed is complex or lengthy, the researcher breaks it down into smaller manageable segments.
- iv. The researcher scrutinizes the material for instance, of each characteristic or quality defined in step 2.

Leedy & Ormrod (2005:145) further write that data analysis in content analysis involves tabulating the frequency of each characteristic found in the material being studied and the researcher then uses such

tabulations to interpret/analyze the data as they reflect on the problem under investigation. In the context of the study, content analysis offers the following advantages: it provides valuable historical and socio-political insights that impact on electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa, and it also provides relevant information based on hard facts (data contained in the electric power policy documents of the two respective countries).

In the context of the study, the case-study and content analysis design is combined to carry out appropriately a comparative study on electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The study involves a cross-national comparative study of the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa and the concern is the policy issues that, affect electrification in the two countries. A combination of the two qualitative research approaches enables the researcher to:

- i. Identify the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa as two separate cases that are similar but different in certain key ways for the purpose of making comparisons.
- ii. Gather relevant electricity policy documents in Nigeria, from 1960 - 2011 and South Africa, from 1994 - 2011.
- iii. Record the similarities and differences in the electric power policy documents of the two countries within the stipulated time periods.
- iv. Record details of the context surrounding the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa, including relevant information about the physical environment, and other historical, and socio-political factors that have bearings on the policy process.
- v. Analyze all the data collected with a view to explaining the policy issues that, affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.

1.8.2.2.3 Data Analysis

According to Mouton (2001: 108) analysis involves ‘breaking up’ the data into manageable themes, patterns, trends and relationships. Mouton (2001:108) further writes that the aim of analysis is to understand the various constitutive elements of one’s data through an inspection of the relationships between concepts, constructs or variables, and to see whether there are any patterns or trends that can be identified or isolated, or to establish themes in the data. Analyzing data, according to (Fox & Bayat 2007: 104) means making sense of what the researcher has collected so that the gained data leads to the knowledge that he or she set out to gain. It is therefore, the responsibility of the researcher to analyze data,

translate the raw data into some meaningful information, communicating the research results in the form of charts, tables, graphical representations etc as a way of displaying findings. The researcher needs to be guided in analyzing the data by the objectives of the study (Fox & Bayat 2007: 104).

Data analysis using the combined methods of case-study and content analysis qualitative research designs in the study enables the researcher to:

- i. Organize data about the electric power policy documents in Nigeria and South Africa in a logical and chronological order.
- ii. Analyze the different electricity policy documents in Nigeria and South Africa with a view to acquiring an insight into their contents.
- iii. Examine the similarities and differences in the electricity policy documents in Nigeria and South Africa with a view to understanding and explaining the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.
- iv. Analyze the impact of the policy issues in achieving the governments' goals of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.

1.8.2.2.4 Study Report

A study report using the two combined research designs of case-study and content analysis in the study involves:

- i. Explanation of the rationale for the study, which involves studying the policy angle of electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa.
- ii. Description of the data collected, which involves studying the various electricity policy documents in Nigeria and South Africa and showing the similarities and differences in these documents.
- iii. Explanation of the patterns that the data reflect. This entails explaining the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa with a view to understanding the impact of the policy issues in achieving the electricity power policy goals of Nigeria and South Africa as contained in the electricity policy documents of both countries.
- iv. Explanation of the contribution that this research makes to the existing body of knowledge. Therefore, it involves the contribution that undertaking a comparative study of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from a policy angle makes in the discipline of Public Administration.

1.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present research is guided by professional code of ethical issues as cited in Leedy (1997:116). Accordingly, the researcher:

- Must maintain scientific objectivity.
- He/she should recognize the limitations of his competence and not attempt to engage in an investigation beyond his competence.
- Every person is entitled to the right of privacy and dignity of treatment.
- All investigations should avoid causing personal harm to the respondents used in the investigations.
- Confidential information provided by a research respondent must be held in strict confidentiality by the research and all research findings should be presented honestly without distortions or flaws.

According to (Madzivhandila 2010:21) ethical considerations involve the researcher removing “any harmful consequences that their participants may have incurred”. It is therefore, the sole responsibility of the researcher in the various disciplines to always identify both potential physical and emotional risks and effectively and efficiently, manage them; that is, the researcher must always find out if there is anything in the study that could physically and psychologically endanger or harm the respondents. This research project abides by all the ethical considerations that guide research in the discipline of public Administration, such as transparency, objectivity, confidentiality, co-operation with other researchers etc. The general rules, guidelines and standard for conducting research in the discipline is observed and respected. The researcher’s personal limitations are hereby acknowledged. Besides, the research findings shall be made available for academic reference.

1.10 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

With regard to scope, this study is carried out in Nigeria and South Africa, and does not extend to other African countries. The study is conducted between January, 2011 and December, 2012. The basic focus of the research is on the electric power generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The researcher compares the, electricity policy in Nigeria from 1960 to 2011 and South Africa, from 1994 to 2011.

1.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Marshall & Rossman (1999: 42) further write that ‘there are no perfect research designs, there are always trade-offs’. In view of this, the study is limited to the policy documents obtained from the Federal Ministry of Power in Nigeria and the Department of Energy in South Africa. The electricity power documents, provide the relevant data for comparing electricity power generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria, from 1960 to 2011 and in South Africa, from 1994 to 2011. The literature is reviewed in accordance with the research topic and the general purpose of the study. Other secondary data sources, comprise professional journals, textbooks, newspaper articles, etc.

1.12 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

1.12.1 Public Administration

Dwivedi & William (2011: 21) write that the study of public administration is hardly new because one can trace the contributions of Kautilya in India, Herodotus and Aristotle in Greece, Machiavelli in Italy, and Ibn Khaldun in the Middle East while most of the world scriptures have also outlined duties and obligations of rulers and their officials/servants. Dwivedi & William (2011: 21-23) further state that, as a modern profession and a field of study, public administration developed through a succession of two major epistemological phases at the beginning of the twentieth century, and these helped shape the discipline. These are the emphasis placed by Woodrow Wilson and Frank Goodnow on the separation of administration from politics and the rise of scientificism in the discipline. They also suggest that these two epistemological developments can be viewed in the context of, five specific phases in the overall development of the field of public administration. These are:

- i. The politics-administration dichotomy which emphasized the separation of administration from politics as the single most essential public administration reform in achieving efficiency and removing the objectionable and immoral practices of spoils and patronage upon the democratic system.
- ii. Principles of public administration, which view government administration as a machine to be driven by scientific management theories such as POSDCORB principles, PPBS (Planning, Programming, Budgeting system), MBO (Management by Objectives), MBR (Management by Result) etc.

- iii. Public administration as political science, which views public administration as a branch of political science, guided by the values, techniques and practices in the discipline.
- iv. Public administration as management, which emphasized administrative reforms by downsizing bureaucracy and starting a process of privatization. The emphasis was a shift away from the traditional bureaucratic model which was strongly rooted in hierarchy and control through rules and regulations.
- v. Public administration as governance which lays emphasis on the formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, the arena in which the state as well as economic and social actors interact to make decisions (Dwivedi & William 2011: 33). In the context of the study, these epistemological phases in the development of the discipline of public administration form the basis for the conceptual clarifications of the discipline of public administration.

According to Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007: 6) Public administration is simply ‘government in action’ ie the management of public affairs or the implementation of public policies. Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007:6) further state that ‘such a facile definition while accurate, is not adequate, public administration is so vast that there is no way to encompass it all with only one definition’. Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007:6) offer a cluster of four categories which include political, legal, managerial, and occupational. From the political perspective, Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007: 7) write that public administration cannot exist outside of its political context. It is this context that makes it public – that makes it different from private or business administration. Thus, viewed against this background, public administration is what government does – public administrators tend to the public’s business. The public’s business ranges from building bridges and highways to providing essential services to the people. Public administration is both direct and indirect. It is direct when government employees provide services to the public and indirect when government pays private contractors to provide goods or services to the people. They further write that public administration is a phase in the public policy cycle (public policy-making never ends). Public administration is also the implementation of the public interest (public interest is the universal label in which political actors wrap the policies and programmes that they advocate).

From the legal perspective, Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007: 13-19) state that public administration is what a state does – it is both created and bound by an instrument of law. They further write that public administration is law in action – public administration is inherently the execution of a public law. Public

administration is also regulation, which involves government telling citizens and businesses what they may or may not do. Another angle to the legal perspective is that public administration is the ‘king’s largesse’, which means whatever goods, services, or honors the ruling authority decides to bestow.

The managerial angle of public administration according to Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007: 20-23) is that public administration is the executive function of government. This means that in democratic societies, government agencies put into practice, legislative acts that represent the will of the people. Public administration is a management speciality which refers both to the people responsible for running an organization and to the running process itself – the use of numerous resources (such as employees and machines) to accomplish an organizational goal.

Finally, the occupational perspective of public administration, according to Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007:23-25), views public administration ‘as an occupational category’. This involves whatever, the public employees of the world do. ‘It ranges from brain surgery to street sweeping’. Public administration is an academic field of study, and as an academic field of study, it is the study of the art and science of management applied to the public sector. Shafritz, Russel & Borick(2007) offer a comprehensive conceptualization of public administration which is relevant in the context of the study. The views reflect the many relevant angles of public administration.

Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (2008:5-37) view public administration ‘as an activity and a discipline’. Public administration, as an activity, refers to the work done by officials within the total spectrum of government institutions to enable different government institutions to achieve their objectives at the three levels of government. ‘This is also the reason for public administration’ (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (2008: 9-10). They further suggest that public administration is needed when people work together to perform and achieve something together. The following main factors contributed to the origins and further development of the service of public administration:

- Human needs – the basic human needs for survival such as food, shelter, water, etc.
- Common needs – needs that can be provided on behalf of the society such as provision of water, and electricity, refuse removal, etc.
- Increasing need for services – increasing need for government services due to increasing population growth.

- Need for better distribution of services – division of common needs among the levels of government for efficient service delivery.

As a discipline, Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (2008: 41) indicates that public administration as a field of study is offered at several tertiary institutions in South Africa and abroad. This confirms that it is important enough to be offered as a discipline and also confirms that there is a real need for trained people in government institutions. Public administration as a discipline originated from a need for skilled, competent and trained people to meet the growing needs of humans on a continuous basis (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 2008: 56). The views of (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (2008) as regards the activity and disciplinary nature of public administration, are relevant in the context of the study. As an activity, it highlights the place of public administration in the context of the study, and as a discipline, it also highlights the contribution of the study to knowledge growth in the discipline.

As a field of practice, Nigro & Nigro (1980:3) are of the view that a one sentence definition of public administration is inadequate. This is because the field of public administration has never been 'precisely delimited' as both practitioners and scholars have considerably, broadened their concept of what public administration covers. This broadening is due to great expansion in governmental programmes caused by increasing new societal problems, and public administration is government's central instrument for dealing with general societal problems. Public administration deals with government's response to increasing societal responsibilities, which is part of the study objective. Hanekom, Rowland & Bain (1986: 14) opine that public administration is neither viewed as the all embracing executive action directed towards the accomplishment of a goal, nor the exclusive routine activities of white collar workers, but administration is viewed as an ever-present phenomenon encountered in any group activity. Hanekom, Rowland & Bain (1986: 14) further admit to the existence of varying views in the field of public administration and state that the practical usage of the term (public administration) in accordance with the different views has become familiar in certain circles. They also sound a warning that to condemn one or more of the views may be a futile exercise. It is important that the user of the term should, by any means of description and context, clearly indicate the way in which it is to be used. The views of Hanekom, Rowland & Bain (1986) are relevant in the study context. Public administration as a continuous government activity is diverse, and suffers from surfeit of interpretations and meanings.

According to Peters & Pierre (2007:7), Public administration 'stands at the intersection of theory and practice' and, within the field, there have been contentions over the relative weights that should be

assigned to those two ways of approaching the field. Practitioners have seen academics as hopelessly bound up in theoretical debates that have little or nothing to do with actually making a program run successfully. Academics, on the other hand, have seen practitioners as hopelessly ruined in ‘manhole counting’ and incapable of seeing the larger issues that affect their practice. Peter & Pierre (2007:7) further write that as well as standing at the intersection of theory and practice, public administration also stands at the intersection of academic disciplines, as well as having a distinctive literature of its own. While theory and practice, and an array of academic disciplines contend for control over the study of public administration, the fundamental point that should be emphasized is that all of these perspectives bring public administration in the public sector. As an academic discipline and a field of practice, public administration has a wide challenge, which is relevant in the context of the study.

1.12.2 Public Policy

According to Hanekom (1987:7-8), public policy is a desired course of action and interaction which is to serve as a guideline in the allocation of resources necessary to realize societal goals and objectives, decided upon and made publicly known by the legislator. Hanekom (1987:7-8) further writes that public policy consists of courses of action, which involve what government decides to do or not, and that all public policies are future oriented, usually aimed at the promotion of the general welfare of the society, rather than a societal group. Hanekom (1987:8) identifies the two dimensions of public policy as the political dimension, which pertains to the involvedness of the government (the legislator) in deciding on the activities and resources necessary to reach visualized objectives and the administrative dimension which relates to actions to realize the goal envisaged by government within the parameters laid down and with the resources allocated to the legislator. The ‘promotion of the general welfare of society depends on the policies made by the policy-makers (legislatures), the resources available, whether the policy makers have a clear understanding of societal problems and needs, and the nature of public policy’ (Hanekom 1986:25). He further writes that without clearly defined policies, the chances of improving the general welfare of society would be difficult. ‘It is also necessary to know who influences whom in making public policy; what has an effect on what and to what extent, what is justified and what is not, and who should do what’. Public policy in the context of the study involves policy actors responding to policy issues in the context of making policies on a particular societal challenge.

Public policy refers to government intentions designed to deal with various social challenges, such as those related to foreign policy, and environmental protection, crime, unemployment, and numerous other

problems (Ijeoma 2010:12-13). Ijeoma (2010: 13) also views public policy “as a complex pattern of interdependent collective choices, including decisions not to act, made by governmental bodies and officials. Ijeoma (2010: 13) further writes that two features can be discerned from these views. Firstly, public policy is a social practice, and secondly, public policy as occasioned by the need to reconcile conflicting claims or to establish incentives for collective action among those who share goals but find it irrational to co-operate with one another. Public policy-making in the context of the study is part of government’s array of challenges, and government has to take decisions based on certain considerations, such as need, resources, commitment etc. Anderson (2006:6-7) views public policy as a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern. Anderson (2006: 6-7) further writes that this definition focuses on what is actually done instead of what is only proposed or intended, differentiates a policy from a decision, which is essentially a specific choice among alternatives, views policy as something that unfolds over the time. The implication of this concept of public policy according to (Anderson 2006: 7) includes the following:

- the definition links policy to purposive or goal-oriented action rather than to random behavior or chance occurrences;
- policies consist of courses or patterns of action taken over time by governmental officials rather than their separate, discrete decisions;
- public policies emerge in response to policy demands;
- policy involves what government actually do, not just what they intend to do or what officials say they are going to do;
- A public policy may be either positive or negative, which involves government action to deal with a problem on which actions is demanded (positive) or decline to do something on some matter on which government involvement was sought (negative) and,
- public policy, at least in its positive form, is based on law and is authoritative. Anderson (2007) offers a strategic and fundamental conceptualization of public policy, and sees public policy as a government instrument of responding to public needs.

According to (Gerston 2010:7) public policy refers to the ‘combination of basic decisions, commitments, and actions made by those who hold or influence government positions of authority’. Gerston (2010:7) also contends that ‘in most instances, these arrangements result from interactions among those who demand change, those who make decisions and those who are affected by the policy in question’. Gerston

(2010: 7) further writes that public policies result from the blend of politics and government. Public policy is as important in defining prevailing values (politics) as it is in defining solutions to prevailing problems (through government). In a very real sense, values pre-determinate public policies, although the values of some parts of society will often be more influential on a policy than the values of others (Gerston 2010: 7). Gerston (2007) views public policy in the context of interactions between the policy makers and policy receivers, and also contend that public policy is pre-determined by public values. De Coning (2006: 16-17 cited in Cloete, Wissink & De Coning 2006:16-17) writes that:

- public policy is a functional perspective in the process of government;
- the fact that policy is not always deliberately conceived and written down, but that it is frequently subconsciously accepted and may be unwritten, and that an allegation that no policy exists is in itself an indication of a policy approach to an issue or problem;
- the need to consider various definitions in the field, from which particular relevant elements may be selected, rather than a single (oversimplified) definition;
- the emphasis on value judgments, ethics, values, society and relationships; and
- the emphasis on lateral approaches and multi-disciplinary applications. De Coning (2006) offers a comprehensive perspective of public policy, and also sees public policy as pre-determined by public values.

1.12.3 Electricity Power Policy

This refers to plans, legislations, incentives, guidelines, and policy processes put in place by the government of any country to address issues of electricity generation, transmission and distribution. Policy making in the electricity sector involves economic, social and environmental considerations (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ontario_electricity_policy). In the context of the study, government faces the challenge of ‘strategic policy-making’ in the electricity sub-sector.

1.12.4 Electricity

Electricity is a general term encompassing a variety of phenomena resulting from the presence and flow of an electric charge. These include many easily recognizable phenomena, such as lightning, static-electricity, and the flow of electric current in an electrical wire. The word electricity came from the New Latin *electricus*, amber like (electron), which means, ambe, because electrical effects were produced classically by rubbing amber. In a loose but common use of the term, electricity may be used

to mean ‘wired for electricity’ which means a working connection to an electric power station. Such a connection grants the user of electricity access to the electric field present in electric wiring, and thus, to electric power (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electricity).

1.12.5 Electric Power Generation.

This is the large scale production of electric power for industrial, residential, and rural use, generally in stationary plants designed for that purpose. (Freedictionary.com/electricity)The fundamental principles of electricity power generation were discovered by the British scientist Michael Faraday. His basic method is still used today: electricity is generated by the movement of a loop of wire, or disc of copper between the poles of a magnet. Electricity is often generated at a power station by electro-mechanical generators, primarily driven by heat engines fueled by chemical combustion or nuclear fission ([en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electric _power generation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electric_power_generation)).

1.12.6 Electric Power Transmission

This is the bulk transfer of electrical energy, from generating plants to electrical substations located near demand centers ([en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electric_power transmission](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electric_power_transmission); Freedictionary.com/electricity).

1.12.7 Electric Power Distribution

It comprises those parts of an electric power system between the sub-transmission system and the consumer’s service switches. It includes distribution substations; primary distribution feeders; distribution transformers; secondary circuits, including the services to the consumers and appropriate protective and control devices. (Freedictionary.com/electricity; [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electric_power distribution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electric_power_distribution)).

1.13 THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework is the guide to writing the entire research plan. It determines the literature review, selection of sample, methodology and techniques for data analysis. According to (Mouton 2001:177), through the construction of theories and models we attempt to explain phenomena in the world. A theory is therefore, a set of statements that makes explanatory or causal claims about reality. Sabatier (2007: 321) writes that ‘a theory is a logically related set of propositions that seeks to explain a

fairly generalized set of phenomena. Frederickson & Smith (2003: 5) propose that the validity or usefulness of any theory depends on its capacity to describe, to explain and to predict. Frederickson & Smith (2003: 5) further write that, for a theory to be useful in the study of public administration, it should accurately describe or depict a real world event or phenomenon; a useful theory of public administration should explain the phenomenon being described (explanation offer answers to the why question because it offers reasons for the observable distortions and provides the motive for analysis). Finally, when a theory helps us to understand public administrative phenomena, the theory can as well help us to predict. This research project is a cross-national study of the electric power policy in Nigeria, from 1960 to 2011 and South Africa, from 1994 to 2011. The concern of the study is to compare the similarities and differences in the electric power policy of the two countries. This comparison is intended to help us understand the ‘policy issues’ that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. It also enables us to gain more knowledge about the impact of the ‘policy issues’ on the achievement of the goals of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. In view of the foregoing, a theory of comparative public administration is deemed appropriate to explain the policy issues and their impact on the achievement of electrification goals in Nigeria and South Africa.

1.13.1 Comparative Public Administration Theory

The development of concepts and generalizations at a level between what is true of all societies and what is true for one society at one point in time and space takes place along systematic inquiries of cross-national and cross-time similarities and differences (Brans 2007:269). Brans (2007:269) further states that systematic comparison not only allows for assessing the effects of different environments upon organizational structure and behavior, but also for analyzing why organizational structure and behavior may matter in producing different outcomes that are relevant for society. Brans (2007:276) identify the incomprehensiveness in developing a general theory in the sub-discipline of comparative public administration. Brans (2007: 276) writes that Pierre’s (1995) approach to the comparative public administration frame work ‘is probably the most comprehensive due to its approach in taking three sets of variables’. The approaches are the intra-organizational dynamics of bureaucracy, which comprises such variables as actors, structures and behavior, the politico-administrative relations and the relations between administration and civil society. Bran (2007:276) further writes that the interaction of these three set of variables produces a comprehensive framework with which to approach comparative public administration. Generally, the framework explains the interaction of these variables, recognizes the

systemic factors influencing the nature of politico-administrative relations and also the impact of these relations on the behavior of civil servants in policy-making.

In the context of this study, the comparative public administration theory offers the strongest theoretical underpinning for carrying out a cross-national study on electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Its approach is basic in understanding the public policy process of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. However, the central objective of this study is to understand and explain the 'policy issues' that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, and to explain the impact of the policy issues in achieving the goals of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. The comparative public administration framework, in this context, is limited by its incomprehensive approach to the policy angle of electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. It is therefore, not a sufficient theory in itself to explain the similarities and differences in electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from the policy angle. It is also not sufficient to, explain the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. According to (Brans 2007:276) there is no grand theory of comparative public administration, there is the absence of a single paradigm, a variety of questions and a variety of approaches. However, a more fruitful way of structuring the sub-discipline and giving it purpose and coherence is to seek agreement on what to study and organize a comparative data collection and theory development around the dependent variables.

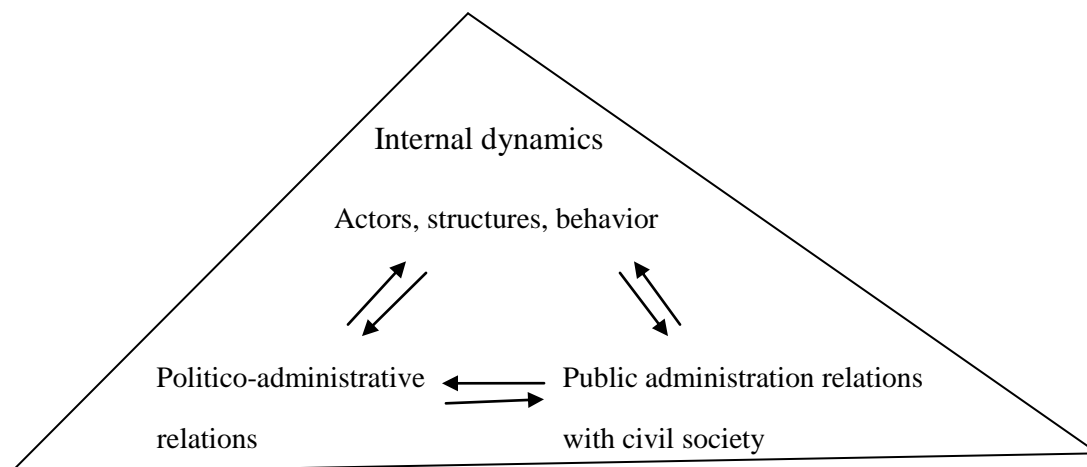


Figure 1.1 (The figure shows the interaction of the three sets of variables in Pierre (1995) Comparative Public Administration Project as cited by Bran 2007 in Peter & Pierre (2007).

1.13.2 Systems Theory Study Approach

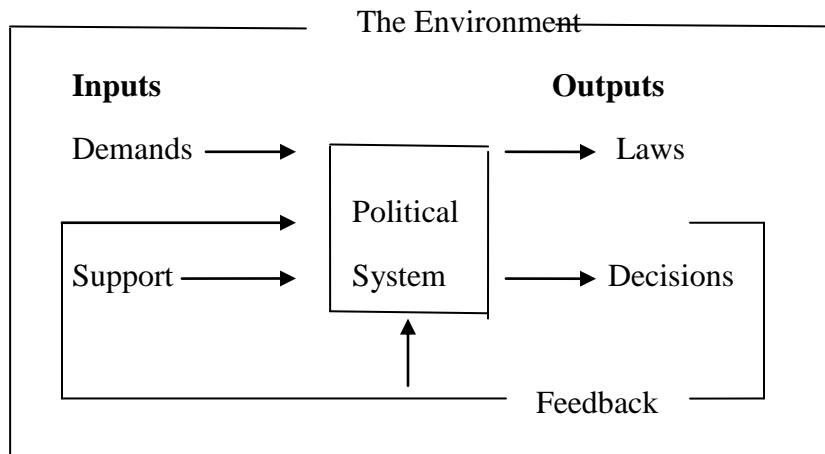
Public policy may be viewed as a political system's response to demands arising from its environment (Anderson 2006:18). Anderson (2006:18-19) further writes that the political system according to Easton (1957 & 1965), comprises those identifiable and interrelated institutions and activities (government institutions and processes) in a society that make binding authoritative allocation of values (decisions, policies).. The environment consists of all phenomena-the social system, the economic system, the biological setting – that are external to the boundaries of the political system. Thus, analytically one can separate the political system from all the other components of a society. Anderson (2006:19) further writes that inputs into the political system from the environment consist of demands and supports. Demands are claims for action that individuals and groups make to satisfy their interests and values whereas support is rendered when groups and individuals abide by election results, pay taxes, obey laws, and accept the decisions and actions taken by the political system in response to demands. Outputs of the political system include laws and rules, judicial decisions etc. Generally, regarded as authoritative allocation of values, they constitute public policy. The concept of feedback indicates that public policies (or outputs) made at a given time may subsequently alter the environment and the demands arising there from, as well as the character of the political system itself. Policy outputs may produce new demands, which lead to further outputs, and so on in a never ending flow of public policy (Anderson 2006:19). Zoomers (2001) uses a

system approach for the analysis of electrification, applying it to decision-making criteria and analyzing the displacement of the influence domain. Gaunt (2003) also uses a systems approach to analyze electrification technology and processes to meet economic and social objectives in Southern Africa.

The systems theory provides a useful framework for a comparative study of electricity policy in Nigeria, from 1960 to 2011 and South Africa, from 1994 to 2011. The demand for electricity services in Nigeria and South Africa is made as inputs into the political system (the governments of Nigeria and South Africa, respectively) from the people. The demand for electricity, in the context of the study refers to the households, industrial, agricultural and other commercial demand for electric power to achieve sustained socio-economic development. Electricity is therefore, conceived as a public good in Nigeria and South Africa. In Nigeria and South Africa, government responds to the public/people's demand for electricity through public policies (outputs) that in the context of the study constitute the electricity generation, transmission and distribution policy. The policies have manifest impact on the people and produce reactions (support or otherwise) to the two governments. Owing to the peculiar character of the two political systems, and the policy processes, the policies continue to produce new demands until the optimal level of electricity supply is achieved, ie achieving the goals of electrification which is universal access to quality and affordable electric power in Nigeria and South Africa.

As earlier stated, the systems theory provides a useful framework for comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. However, the general limitation of this framework in terms of the procedures and processes by which policies are made at the 'conversion box' also places some limitations on the use of the systems theory to explain the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. The framework, discussed the environment of the political system and its components, however, in the context of the study, it did not properly bring into focus the interactions and interrelatedness of the variables that are external to the boundaries of the policy process and the political system (government) in Nigeria and South Africa. Understanding these variables, their 'interactions and interrelatedness' is useful in explaining, the impact of the 'policy issues' in achieving the goals of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.

Figure 1.2: A model of the Political System.



Adapted from (Anderson 2006:19) Public Policy Making.

1.13.3 Advocacy Coalition Framework

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) is a framework of the policy process developed by Paul Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1998). This is a conceptual framework of the policy process that ‘synthesizes the policy focus of modern scholars such as preferences, interests, goals, resources, environments, institutional rules, background socio-political and economic conditions etc (Sabatier 1991: 151). It views policy making and changes over time as a function of three sets of factors (Sabatier, 1991: 151-153).

1. The interaction of competing advocacy coalitions within a policy-subsystem/community. An advocacy coalition consists of actors from many public and private organizations at all levels of government who share a set of basic beliefs (policy goals plus causal and other perceptions) and who seek to manipulate the rules of various governmental institutions to achieve those goals overtime. Conflict among coalitions is mediated by ‘policy brokers’, ie actors more concerned with system stability than with achieving policy goals.
2. Changes external to the sub-system. These are changes in socio-economic conditions, changes in systematic governing coalitions, policy decisions and impact from other sub-systems, past policy experiences.

3. The effects of stable system parameters – such as basic attributes of the problem area (area of attention) basic distribution of natural resources, fundamental socio-cultural values, social structure, basic constitutional structure (rules).

The advocacy coalition framework has been applied to a number of policy areas, primarily dealing with energy and environmental policy (Sabatier 1991: 153). The advocacy coalition framework is applied in the context of this study. It is used to, compare the policy issues that affect electricity power generation, transmission and distribution in Nigeria and South Africa. In this context, the policy sub-system exists as the electricity power sub-system in Nigeria and South Africa. The electricity power policy sub-system of Nigeria and South Africa are characterized by external variables that affect the sub-system. These set of variables as they apply to Nigeria and South Africa are:

i. The effect of relatively stable parameters. These stable parameters exist in the following forms in the two countries:

- Basic attributes of the problem area. In Nigeria and South Africa, basic attributes of electrification problems are experienced in the context of electrification as a ‘public problem’;
- Basic distribution of natural resources. Efficient electrification is partly dependent on availability of ‘natural resources’ such as coal and crude oil, biomass etc in Nigeria, and coal and biomass in South Africa.
- Fundamental socio-cultural values and social structure. This refers to the socio-cultural and social composition of Nigeria and South Africa and their respective, value preferences. In this case, the different segments of both societies do have a predisposing need to quality electricity.
- Basic constitutional structure (rules). The ‘basic constitutional structure’ in the two, countries determines certain priority areas of policy-making. For instance, the South African constitution views access to electricity as an ‘implied right’ (Adam 2010:12).

ii. Changes external to the sub-system. Changes/events in the external system exist in the following ways in Nigeria and South Africa:

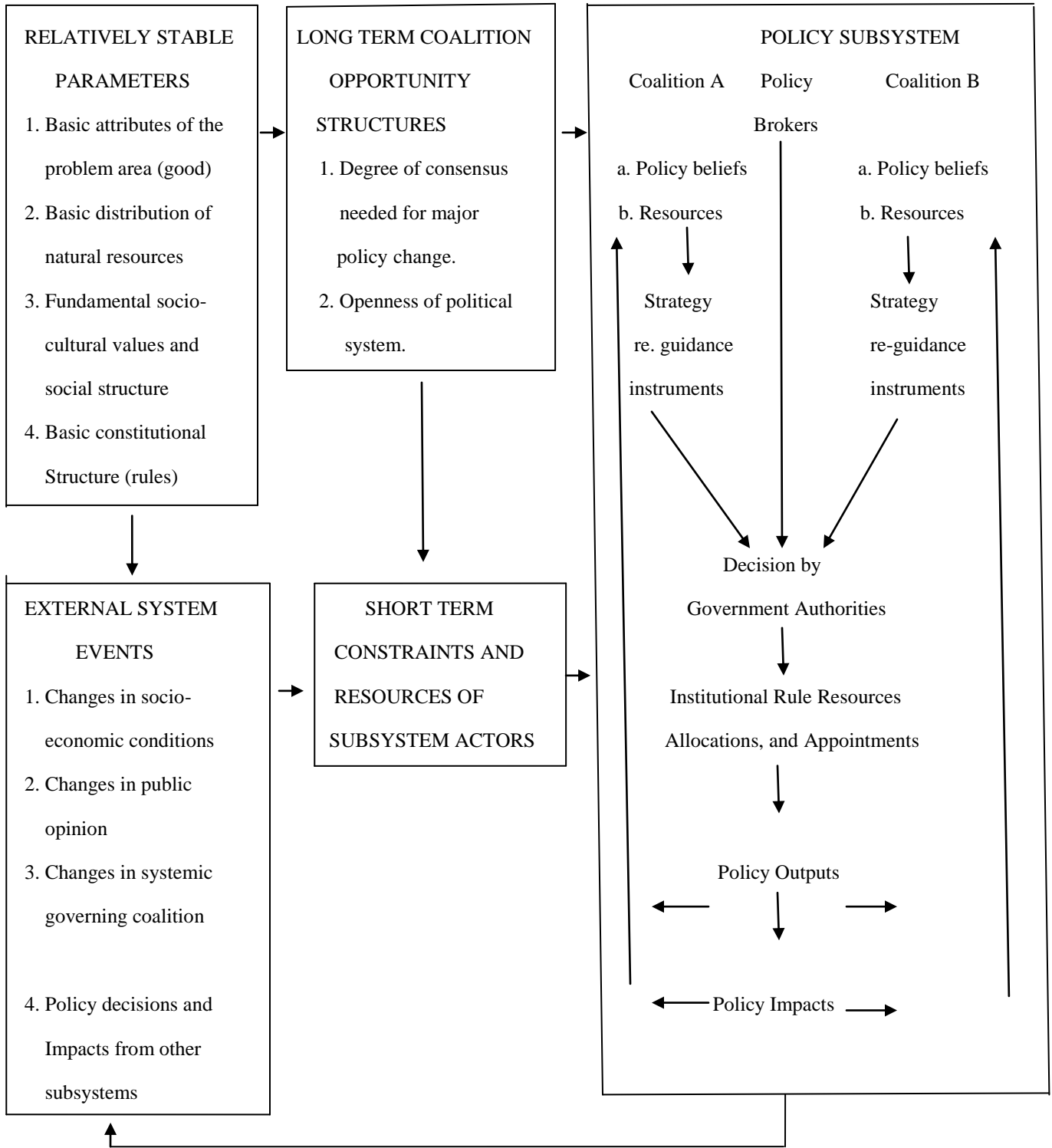
- Changes in socio-economic condition:. South Africa inherited an efficient electrification system with a strong economic base from the apartheid government, whereas, Nigeria inherited a distorted system with limited urban focus.

- Changes in the systemic governing coalition: At independence in 1960, Nigeria inherited a weak socio-political structure from Britain; a system that failed to institutionalize democracy and sustain a united and people oriented national government; whereas, in South Africa, the democratic revolution of 1994 ushered in radical transformations, the creation of a strong, responsible and people oriented national government.
- Policy decisions and impacts from other sub-system In Nigeria, policy decisions and impacts in other sub-systems such as education/health, environment etc are not satisfying enough whereas in South Africa, there is remarkable performance in other sub-systems, such as education, health and a general development in the energy industry.

Sabatier & Weible (2007: 189) added a new category of variables known as the ‘coalition opportunity structure’. The opportunity structures which refer to the relatively enduring features of a polity that affect the resources and constraints of sub-system actors in Nigeria and South Africa are different. In Nigeria, the degree of consensus needed for major policy changes is not high due to diverse ‘selfish, primordial and dis-articulated interests’. Also the political system is not open in terms of transparency, accountability and openness to initiate and implement major policy changes, especially as it concerns the electric power policy. In South Africa, the degree of consensus needed for major policy changes especially in the electricity sub-sector is high due to ‘aggregated and clearly articulated national interests’. The political system is more open, transparent and accountable. What happens at the pools discussed, affects the ‘policy sub-system’ (Sabatier 1990: 153) and one basic feature of the ‘policy sub-system’ is policy beliefs’. This is characterized by policy choices, policy commitments and policy preferences. In South Africa, policy participants strive to translate components of their belief system into actual policy and the result is the electricity policies initiated from 1994 to effectively alleviate the electricity power challenges of the people. The situation in Nigeria is different; there is less commitment by policy participants to achieve effective electrification through the various electric power policies initiated since 1960. Another factor here is the availability of human and financial resources in Nigeria and South Africa, ie, people who know and understand the ‘policy need’ and can effectively manage the financial resources to achieve the electrification goals in the two countries. The combination of policy brokers, ie, actors more interested in system stability, agency resources and the general policy orientation of policy makers results in effective policy outputs (Sabatier 1990: 153). In the context of the study, the policy outputs are evidenced in the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa; for instance, the ‘free basic electricity policy’ (DME 2003) in South Africa, and its impact on socio-economic development.

The emphasis of the research is on a comparative study of electricity generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria from 1960 to 2011 and South Africa from 1994 to 2011. The advocacy coalition framework can be applied in the context of explaining the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.

Figure: 1.3 2005 Diagram of the Advocacy Coalition Framework.



Adapted from (Sabatier 2007:202) (eds). Theories of the Policy Process (2nd edition).

1.14 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The study is made up of six chapters. Chapter one, is the general framework of the study which comprises the introduction and background of the study, the rationale/motivation of the study, the statement of problem, study objectives, study questions, significance of the study and the relevance of the study. It also includes the research design and entire methodology of the study, ethical considerations, scope of the study and limitations of the study. A clarification of the major concepts of study such as public administration, public policy, the concept of electricity, electric power generation, electric power transmission and electric power distribution are also included. Chapter one concludes with a discussion of the theoretical framework of the study which reviews comparative public administration, the systems theory study approach and advocacy coalition framework, the structure of the study, the chapter's conclusion and references.

Chapter two is the literature review. It reviews through textual means, the theoretical context of the study, public administration in the context of the study, public policy in the context of the study, publications on the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa, other relevant publications on the electric power policy, a comparison of the reviews, the chapter's conclusion and references.

Chapter three focuses on the historical and socio-political issues in Nigeria and South Africa. It is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the historical context of Nigeria, issues in the Nigeria federal structure, which includes the nature of the federating units, Nigeria fiscal federalism, politics of resource control, intergovernmental relations, sub-national aggression and state creation. Secondly, it treats ethnicity and sectional consciousness in Nigeria, and also discusses related topics such as ethnic background of Nigeria, ethnicity and power struggle in the country and implications of ethnicity on national integration, and in the study context. Thirdly, it treats the religious issue, and discusses related topics of the politicization of religion in Nigeria and rounds off with a discussion on the general implications of the historical and socio-political issues in Nigeria in the ontext of the study.

The second part discusses the historical and socio-political issues in South Africa. Firstly, it discusses the historical context of South Africa, Apartheid in South Africa, Apartheid legislations in South Africa and the oppositions to the Apartheid regime. Secondly, it discusses the Reconstruction and Development Programme and related issues concerning the principles of the Reconstruction and Development Programme and the programme's impact on South Africa, the Growth and Redistribution

policy, and efforts towards a developmental South Africa. Thirdly, it discusses Reconciliation and Redress, South Africa's effort at reconciliation and redress and issues beyond the reconciliation process. Fourthly, it discusses poverty and inequality in the country, and Government's effort at reconciliation and redress in the country. Finally, it discusses the implications of the historical and socio-political issues in South Africa in the context of the study; the chapter's conclusion and references.

Chapter four of the study focuses on the place of electric power generation, transmission and distribution policy in Public Administration. It discusses electricity as public good in Nigeria and South Africa, good governance and public interest in electrification. It also discusses electricity policies in Nigeria and South Africa, and electrification as a function of Public Administration, which includes Public Administration as a system and Public Administration as an activity; the chapter's conclusion and references.

Chapter five discusses the findings of the study and the analysis of the results. Firstly, it discusses the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Secondly, it discusses findings on the electric power policy in Nigeria, and focuses on pertinent issues in terms of the reforms needed in the sub-sector, the reform process, rural electrification and funding in the sub-sector. It also discusses findings on the electric power policy in South Africa, and focuses on the issues of access and affordability, sub-sector restructuring and funding. The study also compares the findings on the electricity policy in the two countries. Thirdly, the study analyzes the concerns over the electricity policy in Nigeria and focuses on policy issues and public welfare, and the impact of the policy issues on achieving the goal of electrification in Nigeria. An analysis of the electricity policy in South Africa also focuses on policy issues and public welfare, and the impact of the policy issues on achieving the goal of electrification in South Africa. It also discusses the comparative analysis, the chapter's conclusion and references.

Chapter six of the study is summary, recommendations and conclusion. The study ends with a bibliography.

1.15 CONCLUSION

As has been stated, this study is motivated by the observed gap in the literature on electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. Known studies in this area have not compared electric power generation, transmission and distribution in the two countries from a policy perspective. This study seeks to compare electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from a policy angle. Notably, the provision of quality and cheaper electricity to the people constitutes a serious policy challenge to the governments of Nigeria and South Africa; the challenges have both external and internal dimensions. The external dimension arises from the pressure exerted by international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Bank on national governments especially, in Africa and other developing countries to improve access to quality electric power in their countries. Reliable and affordable electricity is known to play vital roles in sustaining economic development and in enabling the achievement of the millennium development goals. The internal dimension arises from the domestic demands for increased access to electricity power by the citizens of Nigeria and South Africa.

The concern of the research is to examine the similarities and differences in electricity power policy approaches in Nigeria from 1960 to 2011 and South Africa from 1994 to 2011. The central objective is to, understand and explain the policy issues that affect electrification, and their impact on achieving the policy goals in Nigeria and South Africa. The research is guided by the research questions and the use of relevant research designs and methodology to cross-nationally, carry out a comparative study on electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The study also uses the relevant theoretical framework to explain the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. The study seeks to make contributions in the field of Public Administration by comparing the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa; and to the existing knowledge base by comparing electrification in both countries from a policy angle.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

According to (Marshall & Rossman 1999:43) the literature review serves four broad functions. These are:

- i. It demonstrates the underlying assumptions behind the general research questions, and could also display the research paradigm that undergirds the study and describe the assumptions and values the researcher brings to the study;
- ii. It demonstrates that the researcher is knowledgeable about related research and the intellectual traditions that surround and support the study;
- iii. It shows that the researcher has identified some gaps in previous research and that the proposed study will fill a demonstrated need;
- iv. The review refines and defines the research questions by embedding those questions in larger empirical traditions.

As has been stated, this study draws its rationale from the observed gap in the literature on the electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. Known scholarly work on electrification in Nigeria, in comparison to South Africa dwells mainly on the electric power institutions and their performances, thereby neglecting the policy dimension. This research enterprise, studies electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from a policy angle. The literature study is thus, organized around the themes (Mouton 2001:93) of electricity power policy' in Nigeria and South Africa and the 'policy issues' that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. The bibliographic search is guided by these key concepts in the research problem statement and the research questions.

In the context of the study, the methodological approach enables the researcher to gather relevant information/data on the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa through secondary/ existing sources. The existing sources here, refers to textual information from relevant policy documents, textbooks, professional journals, newspaper and magazine articles, and published information from relevant professional bodies. This enables the organization of relevant scholarly information/data about

the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa, the discovery of recent theorizing/views about the subject, the discovery of widely accepted research findings, and the understanding of widely used concepts in the electric power generation, distribution and transmission policy in Nigeria in comparison South Africa.

The scholarly review is thus structured as follows: the theoretical context review of the study, public administration in the context of the study, public policy- making in the context of the study, electric power policy publications in Nigeria from 1960 to 2011, electric power policy publications in South Africa from 1994 to 2011, other publications on electricity policy in the context of the study, a comparison of reviews and the conclusion.

2.2 THE THEORITICAL CONTEXT REVIEW OF THE STUDY

Thornhill & Dijk (2010: 97) propose that the search for a theoretical basis for the study of public administration requires considerations of variables, and for a theory to be ‘universal’, it should, thus, be able to describe the phenomenon or activity, to explain why a particular activity has taken place or has been unsuccessful, and predict what applies with regard to the public phenomenon under scrutiny. The theoretical basis of the study is imperative in the context of comparing electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from a policy angle. Frederickson & Smith (2003:7) write that ‘theory, in public administration study, means the ordering of factual material (history, events, cases, stories, measures of opinion, observation) so as to present evidence through definitions, concepts, and metaphors and promote understanding’. Frederickson & Smith (2003:7) further state that theory is based on the rigorous and intuitive observation and record of social behaviour, organizational behavior, institutional behavior, political system behavior, pattern of communication, culture etc, and that public administration decisions and actions are based on basic assumptions about these behaviours and patterns of human co-operation. The views of (Thornhill & Dijk 2010; Frederickson & Smith 2003) are relevant in understanding the theoretical context of the study. Theory building in the study reflects on these authoritative views and assumptions, and also seeks to explain and predict issues based on drawn facts. For the purpose of the study, the theoretical context review focuses on comparative public administration, systems theory study and the advocacy coalition framework.

2.2.1 Comparative Public Administration Theory

In comparative public administration theory, relevant scholarly work is reviewed in the context of the study.

Howlett (2002: 4) points to the poor development of theories and constructs in the field of comparative public administration. Howlett (2002:4) writes that an important step in this direction is the development of an 'administrative style', that is, 'a more consistent and long term set of institutionalized patterns of political administrative relationships, norms and procedures. Howlett (2002: 5) further writes that 'the concept of administrative style' is useful for the following reasons: it sets out the basic background against which reforms occur; providing the basic characteristics of administrative systems. In so doing, it simultaneously, provides a benchmark against which the degree of change in such systems can be assessed, as reforms alter aspect of previously existing administrative styles. In the context of comparing electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, from a policy angle, the views of (Howlett 2002) are examined on the basis of recognizing the 'poor development of administrative theories in the field of comparative public administration'. The option of 'administrative style' according to Howlett (2002:5), is relevant in understanding, the 'policy contexts' to electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. Administrative styles may be outcomes of policy experiences, occasioned by socio-political and economic circumstances etc. These issues provide backgrounds for a cross national policy study of this nature.

The views of (Brans 2007:269) that the development and establishment of realities about two or more societies take place along systematic inquiries of across-national and cross time similarities and differences are relevant in understanding the study context. Brans's (2007: 269) view 'that international examples are also important for the practice of public administration, as they enable both researchers interested in practical recommendations and practices seeking to adopt them to investigate a broader range of ideas about what constitutes good structure and best practices' is also relevant in the context of a cross national policy study on electrification between Nigeria and South Africa. Brans (2007: 276) further raises a concern that accounts of problem-driven and disciplinary driven theory development for comparative public administration reflect the absence of a single paradigm, a variety of questions, and variety of approaches. In the context of the study, the views of (Brans 2007: 276-279) regarding the approach that considers the three variables of internal-dynamics involving actors, structures and behavior; the politico-administrative relations and the relations between public administration and civil

society, pre-disposes one to the following relevant assumptions: the variable of internal dynamics emphasizes government priorities and public service delivery, how the difference in the environments of the administrative system affects 'policy issues' and how public administration functions to fulfill 'the public interest'. The politico-administrative relationship within the policy process seeks to address the concern of blending political control with policy capacity and emphasizes the relationship between policy makers and bureaucrats in the policy process. Also, in the context of a policy framework, Brans (2007: 278) views the relationship between public administration and civil society in terms of transparency, consultation and participation or interactive policy-making and, further emphasizes the narrowing of the gaps between public administration and civil society. Public policy making in electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa is an outcome of the of these variables. Brans' (2007:279) conclusion that the three sets of variables offer a comprehensive framework for the constitution of a comparative public administration approach that fosters research through the accumulation of structured data, the creation of a common language, and the development of meaningful theories is relevant in comparing electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, from a policy perspective.

Chandler (2000: 8) emphasizes the importance of adopting a 'comparative framework' of comparative public administration, and notes that it's also important to understand the social and governmental structures of the 'national' systems under comparison. This, according to (Chandler 2000: 8), involves 'understanding the basic structures of the institutions of a country and knowing how the various demands of this structure interrelate to establish and implement public policy'. Viewed in the context of the study, the social and governmental structures play important roles in the extent of identifying and defining electrification as a public problem in Nigeria and South Africa,. Chandler's (2000:8) view that cross national comparison is essential in appreciating the efficiency, democratic and ethical nature of public policy-making and implementing institutions, applied in the context of the study also offers a useful basis to understand how electric power policy issues are placed on the policy agenda in Nigeria and South Africa. Chandler's (2000: 9) view that setting the social system in the context of economic and social structures of a society, the prevailing ideological values of its citizens, some concepts of the historical prominent values, and elements of the constitutional framework is necessary: as it tends to provide an account of the central decision/policy making structures, the recognition of policy problems and challenges, the mobilization of support for policy action and also the nature and responsibilities of policy making and implementing institutions (bureaucracy) of the government. The views of Chandler

(2000) are also relevant in recognizing the place of these variables as constituting elements of benchmarks in comparing electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, from a policy angle.

The reviews are carried out in the context of the study. Comparative public administration theory reviews are relevant due to the cross national nature of the study. The reviews show that:

- i. There is poor development of theories in the field of comparative public administration (Howlett 2002:4)
- ii. Certain factors such as politico-administrative relations, policy-making structures, and socio-economic and political issues are identified as relevant in a cross national public administration comparison (Brans 2007:276-279). The study reviews next scholarly publications on systems theory.

2.2.2 Systems Theory

The views of the systems theory are relevant to the study. The reviews examine scholarly work on the systems theory in the context of the study.

According to Dye (1981: 41) the concept of a system implies an identifiable set of institutions and activities in society that function to transform demands into authoritative decisions requiring the support of the whole society. Dye (1981:41-42) also implies that elements of the system are interrelated, and that the system can respond to forces in its environment, and that it will do so in order to preserve itself. The views of Dye (1981:41-42) are relevant to the study as the concepts of institutions and activities are significant in forming electric power policy in Nigeria, in comparison to South Africa. Dye's (1981 41) view of public policy as a system of output resulting from the forces emanating from the environment implies that the electricity policies in Nigeria and South Africa are outputs of the two political systems. The environment constitutes the conditions or circumstances defined as external to the boundaries of the political system. Those conditions could be geographical, cultural, social or economic, whereas, the political system is the group of interrelated structures and process which functions authoritatively to allocate values for a society. The electric power policy environments in Nigeria and South Africa are political, socio-economic, cultural etc. Outputs of the political system are authoritative value allocation of the system, which in the study context are electricity power policies in Nigeria and South Africa, respectively. The electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa are outcomes of the political system, and the political system ought to respond to

forces from the environment. The views of (Dye 1981) are relevant in comparing the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Writing on the topic benign illusion or malignant contrivance? The inequity of systems' Erasmus (1994: 86) takes a critical approach to the systems theory and writes that, in terms of a systems view, a society is deemed to comprise several interrelated subsystems of which the system of governance is one. A system is thus made up of sub-systems which relate in a 'cycle of mutual reciprocity' that promotes systems stability and survival. A system according to Erasmus (1994: 87) possesses the unique character of 'inter-dependent relationship of the elements of systems', and in the perpetual cycle of inputs/throughputs/outputs/feedback/inputs, the elements of the system are in continuous and inter-dependent interaction with each other. The concern of Erasmus (1994: 88-89) applies to whether the use of the systems theory does not perhaps lead to a distorted and possibly even iniquitous view of the world. The argument of Erasmus (1994: 89) is that 'the systems theory is inherently iniquitous and consequently has only limited relevance for public administration and the rest of the social sciences' for the following reasons: the neat causal linearity of a process comprising inputs, throughputs, outputs and feedback in dynamic interaction with a discernable environment fits in with the way the empirical world appears to function., In this way, the systems theory brings hugely complex processes within the cognitive reach of researchers and practitioners; due to the basic assumptions of interaction, interdependence of elements and the drive for equilibrium, system theory reduces public administration to an easily understandable behavior characteristic of the assumption that a change in one of the elements of the system, causes the other elements to respond in a such a way as to maintain equilibrium in the system, so as to ensure the system's survival overtime. Finally, Erasmus (1994:89) concludes that the systems theory fails to correspond to real world situation as the system becomes the only 'one way of understanding occurrence of phenomena within the system'. These views are significant in understanding the application of the systems theory but are not relevant in the context of the study. The arguments do not relate to the context of comparing the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Roskin, Cord, Medeiros & Jones (1991: 21-24) in the book, 'Political Science, An Introduction' write that the idea of looking at complex entities as a system originated from biology where the organs of the body perform such co-ordinate and inter-dependent functions that a damage to one organ causes alteration of the way the others work in an effort to compensate and keep the animal alive. Roskin,

Cord, Medeiros & Jones (1991: 21) argue that in the political systems model, the politics of a given country works the same way as the biological system where citizen's demands (inputs) are felt by the government decision makers, who process them, into authoritative decisions and actions (outputs). The outputs which are conveyed through the feedback mechanism impact on the socio-political and economic environment and may or may not achieve the intended outcomes. In this circumstance, the citizens express their support, or renew demand which is communicated back to the 'conversion box' for modifications or otherwise and the entire process continues for the purpose of achieving system stability and survival. These views are in line with the views of Dye (1981) about the interrelationships within the environment, the activities and the institutions within a political system that results in the authoritative allocation of values. The electric power policies in Nigeria and South Africa are the outcome of the two political systems. The argument by (Roskin, Cord, Medeiros & Jones (1991:22) that in some cases, the political systems approach describes realities well and in some cases, it doesn't offers another dimension in the context of the study. In lieu of this, Roskin, Cord, Medeiros & Jones (1991: 22), diagrammatically modify the systems models by changing nothing, and with the elements remaining the same. 'The conversion process' of the government was put first, suggesting that the government rather than the citizenry-originates most decisions; the public reacts only later. This strand of idea is helpful in understanding electric power policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. The conclusion reached by Roskin, Cord, Medeiros & Jones (1991: 22) that we still do not have a perfect model to explain and predict political actions and never will, is of worthy of note, as the question of whether citizens decide and leaders react or the other way round is raised. The views of Roskin, Cord, Medeiros & Jones (1991) are relevant in understanding that the systems model shows how the interactive processes in a political system are adapted to fit into the changing realities of policy making. The views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Policy initiatives in the context of the study emanate from the government in most circumstances.

Hanekom (1986: 32) writing on the topic 'Public Policy-making and Public Policy analysis', views that in the systems model of policy analysis 'inputs from the external environment such as community needs and problems serve as the basis for action by the policy-maker. Community problems and needs are presented to the government through debates, consultations, compromise, consensus etc, and on this basis, the government makes decisions, ie policy outputs to satisfy the needs of the people, and the outcome is communicated to the people through the feedback mechanism. Hanekom's (1986: 32) view that the usefulness of the systems models lies in the continuous feedback implied by utilizing the policy

results as additional inputs to the system is relevant in the study context. Electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa is a continuous policy process arising from the continuous demand from the electrification environment of the two countries. Hanekom (1986:32) further views that through this means, it is possible to determine whether a particular policy has the effects intended by the policy-maker. Hanekom's (1986: 32) view that the conversion of inputs into outputs may not be clear, since a question arises as to whether the feedbacks are considered, and to what extent and whether a consensus was achieved as to what constitutes the need of the community is relevant in understanding the policy framework of electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa.

Anderson (2006: 18-19) refers to a political system as comprising of those identifiable and interrelated institutions and activities in a society that make authoritative allocation of values that are binding on society. The environment consists of all phenomena that are external to the boundaries of the political system, such as the economic, social, cultural, biological etc setting. According to Anderson (2006: 19), inputs into the political system consist of demands and supports from the environment. The demands are the claim for action representing people's interests and needs, and support is rendered when people abide by government laws, accept government decisions etc. Outputs of the political system include laws, rules etc, and are regarded as 'the authoritative allocation of values'; they constitute public policy. Through the feedback loop, government policies are monitored back to the environment and depending on the character of the political system may produce new demands. Anderson (2006: 19) argues that the usefulness of the systems theory in studying public policy is limited by its highly and generally abstract nature as it says little about the procedures and processes by which decisions are made, and how public policies are developed within the 'conversion box'. The critique by (Anderson (2006) is reflected in the discourse on page 34 of the study, which shows that, in the context of the study, detailed procedures and processes are involved in the process of policy making on electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa, though, the systems theory depicts government 'as simply responding to the demands of the people'. However, the views of Anderson (2006: 19-20) that the system approach can be useful in organizing inquiry into policy formation, can alert us to some vital aspects of the policy process such as how inputs from the environment affect the content of public policy and the operation of the political system; how in turn public policy affects the environment and the subsequent demands for policy action; and how well the political system is able to convert demands into public policy and preserve itself over time is significant and relevant in the context of the study.

The electric power policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa takes cognizance of inputs from the environment, such as the various units within the sub-sector.

Wissink (1991: 32) writes that a political system is more than just the government and the legislature, as it is embedded in a political, social, economic, cultural and technological environment which interacts continuously. Wissink (1991: 32) identifies the usefulness of the systems model of policy analysis as: the provision of a framework which describes the relationships between the demands, the political system and the outputs or outcome in terms of stabilizing the environment of sensitizing the government for further demands; the provision of analytical tools to understand how the environment influences or is influenced by the policy outputs; and the systems approach presents the dynamic and continuous nature of policy-making as against other 'models which see policy-making as a stop-start sequential process'. Wissink (1991: 32) also agrees with the views of Anderson (2006; Erasmus (1994) & Hanekom (1986) that the systems approach fails to describe how the actual transformation of inputs into outputs takes place; it offers little or no explanation about the power relationships in policy-making as regards the types of coalition that are formed to secure a policy decision and the groups that suffer marginalization in the course of policy making; that the approach says little about the changes which matter politically and why certain policies evolve as a response to those changes; and the approach implies that policy developments follow logically, on the demands of the people, thereby, ignoring unpatterned or irregular policy making by policy makers. The views of Wissink (1991) are relevant in the context of comparing electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The views bring into focus the interactive relationship between the demands for electric power in the political system and the various outcomes.

In the course of the reviews, the following themes run through the body of scholarly work:

- i. The concept of a political system implies an identifiable set of institutions and activities that function to transform demands into authoritative value allocations for the entire society (Dye 1981:41);
- ii. Public policy is the output of a political system resulting from the interactions of the forces of the environment (Dye 1981:41);
- iii. The systems theory does not correspond to real world situations as it depicts only one way of understanding the occurrence of phenomena within the political system (Erasmus 1994:89);

- iv. The systems theory says little about the procedures and processes by which decisions are made, and how public policies are developed in the political system (Anderson 2006:19-20);
- v. The systems theory ignores unpatterned or irregular policy-making by policy makers (Wissink 1991:32). The study reviews next, scholarly publications on the advocacy coalition framework.

2.2.3 Advocacy Coalition Framework

The advocacy coalition framework is reviewed in the context of the study. It looks at a body of scholarly views that have relevance to the study.

Sabatier (1991: 151-153) writes that the advocacy coalition framework is a conceptual framework of the policy process that ‘synthesizes the policy focus of modern scholars, such as preferences, interests, goals, resources, environments, institutional rules, background socio-political and economic conditions etc. Sabatier (1991:151-153) further opines that policy change overtime is a function of three sets of factors: the interaction of competing advocacy coalitions within a policy subsystem/community, who are actors who share common policy beliefs and work to manipulate the instrumentalities of the government to achieve their goals; changes external to the subsystem, which includes changes in socio-economic conditions, changes in systemic governing coalitions and policy impacts from other subsystems; and the effects of stable system parameters which comprises, basic attributes of the problem area, basic distribution of natural resources, fundamental socio-cultural values and the basic constitutional structure. Sabatier (1991:151-153) identifies these as relevant factors influencing public policy. These factors are relevant in the context of comparing the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Sabatier’s (1991:153) view that coalitions organize around core beliefs to influence or manipulate government structures to achieve their goals overtime, applies to the study in the context of stakeholders’ and policy agent’s interests. The appeal of the advocacy coalition framework which has strong relevance to the study lies in its ability to integrate the concerns of policy actors in both the private and public realms, and the academia to achieve policy goals that are of interest to the society at large. In the context of the study, the policy actors identify the policy issues that, affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.

In ‘Advocacy coalitions and policy change’, Cairney(1997:884) presents a theoretical examination of the advocacy coalition framework (ACF). The advocacy coalition framework is designed to replace policy cycle conceptions of policy change, in which the policy process is disaggregated into distinct

stages, while maintaining a sub-system or policy network focus. Cairney (1997:886) insists that the concern here is to assess whether the substantive issues and assumptions of the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) 'present a worthwhile alternative to traditional concerns about the policy process'. Cairney (1997:884) places his views against the four basic premises of the advocacy coalition process, which are:

- a time perspective of at least ten years which is required to evaluate the effects of policy;
- a focus on 'policy subsystems, that is, the interaction of actors from different institutions who follow and seek to influence, governmental decisions in a policy area;
- Policy subsystems involve actors from all levels of government, as against the top-down syndrome.
- Public policies can be conceptualized in the same manner as belief systems or a body of public values and priorities and the determinate means to achieve them.

Based on the foregoing, (Cairney1997:886) raises the following arguments against the advocacy coalition framework:

- by defining subsystems too widely the advocacy coalition framework appears to ignore all the insights from the literature on policy networks which it purports to follow;
- It fails to consider 'the insider/outsider status of individuals and groups, and also the proper role of policy brokers;
- the core beliefs do not shape the daily behaviours of coalitions, and core beliefs may not explain why some groups form a coalition;
- the differences between core, policy and secondary beliefs poses some problems of understanding, and the identification of coalition core beliefs is not feasible.

Cairney (1997:894) further argues that on this basis 'it will be difficult to explain activity', and as Sabatier is able to provide a dynamic and far reaching framework which replaces the policy cycle approach, his purported replacement is fraught with difficulties and even resembles 'the black box' type of model by Easton which Sabatier clearly rejects. The views of Cairney (1997) parade in sophistication and contribute to the growing body of knowledge in the field of public policy. However in the context of the study, the views fail to supplant some basic assumptions of the advocacy coalition framework, especially in the aspects of conceptualizing public policy in terms of a body of public

values and priorities, aggregating the interests of policy actors from both the public and private realms to influence public policy, policy evaluation etc. These issues are vital in the context of comparing electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from a policy perspective.

Writing on ‘Advocacy Coalitions and the Practice of Policy Analysis’, Heintz & Smith (1988:263) focus attention on the ‘manner in which the advocacy coalition framework bears on the practice of policy analysis, both from the perspective of the manager of analytical resources, and the perspective of the practicing policy analyst. Basically, Heintz & Smith (1988:264-268) present the different existing models of analysis of the political process as the progressive model, which is based on the fundamental concept of separating the subjective, value oriented political policy making function from the objective, neutral scientific function. The interest group model which ‘focuses on the ways’ in which competing interest groups influence policy to serve their material ends, and the ideological model which ‘focuses on the role of ideology on the political process.

On these grounds, Heintz & Smith (1988: 266) propose a synthesis using three key elements in the policy change framework. These are: the focus on interaction between two opposing advocacy coalitions, analysis of factors explaining policy change, and the explanation of belief systems of opposing coalitions. On policy learning (Heintz & Smith (1988: 269) opine that within subsystems, ‘policy learning can take place within/or across advocacy coalitions. In the first case, a given coalition dwells on the causal relations within its belief system and in the latter, one or both coalitions add to or modify cores or secondary aspects response to the analytical debate. Also two conditions exist for cross coalition learning; they exist either in ‘hospitable context which enhances prospects for cross-coalition learning’ and the ‘hostile context which inhibits cross-coalition learning’. As regards policy managers response to civil society and interest group needs, Heintz & Smith (1988:271) also write that, in terms of managerial implications, analytical resources can be allocated in a manner that enhances prospects for cross-coalition learning through response to political clients, such as ‘official agencies or organized interest groups’, and ‘the analysis must be responsive to client’s needs’. Heintz & Smith’s (1988:263) proposition of cross-coalition policy learning in policy analysis under advocacy coalition is relevant in the context of the study, since through such processes, community needs are identified and harmonized for policy-making. In the context of the study, cross-coalition policy learning is a significant aspect in a cross national policy comparison of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.

In the article on 'Interdependency, Beliefs, and Coalition Behaviour: A Contribution to the Advocacy Coalition Framework, Fenger & Klok (2001:157) acknowledge that the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) focuses exclusively on the structure, content, stability, and evolution of the policy belief systems of advocacy coalitions, but insist that there is no account of 'how actors with certain policy belief systems develop and maintain these coalitions'. Fenger & Klok (2001:157) advocate for 'interdependency of behaviour' and argue that 'interdependency contributes significantly to the possibilities of explaining the behaviour of single actors and advocacy coalitions' and 'coalition maintenance'. As the emphasis is on interdependence, beliefs and coalition behaviour, Fenger & Klok (2001:161) strongly believe that 'interdependencies are important to the co ordination between coalitions within subsystems and between coalitions in overlapping subsystems.

Also, their conviction is that if interdependency is a vital factor in explaining behaviour, it also has implications for coalition behaviour in the principal unit of analysis of the advocacy coalition framework and policy subsystem. Fenger & Klok (2001: 162) identify the two types of interdependency as competitive interdependency where the action of one actor interferes with another actor's ability to take action or achieve his goals, and symbiotic interdependency where one actor's actions contribute to another actor's actions or goal achievement. Fenger & Klok (2001:162) further observe that the difference between symbiotic and competitive interdependency is significant in coalition formation and co-ordination, accordingly, symbiotic interdependency motivates actors to co-operate, whereas, competitive interdependency acts as a separative factor, thereby, causing disagreements and conflicts. In the context of the study, the views of Fenger & Klok (2001) on the significance of interdependence in coalition formation is relevant since, it helps in the co-ordination of policy actors towards a particular policy goal. The two forms of interdependency behaviours, namely, competitive and symbiotic behaviours are also important considerations in explaining the aggregate behaviour of policy actors in response to policy issues in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

In 'The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Innovations and Clarifications', Sabatier & Weible (2007:191-192) identify the three foundation stones of the advocacy coalition framework as: 'a macro-level assumption that most policy making occurs among specialists within a policy subsystem but that their behaviour is affected by factors in the broader political and socio- economic system; a micro-level model of an individual that is drawn heavily from social psychology; and a meso-level conviction that

the best way to deal with multiplicity of actors in a subsystem is to aggregate them into advocacy coalitions'. These three foundation stones according to Sabatier & Weible (2007:192), in turn, affect the dependent variables of belief and policy change, through two critical parts: policy oriented learning and external perturbations. The relevant part of the modifications of the advocacy coalition framework of Sabatier & Weible (2007:199) to the study is 'the coalition opportunity structures', which are characterized by such variables as the degree of consensus needed for major policy change and the openness of the political system. The views of Sabatier & Weible (2007) are relevant in the context of the study. The degree of consensus needed for policy reforms or changes in electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, and the degree of openness in the two political systems are relevant in comparing the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

In 'Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Approach to Critical Theory and Belief Systems in Policy Making,' Ike (2009:1) identifies a close match between the concept of belief proposed in the advocacy coalition framework and the notion of religious belief. Ike (2009:1) considers the advocacy coalition framework as a model that provides a rationale for viewing critical theory as all inclusive in policy-making, and also examines the policy decision-making process with religious beliefs as part of that process. Ike (2009:11) uses a case-study 'as in the New Deal of (1930s) between President Frank D Roosevelt of America and religious leaders to explain the importance of the advocacy coalition framework with the role of belief systems. According to Ike (2009:11), Roosevelt wrote to the United States clergy soliciting advice on how to eradicate the Depression of the 1930s, and many of the clergy responded and offered their advice. Ike (2009:11) further writes that 'the advocacy coalition theory offers a framework for the study of the collaboration between President Roosevelt and the clergy (religious leaders) since the advocacy coalition framework acknowledges the necessity for small groups and the belief system in the policy process'. Ike (2009:12) also writes that 'the relationship between Roosevelt and the religious leaders is further understood by testing one of advocacy coalition theory hypothesis that actors within a coalition will tend to agree on core policy issues and not so much on their secondary aspects. Notably, the relationship between Roosevelt and the religious leaders was a coalition showing a subsystem and a belief system. The contributions of Ike (2009) to the growing body of scholarly work in the advocacy coalition framework are relevant to the study context in the following ways:

- there is the recognition of the role of the belief system in the policy process of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.
- the fact that policy actors agree on core policy issues, such as electrification in Nigeria and South Africa;
- religious leaders are policy actors in Nigeria and South Africa, and they play roles in articulating the electrification needs of the people;
- it relates to the general group impact on the electricity power policy process in Nigeria and South Africa.

In the article titled ‘Beyond the Advocacy Coalition Framework in the Policy Process’, Jung Kim & Young Roh (2008: 668) develop some conceptual steps for moving beyond the previous advocacy coalition framework approaches to produce better policy-process theories by pointing out the following limitations: first, its ability to explain the diverse features of policy networks is doubtful; and it fails to ‘distinguish more important policy actors from less important ones because it does not detail strategic interactions among coalition members’. The Jung Kim & Young Roh (2008: 669) article, therefore, aims at ‘facilitating a connection between policy network approaches and policy-process theories by identifying and discussing three important issues so as to overcome the shortfalls of the ACF and ‘to facilitate a connection between policy-network approaches and policy-process theories. According to Jung Kim & Young Roh (2008: 676-685), these issues include:

- i. identifying the appropriate level or units of analysis in the policy domain;
- ii. understanding the factors that influence co-ordination among policy actors; and
- iii. understanding the effects of macro-level factors on policy networks.

The views of Jung Kim & Young Roh (2008) are relevant to the study context. Understanding the connection between the policy domain of electrification and the effect of the policy issues is relevant in comparing the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Weible, Sabatier & McQueen (2009:121), in the article ‘Themes and Variations: Taking Stock of the Advocacy Coalition Framework, write that the ‘advocacy coalition framework is applicable to various substantive topics, across various geographical areas, and with other policy processes, theories and frameworks, including the stages heuristic’. Weible, Sabatier & Mc Queen’s (2009: 125-136) article is

to ‘stock take’ the existing and various applications of the advocacy coalition approach and further present a summary of how researches have applied it. The aspects relevant to the study are:

- i. Advocacy coalition framework applications have expanded to geographical and substantive breadth and depth. Researchers have applied the advocacy coalition approach to varying policy areas such as health, environment, energy, economy, domestic violence etc and this application cuts across the continents of America, Africa, Asia, Europe etc. The framework is being applied in the context of comparing the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.
- ii. The application of the advocacy coalition framework has included multiple methods of data collection such as interviews, content analysis, questionnaires, case-studies, observational methods or some combination of these methods. The advocacy coalition framework is applied in the context of understanding and explaining the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. The data collection method involves a combination of the content analysis and case-study approaches.

In the course of the reviews, the following themes run through the body of available literature in the advocacy coalition framework:

- i. the advocacy coalition framework is a conceptual framework of the policy process that synthesizes the policy focus of modern policy scholars (Sabatier 1991:153);
- ii. a time frame of at least 10 years is required to evaluate a particular policy (Sabatier 1991:153; Cairney 1997:884);
- iii. policy change over time is a function of three sets of variables, which include, the interaction of competing advocacy coalitions within the policy sub-system; the effects of stable system parameters; and changes external to the sub-system (1991:152)
- iv. the advocacy coalition framework has limitations in such issues as failing to consider the proper role of policy brokers; and failing to adequately, differentiate core and secondary beliefs (Cairney 1997:886);
- v. there is a close match between the concept of belief proposed in the advocacy coalition and the notion of religious beliefs (Ike 2009:1);
- vi. the advocacy coalition framework application has expanded in geographical and substantive breadth and depth in recent years (Weible Sabatier & McQueen 2009:125).

The scholarly reviews demonstrated on the basis of the theoretical context of the study provide the underpinnings to adequately place the study in the proper theoretical context. As the study seeks to compare the electric power policy in Nigeria from 1960 to 2011 and South Africa from, 1994 to 2011, the categorization of the scholarly reviews under comparative public administration theory, systems theory study and advocacy coalition framework becomes necessary. The study reviews next, available scholarly work on public administration, in the context of the study.

2.3 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Heady (1979:2) writes that public administration ‘is presumably an aspect of a more generic concept of administration, the essence of which has been described as determined action taken in pursuit of conscious purpose. Public administration is reviewed in the context of the study. It is reviewed in the context of the generic functions of public administration in the electric power policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa.

POLICY MAKING

Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (1994: 14) refer to public administration as an activity, and they state that the activity nature of public administration consists of, among others, six generic processes which are ‘obviously interdependent and overlap in their execution’. The generic processes according to Du Toit & Van Der Waldt, 1994: 14-15) include: policy making, organizing, financing, personnel provision (staffing), determination of work procedures and control. They propose that policy making ‘is the umbrella process in terms of which a series of functions is carried out to decide on a plan of action to achieve certain objectives’. These functions involve identifying problems, investigating, gathering information/data and making decisions/policies. These views are relevant in the context of understanding the place of public administration in comparing the electric power policy in Nigeria to that in South Africa.

Hanekom & Thornhill (1993: 18) emphasize that the generic administrative functions are interdependent; the functions can be distinguished but are not separable. All public activities should aim at a clear goal, and that the goal should be known to all concerned in order to ensure that their activities are aimed at achieving the intended goal. They further suggest that government policy is laid

down in form of legislation and legislation does not provide an explanation of the preceding policy-making functions. It is therefore, the bureaucrats who are charged with the preceding functions and act as advisers to the politicians on policy matters. These views are relevant in the study context. The bureaucrats offer policy advice in respect of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.

The views of Cloete (1998) are similar to the views Hanekom & Thornhill (1993:18). Cloete (1998:127-132) writes that after the government policy, which involves the initiative and formulation of the policy, the administrative executive policy is concerned mainly with the practical steps to give effect to the political implementation policy. This is manifested in the administrative policy functions of the bureaucracy in respect of electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. Cloete (1998: 159-160) is of the notion that ‘policy implementation must result in the provision of services or products; and policy implementation could more appropriately be called delivery processes’. Secondly, policy implementation takes place along with or after performance of all the groups of activities that constitute public administration....’; and the parts of the generic administrative functions performed for policy implementation may appropriately be referred to as executive or delivery functions performed through the rank and file. Cloete’s (1998:158) matching of ‘policy implementation’ with the ‘delivery processes’ of administration is particularly relevant in the context of understanding the place of public administration in the electric power policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa.

The views of (Wissink 1991:36) are also relevant in the context of understanding the policy functions of administration in electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. Wissink (1991:36-40) writes that as a public management function, a public manager’s involvement in policy-making has a dual nature, and this refers: to the external dimension which involves ‘the broad goals of government which are commonly referred to as major functional areas of public policy...,’ and the internal dimensions which ‘focus on inter-organizational co-ordination and other administrative process or functions’. Administration performs the management functions of policy initiation and the co-ordination of other administrative policy processes of electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa.

PLANNING

Shafritz et al’s (2007: 240) view that planning is the working out in broad outline of the things that need to be done and the methods for doing them to accomplish the purpose set for the enterprise, has

implications for examining the generic administrative function of planning in electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. Schwella's (1991:46-47) views that 'planning' as a function of public administration is of primary importance and has a substantial effect on the efficiency of public institutions; and that planning 'constitutes a set of processes which must be carried out to find the best course of action which has been identified and described with the policy statement' is relevant in the context of understanding how this function is carried out in respect of electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. The following views of (Schwella 1991:49) on the importance of planning as a public management function are also important in the context of comparing the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa:

- i. planning allows the public manager to handle changes effectively, for instance, in streamlining phases of development from one state to another;
- ii. it provides direction in the institution as it provides the necessary data on what is to be achieved, when and how it will be achieved, and also the requirements both human and otherwise;
- iii. it provides a unifying framework for achieving policy actions;
- iv. it provides a wider opportunity of participation by interested parties in the activities of the institutions;
- v. it creates a higher level of predictability and certainty in task-executions;
- vi. planning also facilitates control, as it provides a means of evaluating whether activities conform to expected standards.

The views of Schwella (1991:49) are relevant in the context of understanding planning as an administrative function in comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

The views of Hanekom & Thornhill (1993: 34) that 'planning is aimed mainly at future activities and has orderly actions as its goal is equally relevant to the study. Hanekom & Thornhill (1993:34) also identify the basic features of planning as follows: a process which constitutes a series of successive and related activities, the planning activities are action oriented, as a starting point, alternative possible ways in which the identified goals may be reached are accepted, and it is a neutral aid that may be utilized for attaining a variety of ends. Hanekom & Thornhill (1993: 34) further write that 'planning is aimed at determining particular aims to be met in order to achieve the all-encompassing goal of promotion of the general welfare; and that planning is a primary government action and continuous co-

operation between administrators and politicians is necessary to ensure the acceptability of the planning proposals (Hanekom & Thornhill, 1993: 49). The views of Hanekom & Thornhill (1993:34) that planning is futuristic, needed to promote public welfare, and that planning is a government action and continuous co-operation between administrators and politicians has strong relevance to the study context. The electricity policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa is a continuous one and is determined on the basis of interactions between politicians and administrators.

Gildenhuis (2004:219) also believes 'that planning is aimed at realizing development goals and objectives at a pre-determined point in the future,' and involves policy development with long-term goals and objectives. Gildenhuis (2004: 219) summarizes planning as: a future oriented activity that relies on rational thought for future problem-solving; a process of research which involves weighing alternatives and in which a variety of interrelated decisions must be taken; the use of reason to aim activities at the future realization of development goals and objectives; a public management function for defining a development policy, that embraces development goals and objectives and a development strategy for realizing the development goals and objectives. The views of Shafritz et al (2007:240; Schwella 1991:46-47; Hanekom & Thornhill 1993:34 & Gildenhuis 2004:219) are relevant in understanding the administrative function of planning in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Planning in the context of the study involves developing broad outlines of the things to do, defining the policy objectives, and giving directions on how to do them.

ORGANISING

Shafritz et al's (2007: 240) view that 'organizing is the establishment of the formal structure of authority through which work subdivisions are arranged, defined, and coordinated for the defined objectives is relevant to the study. The place of organizing in comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa is important. Fox (1991:70) is of the view that in order that an organizational role may exist and be meaningful to a person, it must incorporate the following aspects, firstly, veritable objectives which are the task of planning, a clear concept of the major duties or activities involved, and an understood area of discretion or authority so that the role occupant involved knows and understands expectations in terms of achieving results. This aspect of organizing as identified by (Fox (1991:70) is relevant in terms of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Fox (1991: 72) further writes that 'organising is a process', which implies that the structure must reflect objectives and plans, the authority available to public managements, and organization structure must,

like any plan, reflect its environment, which could be social, cultural, economic, political etc, and the organisation must be staffed by people (people with the necessary skills and academic qualifications). The views of Fox (1991:72) are also pertinent to understanding organising as an essential administrative function in the context of the study. Organising structures in the study context also reflect the views of Fox (1991: 72) that environmental characteristics play vital roles. In the context of the study, environmental characteristics play vital roles in the context of comparing electric power in Nigeria and South Africa.

The views of Fox & Meyer (1995: 9) are also considered in the study context. Fox & Meyer (1995:9) view organising as:

- i. a co-operative and essential dynamic system in the process of continual adaptation to its physical, biological and social environment, while pursuing objectives;
- ii. an open dynamic and complex system of co-operation that co-ordinates the actions of its members to enhance individual efforts aimed at goal accomplishments;
- iii. accomplish specific objectives;
- iv. an open, dynamic, purposeful social system of co-operation designed to enhance individual effort aimed at goal accomplishment, and consists of the human element, and the co-ordination element that transform resources into outputs for users.

The views of Fox & Meyer (1995:9) on organising do not gravitate towards the administrative function in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Hanekom & Thornhill (1993:71) also write on organizing, and maintains that due to the very large scale and complex nature of government activities, organizing is necessary, and since more than one person is required to achieve similar goals, order and coherence is needed. The views of Hanekom & Thornhill (1993:71) are similar to the views of Fox (1991:72) in the context of understanding the administrative function of organising in electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa.

Cloete (1998: 186-187) identifies the delivery functions of organising 'as the action parts of organizing rather than the structure-designing parts'. According to Cloete (1998:186-187) these involve:

- i. adaptation, which involves the official's' being attentive to the organizational arrangements, so as to ensure meeting the changing needs of the people;

- ii. allocation of functions/duties, which involves assigning the duties to officials employed in the units;
- iii. tapping the grapevine, where the supervisor/official maintains the ‘informal communication’ link, so as to keep abreast with developments in the field of work;
- iv. delegating authority, whereby supervisors/officials will have to delegate functions to continuously meet the daily needs not provided for by the formal delegation of authority;
- v. re-organization which also involves adjusting the organizational arrangements to meet the daily needs of the people and also soliciting the approval of supervisors where the adjustments are beyond the powers of the supervisor;
- vi. co-ordinating different organizational units so as to achieve the prescribed organizational objectives; and
- vii. the supervisor/official has to bring in teamwork to achieve the set objectives of the institution assigned to him or her.

The views of (Cloete 1998:186-187) are relevant in understanding the place of organizing as an administrative function in the electricity policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. The action parts of organizing as identified by (Cloete 1998: 186-187) are relevant aspects in the context of the study.

STAFFING

Shafritz et al’s (2007: 240) reference to staffing as the whole personnel function of bringing in and training the staff and maintaining favourable conditions of work is relevant in the context of the study. In the same vein, the views of Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (1999: 15) that staffing is a process which involves performing several other functions for making personnel available to and placing them in suitable positions and developing them is also relevant in the context of understanding the place of staffing as an administrative function in the context of the study. Cloete (1998: 214) also views staffing as being involved in the six generic administrative functions, and specifically identifies staffing functions as personnel provision functions, supporting functions, training and development functions and utilization (delivery functions). The views of Shafritz et al (2007:240; Cloete 1998:214; Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1999:15) are relevant in the context of understanding the place of staffing as an administrative function in the electric power policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. Staffing

is also involved in performing the other generic functions of public administration in the context of the study.

FINANCING

Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (1999: 14) refer to financing ‘as the umbrella process which administers government finances’ and entails among other things, ‘obtaining, allocating, spending and controlling public finances’. Policy considerations in the context of the study involve aspects of financing, thereby making the views of Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (1999:14) relevant to the study. Botes, Brynard, Fourie & Roux (1996: 140- 141) also identify three key issues in state finance as: the scarcity problem, which makes it difficult for government to adequately allocate public funds to provide for all the needs, and desires of the society; the allocation problem, which has to do with prioritizing needs in relation to the allocation of funds; and the redistribution problems, which also deal with how to redistribute public funds so as to attend to the needs and demands of the different segments of the society where government attention is continuously needed. Allocation of funds is an important consideration in the electricity policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa, thereby making the views of Botes, Brynard, Fourie & Roux (1996:140-141) pertinent to the context of the study. The availability of funds and the judicious allocation of funds play a vital function in the study context.

Writing on ‘the place of the budget in public administration’, Hanekom & Thornhill (1993: 58) believe that an ‘increase in public activities produces a corresponding increase in demand on government and that the cost of a service, value considerations and the impact of the services are all considered in the process. The administrator according to Hanekom & Thornhill (1993:58), plays a vital role since his mastery of public matters and people’s values disposes him to advise the minister appropriately, and the financial implications of this advice have to be incorporated in the budget. Hanekom & Thornhill (1993: 58) contend that, ‘since public activities have political, economical, social and technological implications etc, and for the budget to be used as a policy-making aid, the policy-influencing factors which are relatively complex in nature have to be considered. Hanekom & Thornhill (1993:58) further write that in this situation, the administrator requires ‘clear guidelines’ in the budget preparation so as to ensure that ‘the administrative and functional activities provided for in the budget satisfy the demands of the political office-bearers and the representatives of the voters. Financing is an important consideration in the context of policy-making on electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. Financing as an administrative function, in the views of Hanekom & Thornhill (1993:58) is

relevant in the context of the study. Electrification requires huge funds, and policy considerations in the study context, take cognizance of this factor.

PROCEDURE

The views of Du Toit & Van Waldt (1999: 15) 'that procedure involves drafting specific instructions to be followed in carrying out certain actions, and these instructions are found in legislation and regulations arising from legislation' are pertinent to this study. In a similar vein Cloete (1998:248) writes that after other administrative functions of policy formulation, organizing, staffing, financing have been completed, the organizational work commences, and co-operation is needed to attain the institutional/organizational objectives. These views of Cloete (1998:248) are relevant in understanding the place of procedure as an administrative function in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Policy making in the context of the study is guided by specific instructions and regulations.

CONTROL

The views of Gildenhuis (2004:210) that control 'is the final link in the management chain of administration,' and 'when everything has been set in motion for executing the programmed activities in terms of the government policies, an immediate need for control is created' is reviewed in the context of the study. These views are relevant in the context of placing the administrative function of control in the context of the study. Similarly the views of Fox (1991: 118-119) that control 'is the process of monitoring activities in order to determine whether individual units and the institution itself are obtaining and utilizing their resources efficiently to accomplish their objectives, and where this is not being achieved, implementing corrective actions are also reviewed and found relevant in the context of the study. Also the views of Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (1999:15) that 'control is exercised to ensure that all administrative and functional functions are carried out effectively and efficiently to achieve objectives' are found to be pertinent to the context of the study. The views of Cloete (1998:265) 'that the exercise of control in the public sector can have one objective, which is to ensure that account is given in public for everything the authorities do or neglect to do, so that people can assess government activities in relation to furthering the public interest' is relevant in the context of the study. The view of Hanekom & Thornhill (1993:101) that 'the application of control is only one of the administrative functions that must be carried out in order to obtain the joint action necessary to realize common goal'

is relevant in the context of the study. Viewed in the context of the study, control as an administrative function of ensuring that related institutional activities are efficiently carried to accomplish designated goals are found relevant (Gildenhuis 2004:210; Fox 1991:118-119; & Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1999:15). Also, the views of Cloete (1998:265; Hanekom & Thornhill 1993:101) are found to be relevant to the study. Policy making in the electricity sub-sector in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa is carried out with the intention of achieving the intended outcomes. These can only be achieved through effective control.

As was pointed out earlier, the review of some scholarly work on public administration is relevant in understanding the generic functions of public administration in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. In the course of the reviews, the following themes run through the reviewed body of scholarly work.

- i. Public policy making is the umbrella process through which a series of actions are carried out to decide on a plan to achieve certain government goals (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1999:14; Hanekom & Thornhill 1993:18);
- ii. Planning is a set of processes carried out to determine the best course of action to undertake to achieve certain goals of the government, and is also aimed at future activities (Schewella 1991:46; Hanekom & Thornhill 1993:34);
- iii. Organising is the establishment of formal structures through which work sub-divisions are carried out, and has to reflect on the government objectives and plans (Shafritz et al 2007:240; Fox 1991:72);
- iv. Staffing is the personnel function of hiring and training staff and maintaining good working conditions (Shafritz et al 2007:240; Cloete 1998:214; Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1999:15);
- v. Financing is the administration of government finances to achieve the government policy goals (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1999:14);
- vi. Procedure is the drafting of specific instructions or guidelines to be followed in carrying out certain actions to attain institutional objectives (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1999:15; Cloete 1998:248);
- vii. Control involves maintaining a formal link within the institution so as to monitor work progress (Gildenhuis 2004:210; Fox 1991: 118-119). Next is public policy in the context of the study.

2.4 PUBLIC POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The effective and efficient provision of electricity services in Nigeria and South Africa, depends on the electrification policies of the two countries (as formulated by the policy makers), the understanding of the policy makers on the need for effective/optimal electrification, the availability of resources (natural, financial, human), and the nature of the public policy process (Hanekom 1986:25). The review of a body of scholarly work on public policy is conducted in the context of the study.

In the book 'Introducing Public Administration', Shafritz, Russel, Borick (2007: 41) resort to the biblical quote, 'in the beginning there was chaos, and then came policy'. 'Let there be light (Genesis 1:3) was a policy decision'. Against this background, Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007:41) conceive that policy creates orderly structures and a sense of direction, and public administration must have administrative structures that are directed by leaders who wish to do something at least to maintain the status-quo, since all of public administration is inherently an instrument of policy-whether that instrument plays well, poorly or not at all. The conceptions of Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007:41) are fundamental in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Policy is fundamental to public administration, and in the context of the study, the views of Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007: 41) that policy creates orderly structures and a sense of direction generally disposes one to the view that the governments in Nigeria and South Africa, use public policy instruments to pursue the goals of electrification which is identified as the provision of affordable and quality electricity power to the people and to achieve access for all.

The policy making process according to Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007: 49-60), involves many aspects, many players, and many issues. The stages include: agenda setting or the identification of a policy issue, policy decision or non decision, implementation, programme evaluation or impact analysis and feedback which leads to revision or termination. The policy making stages as identified by Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007:49-60) can be applied in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Another view of relevance in the study context according to Shafritz Russel & Borick (2007:49-51), is that through agenda setting various issues are presented for consideration by the policy making institutions, that agendas are often set by public policy entrepreneurs, political actors who take a political issue and run with it. These views expressed by Shafritz, Russel & Borick (2007) are relevant in understanding the general public policy-making process of electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa. The views do not dwell on the electricity policy in Nigeria and South

Africa. It, nevertheless, offers a good background for understanding and applying the processes in the context of the study.

The views of (Anderson 2006: 19) that public policy 'is a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern,' are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Anderson (2006:39-46) identifies some of the environmental factors that influence public policy making as: the political culture which involves the belief system, values, lifestyles, norms, attitude etc that influence the political behavior of members of a particular society, and this 'culture' differentiates a particular society from another, and the socio-economic factors which may yield strong influence on the political activity in the society. The views are relevant in the context of the study, as the political culture and the socio-economic conditions prevalent in Nigeria and South Africa, affect policy making in the electricity sub-sectors of the two countries.

Also relevant in the study context is the notion of 'policy agenda', which according to Anderson (2006: 87), is that to achieve agenda status, a public problem must be converted into an issue or a matter requiring government attention. This requires the identification of electrification as a policy problem in Nigeria and South Africa and its conversion into an issue for policy making. At the policy adoption stage Anderson (2006: 121) writes that 'what happens here is not selection from among a number of full blown policy alternatives but rather action on a preferred policy alternative, for which the proponents of action think they can win approval'. Anderson (2006: 121) further writes that through the adoption process, policies acquire the 'weight of public authority'.

This informs the adoption of various electricity generation, transmission and distribution policies in Nigeria and South Africa and these are deliberate policy options of the policy makers. Also of relevance in the study context, is the view that policy adoption is not considered in isolation of such vital factors as public opinion (Anderson 2006: 133) and public interest (Anderson 2006: 137). Public opinion and public interest play significant roles in comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Anderson (2006:255) further writes that the evaluation stage involves the estimation, appraisal, or assessment of a policy, its content, implementation, goal attachment, and other effects. The relevance of this view lies in the obvious fact that policy evaluation remains an important stage in the policy cycle, and in the context of the study, the electric power policies in Nigeria and South Africa

are open to assessment for the purpose of identifying the factors that contribute to success or failure, which as the case may be, could lead to policy recycling or continuation.

Writing on the topic ‘The Environment of Public Policy’, Warwick (2006: 29) also considers policy making to be at the center stage of public administration as all government functions and services originate from a policy. Warwick (2006: 29) takes a clue from the systems theory stance that policy making cannot take place in a vacuum and that the demands for policy actions are generated by the environment through the political system.

In the study context, a combination of specific and general factors affects the electricity policy process in Nigeria and South Africa. According to Warwick (2006: 33-34) the specific factors are political, economic, social, technological, religious etc, and the general factors manifest in the environment as constitutionalism, democratic values, transparency, economic values, etc. He further writes that the general environment possess features that influence the public-policy making process. Warwick (2006:37-38) also identifies the factors that influences public policy making as circumstances which relate to the nature of the general environment in which the government operates, the needs and expectations of the people, policies and political parties, activities and representations from interest groups, personal views of political executive office bearers and research and investigation and experiences of public officials. The views of Warwick (2006) are relevant in the context of the study, as it offers the general ‘systematic context’ of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. It brings into focus the impact of environmental variables such as the economy, historical experiences, value preferences, nature of governance etc on the policy process of electrification.

Hendricks (2006:40) writing on the topic ‘actors in public policy making’ contends that initiatives for public policy are derived from different strong and relevant sources, and that these sources present policy problems or issues to the policy making authority. According to Hendricks (2006: 40- 45) these sources constitute the actors in the policy process and they play vital roles. They include: the legislators that make laws for any country and also carry public demands and needs to the legislative houses for deliberations and policy-making; political office bearers such as ministers at the national or regional level etc that receive mandates from the electorate which helps ‘to shape and inform public policies’; public office bearers such as the bureaucrats that serve in the capacity of policy advisers, formulators, implementers, and play a vital role in deciding what goes into the policy agenda; the public on whose behalf policies are made based on the needs, demands and aspirations; interest groups/pressure

groups/associations that articulate particular and general interests; the media that serve as ‘suppliers and transmitters of information’; opposition political parties that mobilize voters (the people) on behalf of a common set of interests or ideologies; and international institutions that provide standards and policies that must be observed by national governments.

The public policy actors and roles discussed by Hendricks (2006:40-45) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policies in Nigeria and South Africa. The policy actors that include politicians, the bureaucrats, and interest groups play interactive roles in the policy process of electrification.

Fox & Bayat (2006: 54-61) identify the phase model of public policy making as follows: the policy initiating process which involves deciding on issues that suggest the need for action, definition of the policy issue, recognizing the necessity and the political relevance of the policy, determining the policy impact and defining the general expectations of the stakeholders (the people); the planning phase, that involves setting goals, objectives and priorities, making necessary forecasts for future assumptions, evaluating and selecting courses of action and establishing the financial and other resources needed; the policy implementation phase involves mobilization of human resources to achieve the goals and objectives of the policy, and also performing the activities and tasks necessary to implement the policy successfully and utilizing the resources made available to the policy; the policy control phase involves ‘benchmarking the quality of services’; and the ‘closing phase’ which requires the estimation of the achievements and failures and the lessons from policy experiences which could lead to policy continuation, adjustments or termination.

The views of Fox & Bayat (2006) offer a lead in understanding and explaining the phase model of public policy-making and its application in the context of the study. The policy process approach of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa can be understood in terms of problem identification and definition and the adoption of strategies/policies. These processes are fundamental in identifying and discussing the policy issues that affect electrification in both countries.

Kirlin (1984: 13) identifies two contexts to policy formulation, these include policy formulation in a classical and stable political context which is characterized by an incremental process ‘arguing that choice rarely departs from previous patterns and policy formulation in a ‘cycle of functional phases. The cycle approach according to Kirlin (1984: 14), ‘encourages those who use it to view the policy

process as repetitive and as ideally characterized by rational choices'. The second context according to (Kirlin 1984: 14) discusses 'policy formulation' in terms of the 'dynamics of major change in public policy making'. Kirlin (1984: 16) anchors this view on the three dominant theories which are relevant in the context of the study.

First, is the political theory of 'public interest' which emphasizes government service delivery on a broad interest basis. Public interest drives the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Secondly, the perception that national government has the responsibility to solve economic imbalances and to help disadvantaged people, a notion which is fundamental in the electricity policy in South Africa, following the inception of democratic governance from 1994. Third is, the Keynesian economic theory of moral commitment by the government to fight poverty and discrimination and the predominance of minority interest over majority interests. Similarly, the electricity policy in South Africa, as reflected in the 'Reconstruction and Development' programme of the ANC is predicated on this view.

The views of Kirlin (1984: 13-23) offer vital propositions in comparing the public policy process of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. The views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria from 1960 to 2011 and South Africa, from 1994 to 2011 in terms of addressing the challenges created by the past policy experiences of the two countries.

In Administrative policy formulation and the public interest (Harmon 1992: 49) views public policy formulation from the perspective of public interest. In the context of the study (Harmon 1992: 51) view, that public interest is the continually changing outcome of political activity among individuals and groups within a democratic political system are of relevance to the study. This view systematically establishes the causal relationship between public policy formulation and public interest. In discussing the relational activity between 'public interest' and 'policy formulation' (Harmon 1992: 51) identifies a typology of administrative style which is characterized by 'responsiveness' and 'policy advocacy'. Responsive behavior is that which is observed in the democratic process and includes public voting, mutual adjustment, and public demands which might be legitimately translated into policy, and advocacy behavior refers to the active support by administrators/government for the adoption of policies in the interest of the people.

The public interest dimension to public policy formulation is a pertinent aspect of public policy making which is imperative in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South

Africa, since government exists to promote public interests in the two countries. The policy goal of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa is the provision of electricity power to the people and to achieve access by all. Electrification is therefore, a reflection of public interest in Nigeria and South Africa.

The views of (Koliba, Meek & Asim Zia 2011: 44-46) on inter-organizational networks in public administration, public policy and governance studies are relevant in the study context. Basically, the network dimension of public policies implies co-ordination of actions and functions to achieve goals by policy networks. According to (Koliba, Meek & Asim Zia 2011: 45-46) the structures and functions of inter-organizational networks operating across public administration and public policy studies are as follows:

- i. Networks facilitate the co-ordination of actions and exchange of resources between actors within the network.
- ii. Network membership can be drawn from some combination of public, private and nonprofit sector actors.
- iii. Networks may carry out one or more policy functions.
- iv. Networks exist across virtually all policy domains.
- v. Although networks are mostly defined at the inter-organizational level, they are also described in the context of the individuals, groups, and organizations that comprise them.
- vi. Networks form as the result of the selection of a particular policy tool.
- vii. Networks structures allow for government agencies to serve in roles other than lead organizations.

Inter organizational networks, characterized by policy actors from both the private and public realms comparatively, play roles in electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Koliba, Meek & Asim Zia 2011: 121-122) further writes that governance networks exist to define or frame public problems, and they bring a problem into ‘sharper focus’ or also help remove a particular problem from the public agenda. They use such means as bargaining, tradeoffs, negotiations compromises and concessions to impact on the public policy process for the benefit of public interest. The views of (Koliba, Meek&Asim Zia 2011:121-122) are relevant in the context of the study. It brings into focus the impacts of governance networks and policy actors in electricity power policy in Nigeria in comparism to South Africa.

Ijeoma (2010: 12) notes that public policy making is a vital component of good governance, and refers to policy as a higher, more general, strategic level of plans and actions. Electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa are 'substantive issues' in the policy agenda and requires 'strategic' policy-making, thereby, making the views of (Ijeoma 2010:12) relevant in the context of the study. Ijeoma's (2010: 12-13) also views that policy comes from a political authority, though sometimes influenced and determined by other actors (policy actors), and these actors sometimes pursue conflicting goals in a particular policy area and through bargaining, negotiations and compromise, interests are streamlined.

These views are also relevant in the context of the study as electricity power policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa comes from the political authority and are influenced by the policy actors. Ijeoma's (2010: 13) view that 'policy is a social practice' which is performed in recognition of other interrelated practices, and is driven by the need to reconcile conflicting objectives amongst actors who share interests 'but find it irrational to co-operate to achieve these goals is also relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Ijeoma's (2010:12-13) view is relevant to the study as it brings into focus the elements of public policy in good governance, the interactive role of policy actors in the policy process, and a contention that public policy can be produced through co-operating and harmonizing different interest claims, a view also raised in (Koluba, Meek & Asim Azia 2001: 121-122).

Writing on 'Public policy-making and public policy analysis', (Hanekom 1986: 25) writes that the 'promotion of general welfare of society depends on policies made by the policy-makers, the resources available, the understanding of the policy-makers as regards societal problems and needs and the nature of the public policy process. The inference here is that government should be abreast with the needs and demands of the people and map out 'specific, clearly defined social goals or policies pertaining to each and every aspect of its intended actions'. Electricity power policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa can be viewed in the context of (Hanekom 1986:25) conceptions about the general public policy process which involves cognition of the policy problems by the policy makers, availability of funds, and the nature of the general public policy process in Nigeria and South Africa.

De Conning (2006: 3) refers to public policy as 'a statement of intent, which specifies the basic principles to be pursued in attaining specific goals'. De Conning (2006: 16) draws the following conclusions from public policy:

- i. public policy is a functional perspective on the process of government;
- ii. public policy may not always be deliberately written and that ‘an allegation that no policy exists is in itself an indication of a policy approach to an issue or problem;
- iii. it is necessary to consider different definitions and approaches in the field so as to sieve the important elements;
- iv. the emphasis on value judgments, ethics, values, society and relationships;
- v. the importance of management, governance and institutional arrangement in effective policy management. The views of (De Conning 2006:16) are relevant in the context of the study. Electricity power policy in Nigeria in comparism to South Africa draws from the needs and values of the people, and also depicts the functional aspect of governments in the context of the study.

According to (Roux 2006:126) policy constitutes what a government decides to do or not in order to tackle policy problems or issues confronting the society. Roux’s (2006:126) emphasis on the necessity for clear goals and objectives in the policy process is relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Writing on ‘Policy agenda setting’ (Cloete & Meyer 2006: 105) refers to policy agenda setting as a deliberate planning process through which policy issues are identified, problems defined and prioritized, support mobilized and decision makers lobbied to take appropriate action. The views of (Cloete & Meyer 2006:105) are relevant in the context of identifying the policy issues that comparatively affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. Cloete & Meyer (2006: 105) are also of the view that the policy process usually starts with identification of a policy issue or problem by stakeholders in the society who feel that government actions are needed to address certain issues. Electricity power policy in Nigeria in comparism to South Africa is necessitated by the need to address the electricity power policy issues, and ‘effective structuring’ of the issue or problem according to (Cloete 2006:107) involves a clear underlying value and policy goal definition.

Cloete & Meyer’s (2006: 108) view that certain factors such as the needs, demands, promises, expectations and satisfaction of both policy makers and recipients, policy objectives and standards, urgency, cost versus benefits, history, resources etc are considered, are of relevance to the study context. Another relevant aspect of (Cloete & Meyer 2006: 108) view to the study context is the identification of factors influencing agenda setting. The factors are: the problem must reach crisis

point, the policy must achieve particularity, policy problems must have an emotive aspect to attract both media and other attention, policy issues or problems must have a wide impact and these issues should raise question about power relationships in the society.

Cloete & Meyer's (2006: 112) view, like (Warwick 2006:33-34) that agenda setting is influenced by the political, economic, social,, cultural, technological and global factors and that it is the forces in the society that wield political power that determines the direction of the policy agenda is relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Another relevant view of (Cloete & Meyer 2006) to the study context is on the level of public participation in the policy process. In lieu of this (Cloete & Meyer 2006:114) writes that the public participates in the policy process, and this form of participation disposes community members to 'try and influence the outcomes of development activities and obtain as many benefits as possible from the results of those activities'. Public participation in the policy process in the context of the study takes place through the involvement of democratically elected representatives, the involvement of leaders of legitimate organizations and interest groupings, involvement of individual opinions leaders, and the direct involvement of members of the public.

The views of (Cloete & Meyer 2006) are relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. It disposes one to the issues of agenda setting and public participation in the public policy process of electrification in Nigeria in comparism to South Africa. Brynard's (2006:167) view that 'decision making is based on considerations of facts and values' and that government officials supply facts to the decision makers, whereas the community determines the values is relevant in the context of the study. Policy making on electrification in Nigeria in comparism to South Africa is considered on facts from government officials and public values.

In the book, 'Public policy making process and principles' (Gerston 2010: 5) draws a linkage between policy makers and policy receivers and writes that the relationship is vital in understanding the meaning and nature of public policy'. Gerston (2010:5) further writes that as public policy results from a blend of politics and government, it is therefore, as important in defining prevailing societal values as it is in defining solutions to the problems. The views are relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Electricity power policy in the study context is an outcome of the interactions between the policy makers and the people based on the values of the people. The components of the public policy process as identified by (Gerston 2010:8) which includes: issues that

appear on the public agenda; actors who present, interpret, and respond to those issues; resources affected by those issues; institutions that deal with those issues; and the levels of government that address issues are relevant in the study context. Gerston (2010: 22) also views that ‘policy issues’ are triggered by public problems and in the context of the study; a triggering mechanism is a critical event (set of events) that converts a routine problem into a widely shared, negative public experience’. The public response from that experience, in turn, constitutes the foundation of the policy issue that ensues in the wake of the triggering events. In the context of the study, policy issues of ‘like and unlike characters’ drive electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.

According to (Dror 2003: xiii) policy making can be viewed as ‘a main aspect of all public life, a main existential explanation of the very being of a community, and as a main aspect of collective life and process’. In responding to the opinion that most improvements in policy making strengthen central authority thereby, reducing the chances for social change at the grassroots. Dror (2003: xvii) writes that a lot of grass-roots initiative and localization is vital for high-quality policymaking. The emphasis here is on a form of policy making that encourages joint initiative (amongst policy actors) through which the needs and demands of the people could be justified through their value system. The views of (Dror 2003:xvii) takes cognizance of the input factors in policy making as originating from the people (grassroots) in contrast to a form of ‘policy constructs’ from above that does not really involve the people. The views are relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Writing on ‘strengthening citizen participation in public policy making, a Canadian perspective’ (Woodford & Preston 2011: 1) takes an indepth analysis on the nature of citizen participation in public-policy making with reference to Canada, and which can be applied elsewhere. The emphasis here is on strengthening citizen participation in national policy issues. (Woodford & Preston 2011:1) introduces the ‘notion of citizen engagement’ in policy making which ‘integrates deliberation based methods into participatory initiatives as an alternative to consultation which is in vogue and adjudged the best form of participation. According to (Woodford & Preston 2011: 5) consultation is characterized by some shortfalls such as inducing one way communication, infrequent feedback, limited involvement, poor representativeness, government dominance or control and having little or no effects on policy decisions’. On this basis (Woodford & Preston 2011:18) advocates for ‘citizen engagement’ which, involves a commitment to the active involvement of citizens in policy-making through citizen

deliberation (with deliberation aiming to provide government with an in-depth understanding of citizen's perspectives and values) in contrast to traditional consultation methods that only capture opinions and do not provide a rich understanding of citizen perspectives and ideals. Engagement provides citizens with the benefits of fully-fledged participation in the policy process, and the opportunity to deliberate with one another and representativeness. Woodford & Preston (2011:15) concludes that traditional consultation methods have been critiqued as having no serious contributions to 'quality and impact' in policy making; and views that considerable investments should be made in citizen engagement' to enhance public participation in Canada and elsewhere.

Viewed in the context of the study (Woodford & Preston 2011) conceptions are relevant in comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Policy making in the context of the study is driven by 'policy issues' which can only be properly identified through 'citizen's engagement' in the electricity power policy process. Through this means, in the views of (Woodford & Preston 2011:15) the people are offered the opportunity of 'cross interactions' and 'proper representativeness' in the policy framework.

Kelly (2005: 865) in the article 'Political choice, public policy and distributional outcomes' writes on the relationship between public policy and distributional outcomes using the 'power resource theory' to explain this conditions. The article draws inferences from the American political system and (Kelly 2005: 865) tends to use 'single equation error correction models' to assess the impact of policy on income inequality'. This review picks on the relevant ideas of the article in the context of the study. According to (Kelly 2005: 865) policy can influence a wide variety of outcomes, but who gets what is a central political question in the United States and around the world. Kelly (2005:871) conceptualizes policy 'as the sum total of laws enacted by government and this conceptualization has three important characteristics. It is important in substantive change as laws embody government policy that can actually influence people's lives, policy is viewed cumulatively, and policy is highly aggregated (combination of need and demand patterns). Kelly (2005: 867) further writes that 'power resource theory' is rooted in the idea that the upper and lower classes have divergent distributional preferences, with the lower class favouring more egalitarian outcomes than the upper class. In view of this 'the lower classes must organize in order for their collective voices to be heard and influence outcomes. The relevance of the view in the context of the study lies in the observation that the lower classes constitute the majority which is more prone to certain policy manipulations. The majority of the people therefore,

stand reasonable possibility of influencing the policy process through collective demand in respect of certain societal values. Government in recognition of this situation is therefore, poised to come up with policy packages whose outcomes favour the less privileged or previously neglected members of the society. Electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa constitutes policy challenges to the governments of Nigeria and South Africa. The crux of the challenge, especially, in South Africa lies in the government effort to correct the imbalances created by the apartheid policy of ‘separateness’ in electricity power provision.

Gregory & Keeney (1994:1035-1036) lays emphasizes on the processes for identifying improved alternatives in policy making based on clearly articulated stakeholder values, and contends that stakeholders (in the study context, the people that government electricity power policies in Nigeria and South Africa are designed to affect) should have substantial early inputs in policy making, helping to specify and guide the entire policy process and also identifying objectives that should be considered. In the context of the study, public policy making using stakeholder values, according to (Gregory & Keeney 1994:1036) involves setting the decision/policy context of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, specifying the objectives to be achieved, and identifying alternatives to achieve the objectives. This approach according to (Gregory & Keeney (1994: 1048) attempts to open up the policy planning processes by involving the people (stakeholders) and other interested parties since it requires representatives in the identification of objectives and alternatives. This therefore, ensures that ‘stakeholder values’ are reflected in the policy making process and establishes a firm basis for ‘future communication, dialogue and negotiation among these groups.

The views of (Gregory & Keeney 1994) are relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Policy making on electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa is considered on ‘stakeholder interests and values’. This provides the rationale for the evolution of some electricity power policies in Nigeria and South Africa to comparatively, address certain general interests and conditions. In the context of the study, policy making based on ‘stake holder values’ is similar to (Woodford & Preston’s 2011) ‘citizen engagement’ model of participation in the public policy process.

Walters, Aydelotte & Miler (2000:349) also views that systematic inclusion of public input in the public policy process is imperative. Viewed in the context of the study, the purpose of public involvement in the policy making process according to (Walters, Aydelotte & Miler 2003:349) revolves

around the discovery or search for definitions, alternatives, or criteria, educating the public about an issue or proposed alternatives, evaluation of public opinion regarding a set of options, persuading the public on the chosen options and legitimizing the option and the nature of the issue which also involves the level of conflict over the issue, the number of stakeholders, the level of confidence in the information on the issues, the number of options, the knowledge of outcomes, and the probability of outcomes. These issues play roles in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Electricity power policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa is considered on a wide range of issues, and through the process of public involvement, these issues are determined and streamlined. The views of (Walters, Aydelotte & Miler 2003:349) are relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Samuel (2007:615) views public policy from the 'public advocacy and people-centered advocacy approach'. The views of (Samuel 2007: 615) that public advocacy is about actions rooted in socio-political and cultural reforms, and as a form of social action, both public and people centered advocacy are shaped by the political culture, social systems and the constitutional framework of the country in which they are practiced, and are also influenced by the ways which public policies are influenced by public interest or social action groups in different contexts are also relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Also the views of (Samuel 2007:615) that public advocacy refers to a set of deliberate actions designed to influence public policies or public attitudes in order to empower the marginalized is relevant in the context of examining comparatively, the electricity power policy of Nigeria and South Africa. Public advocacy is observed to play significant roles in the electricity power policy in South Africa from 1994 to 2010. Public advocacy is a perceived value-driven political process, because it seeks to question and change existing unequal power relations using the public policy process and also the recognition that the people are central in the public policy process. The people centered approach of (Samuel 2007:615) is relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Manzer (1984:577) opines that two different paradigms of decision making dominate contemporary studies of public policy-making. Firstly, the 'elitist planning' whose advocates regard collective planning decisions as deliberate choices from available options made by designated decision-makers on behalf of a group, and the other the 'pluralist exchange' whose advocates regard collective decision as outcomes of decisions made by many individuals or groups interacting with one another. Manzer

(1984:577) also writes that going by the two, policy assessment is therefore, premised on ‘satisfying the criteria of effectiveness and efficiency’ as providing the good reasons for adopting a particular policy options, and failure to meet these criteria also provides good reasons for rejecting it. The views of (Manzer 1984:577) are relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Policy objectives in the context of the study, is premised on achieving effectiveness and efficiency of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. Manzer (1984:593-594) further writes that the two approaches which are subsumed into ‘substantive rationality’ are mutually supportive and not mutually exclusive, enterprises. A synthesis of the two approaches offers an understanding of public policy-making that rests on adequate concept of rationality. Policy making in the context of the study can be examined along the views of (Manzer 1984). It brings into view relevant decision making paradigms in public policy-making that can be applied in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Writing on ‘what makes policy’, (Colebatch 2006:319-320) views public policy in terms of ‘social construction’ which relates to a problem identification approach governed by knowledge and experience. In the context of the study, this aspect of public policy based on experiential outcomes (knowledge gathered in the policy process) makes for policy adjustment and the proper situating of the public policy process on environmental realities. The views of (Colebatch 2006:319-320) are relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

In the article on ‘organization, culture, and policy outcomes’ (Burstein 1991: 327) identifies the concept of ‘policy domains’ and focuses on the process leading to legislative enactment of policy change. Burstein’s (1991:327) views on assessing issues and findings in three aspects of the political process which includes agenda-setting, the development of policy proposal and the struggle for adoption of a particular proposal are relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. In reaching to the origin of policy issues, (Burstein 1991: 331) view is similar to (Anderson 2006:87& Gerston 2010:22) and further writes that ‘policy issues’ do not simply arise out of objective conditions, rather they are continuously social phenomena. Issue creation according to (Burstein 1991:331) is a socio-cultural process, and for something to become a public issue, it first must be defined as a problem amenable to human solution. Burstein’s (1991:338) view on the development of proposals is also relevant in the context of the study. Public policy proposal development is considered along the lines of whose activities are the object of the proposals, on whose

behalf is the proposal made, what activities are the objects of the proposals, what are the proposed legal standards, who is required to bear the cost of the proposal, who bears the burden of enforcement etc. Burstein (1991:340-344) identifies factors that facilitate the selection of proposals and the enacting of legislation as: a function of openness in the political process, policy and politics (how the nature of particular issues affects politics within the relevant domain), the activities of political parties (interest aggregation) and public opinion. The views of (Burstein 1991:340-344) are also relevant in the context of comparing electricity power in Nigeria and South Africa since it imports some fundamental considerations in the public policy process, such as what constitutes a policy issue, how do issues gain government attention, the basis for developing policy proposals, and the selection of proposals for enactment as legislations.

The reviews of scholarly work on public policy-making are relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. In the course of the review, the following themes run through the body of available scholarly publications on public policy-making:

- i. public policy-making is at the heart of public administration (Shafritz, Russel & Borick 2007:41)
- ii. the public policy process involves: the identification of a policy problem; the conversion of the policy problem into an issue; the proper placing of the issue on the public agenda for policy-making; policy-making after weighing available options; policy implementation using the public administration instruments; the evaluation of policy outcomes to ascertain if the intended outcomes are achieved; (Shafritz, Russel & Borick 2007:49-60; Anderson 2006:86-87; Fox & Bayat 2006:54-61; Burstein 1991:331; Hanekom 1986:25; Cloete & Meyer 2006:105; Gerston 2010:8);
- iii. the public policy-making process comprises policy actors from both the public and private realms (Warwick 2006:37-38; Henderickse 2006:40-45; Koliba, Meek & Asim Zia 2011:45-46; Ijeoma 2010:12);
- iv. public policies are made based on the needs, values and general public interests (Warwick 2006:37-38; Henderickse 2006:40-45; Kirilin 1984:16; Harmon 1992:49-51; De Conning 2006:3; Dror 2003:xvii; Samuel 2007:615-617; Hanekom 1986:25);

- v. public policy is influenced by environmental factors such as political culture, socio-economic conditions, historical and geographical dispositions etc (Anderson 2006:39-46; Warwick 2006:29; Samuel 2007:615; Cloete & Meyer 2006:112);
- vi. governance networks and stakeholder interests play vital roles in the policy process (Gregory & Keeney 1994 :1035; Koliba, Meek & Asim Zia 2011:45-46; Ijeoma 2010:13; Fox & Bayat 2006:54-55);
- vii. citizen's engagement and public advocacy models are imperative in the public policy process (Harmon 1992:51; Woodford & Preston 2011:18; Samuel 2007:615-616);
- viii. policy issues are generated from the public policy environment and for something to become a policy issue, it must first be defined as a policy problem (Burstein 1991:328; Anderson 2006:87; Cloete & Meyer 2006 105-107; Gerston 2010:22);
- ix. through agenda setting various policy issues are presented to the policy-making institutions of the state for considerations and policy-making (Burstein 1991:334; Shafritz, Russel & Borick 2007:50-51; Anderson 2006:86-87; Hendericks 2006:40; Koliba, Meek & Asim Zia 2011:121-122; Cloete & Meyer 2006:105-107; Gerston 2010:48-49).

Next is a review of publications on electricity power policy in Nigeria.

2.5 PUBLICATIONS ON ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN NIGERIA

This section reviews scholarly publications on electricity power policy in Nigeria. The reviews are carried out in the context of the study.

Iwayemi (2008:17) views the Nigerian energy (electricity) industry as 'probably one of the most inefficient in meeting the needs of customers globally'. According to Iwayemi (2008:17) the poor performance of the energy (electricity) sector has adversely affected the living standard of Nigerians and heightened income and energy poverty. The persistent energy crisis has weakened the industrialization process, undermined the effort to achieve sustained economic growth, employment generation, and affected the standard of living etc. Iwayemi (2008: 18) attributes the situation to a 'weak concern for cost recovery and the lack of adequate economic incentives to induce the state owned company (PHCN) to engage in efficient production and investment behavior, a multiplicity of economic and non-economic objectives without proper identification of the trade-offs among different

objectives, institutional and production inefficiency, investment choices, etc. Iwayemi (2008: 20) further suggests radical reforms in the sub-sector, embodying changes to improve and strengthen the industry governance structure to enhance accountability and minimize corruption etc. The views of Iwayemi: 2008) are relevant in the context of the study. He identifies institutional and governance incapacity, and corruption, amongst other factors, as contributing to energy poverty in Nigeria. He also notes that the adoption and strengthening of radical reforms is seen as a way out. The views identify energy efficiency, improvement in the standard of living of the people, employment generation, industrialization and sustained economic development as the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria. These views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Agba (2011: 48) writes on the importance of energy (electricity) availability as a strong factor in achieving the Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria and elsewhere. Energy poverty in Nigeria has resulted in a poor standard of living and hampered sustained development in the country. According to Agba (2011: 48), the ‘leadership question in Nigeria seem to be at the heart of explaining the prevalence of energy poverty in Nigeria’. As it concerns electrification, Agba, (2011:48) blames the situation on the lack of integrity among leaders, public accountability, transparency, the vision and foresight necessary in transformation.

Agba (2011:49) further writes that Nigeria is currently facing an energy crisis despite the abundant energy resources in the country and this shows that the implementation of the Nigerian energy policy is faulty and its power sector (electricity sub-sector) is faced with problems which manifests in the failure of both political and administrative leadership. The implementation of the electricity policy and programmes are hindered by a constellation of powerful forces of politics and administration. According to Agba (2011:50), the politico-administrative problems (that hinder effective electrification in Nigeria) show in the form of corruption, political instability/policy instability and lack of commitment in governance. He further writes that the situation impacts negatively on the basic factors of development that constitute policy issues in relation to electrification in Nigeria, and this includes employment generation, health conditions, and human capital development implications. These views are relevant in the context of comparing the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa because he places the question of leadership at the heart of policy making on electrification in Nigeria. Poor

leadership, characterized by corruption, political/policy instability etc negatively affects the electricity power policy process.

Writing on Investment in electricity generation and transmission in Nigeria: issues and options, Iwayemi (2008:37) mentions that substantial expansion in quantity, quality and access to infrastructure services especially electricity, is fundamental to rapid and sustained economic growth, and poverty reduction. Iwayemi's (2008: 37) states that the inadequate quantity, quality and access to electricity services has been a regular feature in Nigeria, as the electricity sub-sector has been unable to provide and maintain acceptable minimum standards of service, reliability, accessibility and availability.. Iwayemi (2008:37) further writes that the Nigerian electricity crisis has undermined the effort to achieve sustained economic growth and competitiveness in Nigeria and global markets, as well as employment generation and poverty alleviation. The situation according to Iwayemi (2008: 37) has created a serious and persistent problem and policy challenge to the Nigerian government in the last half century. He, however, argues that, with the passage of Electric Power Sector Reform Act (EPSRA) in 2005, hope seems to be underway.

The EPSRA contains radical reforms, which if well implemented, will address the Nigeria electricity problems. The outcomes of the gradual implementation, according to Iwayemi (2008:37) are the establishment of a regulatory agency, the Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC) in 2005, and the unbundling of companies in 2007. Iwayemi (2008:37-38) further writes that despite these policy initiatives by the government, the electricity crisis has remained unabated. He, cites, ageing and poorly maintained generating, transmission and distribution infrastructure facilities, weak financial and economic health of the state owned Power Holding Company (PHCN), weak institutional framework and governance failures as the causes. The views of (Iwayemi 2008) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Iwayemi's (2008) view that pressing issues of sustained economic growth, competitive electricity market in the region and the globe, employment generation and poverty eradication ought to drive the policy process of electrification in Nigeria is relevant in the context of the study.

In Power sector reforms in Nigeria, opportunities and challenges, Okoro & Chikuni (2007:52) admit that a 'constant power supply is an imperative for economic development. Okoro & Chikuni (2007:53) also write that power sector reform policies in Nigeria are basically due to inadequate electricity supply, incessant power outages, low power generation capability and technical and non-technical

losses characteristic of the Nigeria electricity industry. Okoro & Chikuni's (2007:53) suggest that the federal government policy of restructuring the power sector (the federal government of Nigeria unbundled the national power utility NEPA, now PHCN in 2004 into seven generation companies, one transmission and eleven distribution companies) is intended to achieve serious policy objectives. This is relevant in the context of the study.

Okoro & Chikuni (2007:56) also identified the following as the benefits that are expected in the power sector reform exercise: an increase in employment, a reduction in the crime rate, improved services, and reduced tariffs. These views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. They are also similar to the views of Iwayemi (2008) in identifying service efficiency, economic development, and employment generation as being the imperatives in the policy process of electrification in Nigeria.

The view of Agboola (2011:1) that Nigeria has been locked in an energy poverty cycle since the 1980's when the nation neglected the signals to improve upon its power generation capacity is relevant in the context of the study. Agboola (2011:2) further comments that the Roadmap for the power sector reform is intended to fast-track the implementation of the Electric power sector reform act which seeks to allow private sector initiatives in the power sub-sector. The involvement of the Independent Power Production (IPP) is intended to create efficient, transparent and goal driven institutions that can achieve the desired performance. Agboola (2011:3) identifies the challenges facing power reform and independent power producers' participation in Nigeria as: harmonization of legal and regulatory frameworks to prevent government regulations from becoming an obstacle, achieving cost effective tariffs, creating an environment that encourages investment, creating capital inflows and finances, and payment security to allay the fears of foreign investors.

Agboola's (2011) view favours market oriented policy reforms as a necessity in the electricity power sub-sector. He did not raise the issues of policy concern in the power sector in Nigeria, however, the discourses on the nature of the reforms, the participating institutions, the intended outcomes of the reform and the challenges are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Admitting that the problem of power supply is a challenging one scuttling socio-economic activities across the country, Okafor (2008: 85) is of the view that the civilian administration in Nigeria since its

advent in 1999 has brought some policy changes and made substantial investment in the power industry. Power generating capacity had increased from 1824 MW (from 19 generating units) in March 2000, to about 4000 MW (from 40 generating units). The transmission grid was also extended through the construction of 14 transmission lines and the reinforcement of 26 substations, In the area of distribution, PHCN installed one hundred and thirty six 15 MVA 33/11 KV power transformers and associated equipment country wide, fifty two 7.5 MVA 33/11 KV power transformers and associate equipments country wide (Okafor 2008: 85). He also writes that the power reform act passed into law in 2005 is designed to inculcate and execute structural changes and also to encourage private sector investment in the power sector, the general essence being to achieve service efficiency.

According to Okafor (2008: 87), government policies and programmes over the years have failed to yield the desired outcomes due to constant vandalization and attacks on Escravos gas pipelines by militant groups operating in the Niger delta. The power holding company of Nigeria (PHCN) is indebted to the Nigeria Gas Company (NGC) to the sum of N7billion of gas supplies, as a result of the negative activities and conduct of the PHCN personnel, the endemic corruption in the power sector, the gross inefficiency and bureaucracy evident in the parastatals, and low investment in generation over the years. The views of Okafor (2008) are relevant to the study; as he identifies the issue of economic development as being instrumental to the recent reforms in the Nigeria electricity sector, and further identifies the causes of failures in past policies and programmes. The views are also relevant in the context of comparing the electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

According to Ajayi & Kolawole (2009: 411) energy (electricity power) need is on the increase, and the population of Nigeria is also on the rapid increase. However, the increasing population is not balanced by an adequate energy development programme. Their view that the present urban-centered energy (electricity) policy in Nigeria, is not contributing to the sustained socio-economic development of the country is relevant to the study context. The present urban-centered energy policy is deplorable, as cases of rural and sub-rural energy demand and supply do not reach the centre stage of the country's energy development policy. Their suggestion for a well rounded energy mix of combining the available renewable energy sources and the non-renewable sources, and also the development of pro-rural energy (electric power) policy is also relevant to the study. This according to Ajayi & Kolawole (2009: 413) will result in a positive outcome of 'compact energy development process which will be suitable, sustainable, constantly available, environmentally friendly and economically viable in the long term

national energy (electricity) plan. These views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa by identifying the lopsided nature of the electricity policy in Nigeria. The current policy is more pro-urban to the neglect of the rural areas where the majority of the population resides, and the harnessing of electricity sources is equally unbalanced.

Writing on ‘Deregulating the electricity industry in Nigeria: Lessons from the British reforms’, Amobi (2007: 291) argues that as the Nigerian government sets out modalities for launching a competitive policy regime in the electricity industry, there is need for comprehensive implications and modalities to be analyzed and properly placed, as a hastily convened competition policy will be a huge transaction cost, and one that will yield little or no economic benefit to the country. According to Amobi (2007:292) the decision to unbundle or introduce competition in the Nigeria power sub-sector includes: the government’s belief that the country will have added macro benefits by reducing its public sector borrowing requirement if it removes electricity power funding from the budget; government expects to earn income; overcoming organizational inefficiency in PHCN; attracting foreign investment and private equity from domestic sources into electricity network expansion; responding to international pressures to achieve a measure of standards in electrification. These views are relevant to the study context.

Amobi (2007:296-300) further identifies issues and problems the Nigerian government must tackle to achieve reform success. These are: tackling the lack of generation and transmission capacity, setting in place initiatives to foster efficient competition by firms in the industry, active participation in the international bond market, devising of means to curb bribery and corruption in the power sub-sector, developing policy initiatives to address human resource capacity (employment issue). By identifying the pressing issues of government’s intention to overcome inefficiency in the sub-sector, openness to competition, attracting foreign investment and private equity from internal sources, responding to international pressures and influences to achieve minimum service standards, Amobi’s (2007) views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Oseni (2012:990) also admits that increased expansion in quantity, quality and access to electricity and other energy infrastructure services are essential to rapid and sustained economic growth, employment generation, poverty reduction and the overall socio-economic development of Nigeria. This according to Oseni (2012: 990) is vital, where the majority of the Nigerian population resides in the rural areas, and that a major driver of electricity/energy demand is population. Oseni (2012:991) further writes that

the 'Nigeria population of more than 150 million is growing at annual rate of 2.03% and expected to grow to over 180 million in 2020, and in response to the growth rates of population and consumption, the total energy (electricity consumption grew at an average annual rate 3.9% over the last three decades, and the average annual growth rate of the total energy/electricity consumption is projected to grow between 11.5% and 13% in the next two decades'. Oseni (2012: 995) further writes that with 1.1% of households having access to electricity, the rural electrification programme of the government is yet to make a significant impact to the electricity access in the country. The views of (Oseni 2012) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Oseni's (2012) views about the rapid population increase and the corresponding lack of access to power services undermines the government's electricity policies and programmes, especially the rural electrification programme in the context of alleviating the socio-economic burdens imposed by the lack of access by the overwhelming majority of the Nigerian population.

Gujba, Mulugetta & Azapagic (2010: 5636) write that electricity power expansion is one of the urgent public policy issues being addressed by the Nigerian government in order to meet its economic development objectives. Gujba, Mulugetta & Azapagic (2010: 5649) further write that, despite the clear benefits of the proposed expansion of the power sector, the government could still put more effort into addressing the sustainability concerns in this sector especially in the type of technologies being used in the future. Gujba, Mulugetta & Azapagic (2010: 5649) hold the view that more renewables should be introduced into the electricity mix as they considerably reduce the environmental impact of electrification more than non-renewable options (fossil fuels). According to Gujba, Mulugetta & Azapagic (2010: 5649), the future of the energy (electricity) sector and its expected growth needs to be justified on the basis of social and economic gains for the whole country as against particularistic situations, and future energy (electricity) policies and programmes need to be particularly sensitive to the development needs and aspirations of the oil producing regions of Nigeria.

The views of Gujba, Mulugetta & Azapagic (2010) are relevant in identifying some fundamental and pressing issues that ought to guide the policy process of electrification in Nigeria. Such policy issues include: considering a mix of renewable and non-renewable technologies for a healthy environment, considering the socio-economic interest of the whole nation in electricity power policy making as against particular interests, and considering the interests of the oil producing regions. The views of

Gujba, Mulugetta & Azapagic (2010) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

In An analysis of the power sector performance in Nigeria, Oseni (2011: 4766-67) stresses on the importance of electricity in the socio-economic development of Nigeria and also acknowledges that Nigeria, despite the abundant resources at her disposal, has not been able to generate adequate and reliable electricity to meet its demand. According to Oseni (2011: 4766) Nigeria has launched several reform programmes aimed at providing tangible solutions to the power crisis, yet the reforms have not yielded the desired outcomes. These reforms include: privatization, liberalization and fundamental transformations in the electricity power sector.

Against this background, Oseni (2011: 4770-72) identifies the challenges facing the Nigeria electricity sector as: poor maintenance of equipment and management inefficiency, vandalism of equipment, poor energy investments and lack of competition, and corruption among the rank and file in the electricity power sub-sector. Oseni, (2011: 4772) while insisting that the energy (electricity power) related policies should aim to achieve quality, sufficiency, reliability and affordable supplies, further suggests guidelines for policy making in the electricity sector. The guidelines include: that ongoing reforms be strengthened to accommodate more private investors, elimination of the security concerns at the Niger Delta, setting up of a monitoring committee to oversee government investment in the sector, government investment in research and development to make the electricity sector cope with recent trends all over the world, strengthening integration between the electricity power sub-sector and the oil companies, provision of high level security to protect electricity distribution equipment from vandalism, and that government pay attention to renewable sources of electricity. The views of Oseni (2011) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Against the backdrop of seemingly unrealizable objectives of electrification, Oseni (2011) proposes some important policy guidelines relevant in addressing the electricity policy issues in Nigeria.

The views of Ikeme & Ebohon (2005:1213) that Nigeria's electricity power sector requires substantial reform if the country's economic development and poverty alleviation programme is to be realized is relevant to the study context. Ikeme & Ebohon (2005:1216) further write that the Nigerian government has initiated a public enterprises reform programme, the aim of which is to attract private sector participation, stimulate investments, promote competition and efficiency, so as to sustain development of the power sector and meet social goals. The government has set up three regulatory institutions of

note through the Electrification Power Sector Reform act to facilitate the reform process. They include the Nigerian electricity regulatory commission which is to serve as the main regulatory body of the reformed electric power sector, the rural electrification fund which is expected to facilitate the rapid expansion of rural access to electricity in a cost effective manner, and the consumer assistance fund which objective is to protect low income and poor consumers (Ikeme & Ebohon, 2005:1217). They propose the following as the key objectives of the reform: the complete corporatization of the electric power industry to enable it acquire commercial orientation, increasing electricity power access by the poor and expanding local participation in the industry, adopting an energy mix option of both renewable and non-renewable sources to protect the environment, introducing a tariff reform so as to remove the subsidy on electric energy prices, money realized from the tariffs should be reinvested in further development of the sector to enhance quality and efficiency. These views are relevant in the context of identifying the policy issues in the reform process of the Nigeria electricity sub-sector. The views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

In *Towards Improving Electricity generation in Nigeria: a conceptual approach*, Kofoworola (2003: 1) admits that the electricity industry in Nigeria performs at a level, inadequate to meet the demands of the ever increasing population. According to him, this is largely due to inadequate planning on the part of the government, and efficient energy (electricity) management necessitates the development and utilization of an energy plan to ensure a balance between demand and supply in an economy. The views of Kofoworola (2003) are relevant to the study. However, while admitting that the problem of poor electrification in Nigeria is due to poor planning, he did not identify 'the planning processes'.

Isife (2010: 68) also agrees that increased access to electricity is needed to achieve sustainable development in Nigeria, whereas, there is simply insufficient electricity generated and distributed to support the entire population. The views of Isife (2010:70) that the sustainable development agenda pursued by the government in electricity development involves maximizing its contribution to economic and social development while minimizing its environmental impact is relevant in the study context. This, according to Isife (2010:70) can be achieved by promoting the availability of electricity at a cheap cost to benefit the economy, the environment and society. These views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. However, the sustainable development agenda and electricity power policy are not clearly separated. The policy

issues of electrification are woven into the sustainable development agenda issues of the Nigerian government.

According to Irukere & Isiekwena (2009: 154), addressing the significant deficit of electricity supply was at the centre of the previous administration's reform agenda from 1999, and is still a substantial component of the present administration's policy. This manifests in its inclusion in the 'National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy' (NEEDS) document, the government's economic reform framework with the objective of overhauling the electricity power sector. Irukere & Isiekwena (2009: 154) further write that a working group charged with the responsibility of adopting the National Electric Power Policy was established to recommend measures for sector reform, promote the policy of liberalization, competition and private sector led growth and assist with drafting new power sector legislation. Irukere & Isiekwena (2009: 154) hold the view that the objectives of the 'Electricity Power Sector Reform Act' (EPSRA) are: the liberalization of the power sector utility company (NEPA), the encouragement of private enterprises participation in the industry, the introduction of competition in the industry, provision of rural electrification through the establishment of the Rural Electrification Agency (REA), and stipulations for consumer protection, setting of performance standards, fixing of tariffs, etc are relevant in the context of the study. The views are relevant in understanding the policy issues of unbundling and private enterprises participation to achieve service efficiency, provision of rural electrification and consumer protection. The views of Irukere & Isiekwena (2009) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

In 'Public disaster and private gain: the proposed privatization of electricity in Nigeria' Hall 2010:3) writes that the Nigerian government is doing the precise opposite of what is known to work best for creating universal access to electricity by dissolving an integrated public utility in favour of privatized companies. He identifies corruption and private interests in electricity in Nigeria and further writes that the government policy of privatization risks creating even greater opportunities for corruption. He suggests an alternative model of universal access to electricity power in Nigeria in 10 years using 0.6% of oil revenues as against the present policy of privatization. Through this option, Nigeria can connect its entire population within a decade, using public finance, and keeping the system in public hands. These views of are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa, as some hidden issues (private interests) behind the reform programme, are identified.

The review of electric power publications in Nigeria is carried out in the context of the study. In the course of the review, the following themes run through the body of scholarly work on the electric power policy in Nigeria.

- i. Access to quality and cheap electricity is vital in achieving socio-economic development in Nigeria, and the Millenium Development Goals (Agba 2011:48; Iwayemi 2008:37; Okoro & Chikuni 2007:52; Oseni 2012:990; Isife 2010:68);
- ii. Despite abundant natural resources in Nigeria, the electricity sub-sector operates at a very low level (Iwayemi 2008:17; Agboola 2011:1; Oseni 2011:466-67; Isife 2010:68);
- iii. The poor performance of the electricity sub-sector in Nigeria has affected socio-economic development, industrial development, employment generation, and poverty alleviation (Iwayemi 2008:17; Iwayemi 2008:37; Okafor 2008:85; Oseni 2012:990);
- iv. Institutional and governance failures, and corrupt practices are contributing factors to the low performance of the electricity sub-sector (failure of both political and administrative leadership) (Agba 2011:48; Iwayemi 2008:18; Okafor 2008:87; Amobi 2007:296-300) ; Oseni 2011:4770-72; Hall 2010:5; Kofoworola 2003:1-2);
- v. To achieve efficiency, viability, and competition in the electricity sub-sector, the Nigerian government has decided to introduce market oriented reforms of privatization and unbundling (Okoro & Chikuni 2007:53; Agboola 2011:2-3; Amobi 2007:291-292; Oseni 2011:4766; Ikeme & Ebohon 2005:216; Irukere & Isiekwana 2009:154; Hall 2010:3-5);
- vi. Government electric power policies and programmes are more pro-urban to the neglect of the majority people living in the rural areas (Ajayi & Kolawole 2009:411; Ikeme 2005:1217-1219);
- vii. The level of local participation in the electricity policy process is low, and there is equal neglect of the oil producing communities (Ikeme & Ebohon 2005:1217-19; Gujba, Mulugetta & Azapajic 2010:5649);
- viii. A practice of energy mix through renewable and non-renewable sources to maintain a clean and healthy environment, and to expand the generation sources is an issue in the electricity policy process (Gujba, Mulugetta & Azpagic 2010:5649; Ajayi & Kolawole 2009:412)
- ix. Government's response to international pressure and influences for improved service standards is part of the reason for the reform in the electricity sub-sector (Amobi 2007:296-300).

Next is a review of scholarly publications on electricity power policy in South Africa.

2.6 PUBLICATIONS ON ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

This section reviews scholarly publications on electricity policy in South Africa. The reviews are carried out in the context of the study.

Writing on Meeting electrification's social objectives in South Africa, and implications for developing countries, Gaunt (2005: 1309) identifies three models of electrification in South Africa. They are: the models of economic and socio-economic development, and the model of social development. According to Gaunt (2005: 1309) a critical look at electrification in South Africa identifies a concept which is not widely known, as against widely known decisions (policies) about electrification which are based on models that assume that electrification contributes to economic and socio-economic development. Gaunt (2005: 1310) argues that 'proposals for poverty tariffs and promises of free electricity illustrate another reason for electrification, neither economic nor socio-economic, but for social objectives of poverty alleviation and political support. Gaunt (2005: 1310) also writes that the 'electricity for all programme' commenced at the same time South Africa started going through political changes from apartheid to a broadly based democratic government. Against this background, household connection targets defined by the new National Electrification forum were adopted by the new government as the National Electrification programme in 1994.

Gaunt (2005: 1310) further writes that electrification in South Africa has been implemented to meet three very different objectives, initially economic, later socio-economic, and recently social. Gaunt (2005:1311) strongly notes that the South Africa electrification programme and the related decision-making clearly show that social development or poverty alleviation can drive electrification. In the context of the study, Gaunt (2005) clearly brings into focus the policy issues of social development and poverty eradication as the motivating factors behind South Africa's national electrification policy in the mid 1990s (the period after the demise of apartheid government and the subsequent constitution of a

broad based, democratic government). The views of Gaunt (2005) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy approach in Nigeria and South Africa.

Eberhard (2003:11) writes that the changes in the electricity industry in South Africa over the past years have taken place within a context of radical transformation of political, economic and social institutions in the country. Eberhard (2003:11) also writes that a wide range of stakeholders have participated in shaping the progress of the reform and that some economic contradictions particularly, impacting on the poor, have influenced the position that some stakeholders have adopted in relation to the reforms. Eberhard (2003:12) further writes that the effect of this shift in government policy and the role of the state in electrification are revolutionary as the previous apartheid government had discriminated against the majority black population in the provision of economic and social infrastructures in the country. The ANC's economic philosophy in exile had been broadly socialist. The economic goals of the first ANC led government were enshrined in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) 'an integrated policy platform which set out a marshal plan-like programme for social and economic development, centered on the development of infrastructure in poor communities'.

The RDP promised to redistribute land, promote affirmative action, create employment, provide houses, electricity and water, and attack poverty and deprivation (Eberhard 2003:12). Eberhard (2003) like Gaunt (2003) identifies the policy issues of poverty alleviation, social equity and overall socio-economic development as the driving force of the radical government policy which has resulted in transformations in the electricity sub-sector in South Africa. The views of Eberhard (2003) are therefore, relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

According to Malzbender (2005:5) in the run up to the 1994 elections and change in government, the National Electrification forum was established, which presented a set of recommendations for the reform of the energy sector to cabinet in the second half of 1994. These recommendations were used by the drafters of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The RDP had key programmes, with the first one being 'Meeting Basic Needs'. Based on the recommendations of the National Electrification Forum the RDP established the electrification targets for households as well as schools and clinics. Malzbender (2005:5) further writes that policy-making efforts for the restructuring of the South Africa energy (including electricity) sector resulted in the white paper of 1998 on the energy policy. The white paper spells out the governments objectives for the electricity policy as: to

create a sector that is capable of being the engine of growth, development and prosperity for South Africa.

One of the specific objectives for the restructuring of the electricity sector is to improve social equity by specifically addressing the energy (electricity) requirements of the poor. Malzbender (2005: 6) further writes that the restructuring of the electricity sector affects all three segments of electric power, generation, transmission and distribution, however, the most pressing need for reform was seen in the distribution segment. An additional rationale for the reform according to Malzbender (2005: 6) was to correct the previous imbalances in management and operations of the electricity power sector. The views of Malzbender (2005) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Malzbender (2005) also identifies the policy issues of uniform infrastructural development, poverty alleviation, social equity and the correction of previous management and operational imbalances as the driving forces in the integrated national electrification programme of the ANC government.

Writing on Free Basic Electricity: A better life for all Adam (2010: 9) holds the view that the South African government acknowledges the close connection between access to energy (electricity) and poverty alleviation. It is the acceptance of the relationship between poverty alleviation and electricity access that prompted the South African government to develop a policy on free basic services including electricity. Adam (2010:10) also writes that the South African policy framework acknowledges the relationship between poverty and electricity. However, it is not viewed as an essential right' but an 'implied one', and given the links between electricity and the positive developmental benefits for a community, electricity should be viewed as an essential good.

The views of Adam (2010: 12) that under this circumstance, government programmes must respond to the needs of the most desperate, and must ensure that social and economic rights are 'made more accessible not only to a large number of people but a wider range of people as time progresses' are also relevant to the study. Adam (2010:12) further writes that, viewed in the context of an implied right to electricity, such pronouncements by the constitutional court suggest that the state is constitutionally obliged to provide more electricity to more people, but especially to vulnerable groups such as the poor overtime. Adam (2010:12) argues that the proposal is strengthened by the inclusion of electricity in the government's free services package, and the allocation of free basic electricity (FBE) to qualifying households, is an implicit acknowledgement of a right to sufficient electricity along the same lines as

the constitutional right of everyone to access to sufficient food and water. The views of Adam (2010) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The views of Adam (2010) such as the policy intention to correct inequalities in access to electricity power between formally advantaged and disadvantaged groups, the realization of the constitutional mandate which sees access to electricity power by the people as an 'implied right', and electricity power as a key instrument to poverty alleviation and social equality, are relevant to the study. They form the central points in structuring the policy issues that affect electrification in South Africa.

The views of Steyn (1995:95) on Restructuring the South African electricity supply industry: appropriate governance in a newly democratized South Africa, is relevant in the context of the study as it presents the central policy initiatives arising from the National Electrification Forum (NELF), and also analyzes the main electricity governance issues vital in the restructuring of the electricity supply industry.

According to Steyn (1995: 96) the policy dimension is enshrined in the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme which was designed to address the imbalances created by past policy regimes in terms of access by the majority of citizens to socio-economic opportunities and infrastructure, such as electricity. Steyn (1995:97) further states that in this circumstance, government expresses the notion that, as part of the national political process, government determines the forms of ownership and the specific forms of control over the electricity supply industry (ESI) on the basis of its social and economic policies and ideological leaning. The vital sides of the reform process according to Steyn (1995: 99) include the separation of policy formulation functions from management functions, and the role of stakeholder interests.

Steyn's (1995) views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Steyn (1995) identifies the need to address the imbalance created by unequal access to economic opportunities and social infrastructure such as electricity by past government policies (apartheid government) through the Reconstruction and Development Programmes of the ANC government; the need to effect strong governance control on the supply segment of electricity sub-sector; and the review of stakeholders interests.

Davidson & Mwakasonda (2004:26) also agree to the strong link between electricity service provision and poverty reduction in South Africa, and the Southern Africa region in general. They agree that for

the region to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as agreed at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg in 2002, it needs a substantial increase in modern energy provision, especially affordable, reliable and adequate electricity. Against this background, providing electricity to the poor in South Africa poses a unique challenge due to major technological, institutional and financial obstacles.

The views of these researchers that in reverse to the previous apartheid policy framework which encouraged development on racial lines, the ANC government which won the democratic elections held in 1994 made the provision of electricity to the disadvantaged, mostly blacks, the cornerstone of its development, policy under the slogan 'access to electricity for all' are also relevant to the study context. Davidson & Mwakasonda (2004:29) further write that the rationale for power sector reforms includes: addressing the energy requirements of the poor, enhancing the competitiveness of the economy by providing low-cost but high quality energy inputs to industrial, mining and other sectors, achieving environmental sustainability of natural resources, and attracting foreign energy investments. They further write that the targets of the programme are mainly the formerly disadvantaged and rural areas, and all schools and clinics, and the policy implication is providing electricity to an additional 2.5 million households.

These researchers' views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. They further suggest that policy making on electrification after the demise of apartheid, and in the context of achieving the Millennium Development Goals in South Africa is driven by the need to address the electricity requirements of the poor, enhance the competitiveness of the economy by providing cheap but high quality energy (electricity) inputs to the various sectors, achieve environmental sustainability of natural resources, and attract foreign energy investments.

On Electricity distribution industry restructuring in South Africa: a case study, Gaunt (2008: 3448) admits that the 'Electricity-for-all programme' commenced at about the same time South Africa started going through political challenges from apartheid to a broadly democratic government. This development coincided with intensive discussion on restructuring the electricity industry, which consisted primarily of the vertically integrated national utility of Eskom and hundreds of municipal utilities. Gaunt (2008:3450) further writes that the key justifications for the restructuring include: to implement and fund electrification, initially from the industry, and later from the treasury, to rationalize tariffs throughout the industry, to remove distortions, meet the needs of the poor and make all subsidies

transparent, and to improve the efficiency, supply quality and financial state of the electricity distribution sub-sector. The views of Gaunt (2008) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The views offer further insights on the policy issues that drive the restructuring exercise in the electricity power sub-sector, following the institution of democratic governance in South Africa.

Spalding-Fecher & Matibe (2003: 721) admit the positive impacts of government policy on electrification in the past decade, and move further to analyze the external costs of electric power generation in South Africa. External costs arise when the individual's welfare is affected and the impact is not well compensated for or well represented in the market price (Spalding-Fecher & Matibe 2003:721). These views are relevant to the study context. They further argue that the electricity supply sub-sector plays pivotal role in the South African economy, and its post apartheid importance lies in its role as a key input to industrial development and a means of improving the quality of life for the previously disadvantaged majority. They also suggest that on the household side, providing electricity to previously disadvantaged communities has been the most successful programmes of the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), and access to affordable electricity, through a mass electrification drive remains a key policy priority in the government white paper on energy policy of 1998. These views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The views also indicate that policy development in the electricity sector in South Africa in the post apartheid era is derived from its vital role in industrial development and as a strong instrument of poverty alleviation.

Writing on The integrated National Electrification and political democracy, Tinto & Banda (2005:26) indicate that policy development in the electricity power sub-sector since the inception of democratic rule in South Africa has been unusual, though, positive. This phenomenon manifests in a shift from energy self-reliance and energy security to a more sustainable policy approach driven by economic efficiency, social equity, and environment protection. Tinto & Banda (2005:26) also view policy development in the electricity sub-sector in the context of sustainable development, and further suggest that the 'Integrated National Electrification Programme' (INEP) in the energy sector marks what could be described as a 'post- apartheid energy paradigm shift'. They hold the view that the electrification programme was basically conceived for the purpose of job creation in communities, black economic empowerment, skills transfer to communities, and skills development in communities. These views are

relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Tinto & Banda's (2005) views are similar to Gaunt's (2005) and Eberhard's (2003) in the context of identifying the 'unusual nature', but positive policy-making in the electricity sub-sector following the demise of apartheid in 1994.

The views of Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt & Marquard (2008) are also relevant in the context of the study. They state that 'the watershed event, which provided the impetus for all the policy and institutional shifts underpinning the electrification programme, was the demise of apartheid and the election of a post-apartheid government in 1994'. The apartheid policies left two key legacies: creating a sharp contrast between the rich minority and poor majority, which was racially defined and a history of racially determined differentiation in infrastructure provision (Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt & Marquard 2008: 3125). These ideas are fundamental in examining their views on the policy, institutional planning, financing and technical context of South Africa's electrification programme. From the institutional perspective, the main barriers to widened access to electricity in the late 1980s were institutional and political despite the obvious fact that South Africa possesses an extremely energy-intensive economy, with a world-class electricity supply industry. However, both barriers were jettisoned by the democratic and political changes in the early 1990s which provided not only a fundamental shift in the political landscape but also an unusual institutional environment for policy making.

From a policy perspective, Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt & Marquard (2008: 3126) argue that the development of electrification policies requires the establishment of electrification as a public problem which portrays the existing institutional arrangements as inadequate in relation to national goals. The next stage was the weaving together of stakeholder interests and the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme provided a vital ground in the understanding of electrification as an essential infrastructure development which should be integrated with other service oriented infrastructure developments (Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt & Marquard 2008: 3127). The authors further write that the concept of electrification found a natural and ideological home inside ANC and the leaders were receptive to an accelerated programme. The two contexts to this are: the freedom charter of the ANC (drafted in the 1950s) which included socio-economic rights and which thereafter, became the basis for the ANC and its political allies' political programmes, and the 1980's anti apartheid movements struggle for the provision of basic services. The two were thus merged in the ANC's, RDP, which

aimed, amongst other things, to provide a wide range of social services such as water, electricity, education, health etc to the people. The views of Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt & Marquard (2008) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The views which draw heavily on the policy and institutional contexts of electrification in South Africa include:

- i. the dismantling of the apartheid government in 1994 which had amongst other things promoted a policy of racial differentiation in infrastructure provision to the people;
- ii. the recognition by the ANC government that came into power in 1994 that electricity power provision is a basic need which is pivotal to the socio-economic development of the whole society;
- iii. the establishment of electrification as a 'public problem' which depicts the existing institutional arrangements as inadequate in realizing the present national goals of electrification;
- iv. the proper placing of electrification on the public policy agenda and the mobilization of forces -institutional, political, financial, technical to achieve the intended outcomes;
- v. the policy belief and commitment of the new ANC government (guided by the party ideology) to implement the 'bill of rights' which includes amongst others, the rights of citizens to equal socio-economic opportunities and access to social amenities like electricity.

Prasad & Visagie (2006:12) writing on the impact of energy reforms on the poor in Southern Africa, argue that the politico-economic power which South Africa won from the previous apartheid government, and its present socio-political and economic priorities enable the country to support pro-poor policies and to implement a national infrastructure programme (which includes electrification). Prasad & Visagie (2006:12) attribute the successful electrification programme to the low cost and reliable electricity generation, supply and distribution capacity and a favourable policy environment to support national electrification and subsidies for poor households. The views of (Prasad & Visagie 2006) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The views identify the expanded electrification programme for enhanced socio-economic development, social equity, and poverty alleviation as the major driving factors in the electrification programme of the national government.

The views of Winkler, Mukheibir, Mwakasonda, Garg & Halsnaes (2007:15) in linking the electrification programme in South Africa to the context of sustainable development, in which

sustainable development is referred 'to as the development that meets the present needs and goals of the population without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet theirs' is relevant to the study context. They argue that the most important energy policy objective for South Africa is to provide increasing access to affordable energy service and under this the overall electrification increased from roughly one third in 1990 to more than two thirds in 2006, though the majority of the populations in the rural areas still do not have access to electricity power. They admit that the energy sector has performed well relative to other sectors in meeting development objectives as outlined in the ANC Reconstruction and Development Programme in 1994. They concentrate their study on electricity supply options, sustainable development and climate change priorities (outdoor effects of mass electrification using the present energy source and suggestions for alternatives) in South Africa. The concept of sustainable development in relation to electricity power policy in South Africa as identified by Winkler, Mukheibir, Mwakasonda, Garg & Halsnaes (2007) is relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The sustainable development agenda incorporates the public interest perspective which drives electrification in the country.

The views of Lloyd, Cowan & Mohlakoana (2004) on improving access to electricity and stimulation of economic growth and social upliftment in South Africa are relevant in the context of the study. Lloyd, Cowan & Mohlakoana (2004: 1) discuss the impacts of electrification on people's lives and raise pertinent questions as to whether the programme is sustainable, whether it has impacted on the levels of poverty, and whether it has contributed to social upliftment. The views of (Lloyd, Cowan & Mohlakoana 2004:18) are that, for the majority of South Africans the electrification programme of the government has transformed lives, having widened the access of the previously disadvantaged people to electric power and the attendant benefits; electrification also seems fully sustainable on the social and ecological levels as it enables households to receive the basic minimum energy services cheaper than any option though, at higher levels the sustainability may be questioned in terms of significant capital expenditure to ensure generation, transmission and distribution.

Lloyd, Cowan & Mohlakoana (2004: 18) further write that electrification contributes to poverty alleviation and to that extent plays a significant role in social upliftment. The views of the researchers are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Lloyd Cowan & Mohlakoana (2004) examine the success of the electrification programme in South Africa on

access by the majority of the people to electricity, social upliftment, and poverty alleviation. These also form part of the policy issues that shape the policy approaches to electrification in the country.

Bekker, Gaunt, Eberhard & Marquard (2008) write on the uncertainties surrounding South Africa's goal of universal access to electricity by 2012. According to them, the policy goal of universal access to electricity by 2012 requires a significant adjustment of annual connection targets and electrification budgets, based on accurate data on the number of electrified and non-electrified households in South Africa. They argue that the definition of universal access further impacts strategic planning and meeting the universal target, requires strong political backing, hugely increased electrification budget allocations, and a dramatic step-up in terms of capacity. These views reflect on evaluating the electricity policy in South Africa based on universal access by 2012. The views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

On Beyond free electricity: the costs of electric cooking in poor households and a market friendly alternative, Howells, Victor, Gaunt, Elias, & Alfstad (2006: 3351) analyze the free basic electricity policy in relation to cooking with electricity in poor households. According to these researchers, the South African government has set universal electrification as a national goal, and the design of energy strategies that contribute to reducing poverty constitutes an issue of continuous importance in the South Africa political discourse. The free basic electricity policy (scheme) introduced by the government offers 50kwh/month free electricity to most households that have access to electricity. The 50kwh monthly figure has been designed to cover the electricity necessary for basic lighting, small television, and small radio, ironing of cloth and boiling of water using an electric kettle.

They argue that while the free basic electricity implementation is progressing through partnerships between local government and suppliers, the offer of 50kwh for free is likely to have a substantial effect on the energy choices of poor households thereby, inducing a multiplier effect on the costs of the (FBE) on the poor. In the light of this, the views of Howells, Victor, Gaunt, Elias, & Alfstad (2006: 3357) on the importance of careful policy design and reforms that could be simple to implement and yet vital in multiplying the benefits to the poorest households from the offer of free energy is relevant in the context of the study. This reform will make it politically easier for government to contain the cost of these programmes through the value of the credits it awards.

The views of Howells, Victor, Gaunt, Elias, & Alfstad (2006) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Howells, Victor, Gaunt, Elias, & Alfstad (2006) examine the multiplier cost of the free basic electricity on using electricity to cook in poor households, and further propose reforms to government in the course of implementation so as to multiply the benefits of free basic electricity to poor households, and also to reduce the heavy burden of implementation on the government and sustain the political viability of the scheme.

According to Spalding-Fecher (2005: 53) the newly elected democratic government of South Africa in 1994 faced classic problems of an emerging economy in the developing world. The majority of South African's lacked access to the basic amenities of life, and the political and social priorities were spelled out in the Reconstruction and Development Programme of the ANC government which set aggressive targets for service provision, heavily subsidized by the state. Spalding-Fecher (2005: 53) further writes that the ambitious electrification programme of the RDP has been a huge success. However, the policy issue is not whether to subsidize the provision of electricity to poor consumers, but where, and by how much and how fast.

Spalding-Fecher's (2005:60) proposal for a wider mix of distributed generation technologies, particularly renewables, which could potentially have both environmental benefits and also achieve greater health benefits by displacing more fuels in households, is also relevant to the study context. The policy issues of the mass electrification programme such as; the implementation of the political and social priorities of the new government, in terms of infrastructural provision such as electricity provision to the disadvantaged people; the replacement of dangerous and expensive fuels such as wood, coal, paraffin used by the majority of un-electrified households, and which constitutes health hazards, as well as the proposals for wider energy mix practice by the South African government, are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Van Horen & Simmonds (1998: 893) hold the view that efficiency-equity relationship constituted a concern to the new ANC government in South Africa in 1994; and that one key case manifests in the energy sector where the challenges of the policy-makers was to seek convergence between strategies aimed at improving the efficiency of energy (electricity) production, and consumption, while at the same time overcoming the backlogs in infrastructural investment to the poor is relevant in the context of the study. Van Horen & Simmonds (1998: 894) further write that through the RDP which became the official government policy, the government embarked on an accelerated electrification programme,

and despite the favorable policy climate, the economic and institutional contexts contained impediments to the implementation of energy efficiency measures. According to these researchers, energy efficiency strategies which take advantage of prevailing political support for improvements in the living conditions of the low-income household sector are most likely to succeed.

Their views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The views draw from the policy commitment of the newly elected ANC government in 1994 to achieve high energy efficiency, by embarking on accelerated mass electrification programme to address the electricity needs of the poor who were marginalized in the previous apartheid dispensation.

Writing on Renewable energy policy in South Africa: policy options for renewable electricity, Winkler (2005:27) argues that the current method of producing and using energy (electricity) has environmental and health effects that endanger people's welfare and that government should expedite efforts to move to a cleaner energy supply for efficient use, while continuing to extend affordable access to electricity to the poor. According to Winkler (2005: 28), the major objectives of the government's energy policy include: improving energy governance, stimulating economic development, managing energy-related development impacts, and securing supply through diversity. Winkler's (2005:30) proposals on possible options by government to promote renewable electricity (generation through earths ecosystem) such as setting a target for renewable generation and effective policy instruments that involve fixing both quantity and price are also relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Writing on South Africa's Electrification Programme: an overview and assessment, Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard & Gaunt (2007: 8) note that the main barriers to widened access to electricity in the late 1980's were institutional and political; however, both were swept away by the democratic transition in the early 1990's, which provided not only a fundamental shift in the political landscape but also an unusual institutional environment for policy making. According to Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard & Gaunt (2007: 8-9) a number of factors drive state interest in electrification and the outcome of early electricity policies in most states is the establishment of institutions to regulate and facilitate the orderly expansion of electricity systems. The second factor is developmental, and sees electricity as a means to promote local economic development and to resolve problems of 'energy poverty'. Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard & Gaunt 2007: 9) further write that the development of the second-wave of electrification policies requires the establishment of electrification as a 'public problem'.

In the South Africa context, apartheid kept the interest in energy poverty off the policy agenda through its exclusion of the majority of the population, and energy for the poor was not regarded as an energy policy issue (Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard & Gaunt 2007: 9). According to these researchers, the electrification problem existed in two different frames; the first frame pioneered by the work of the Energy and Development Research Centre (EDRC) and by proxy the National Energy Council (NEC) and the Department of Minerals and Energy (DME, and other socially-oriented policy analysts in the late 1980s and early 1990's. The second frame, skewed toward Eskom, local authorities and the ANC's 'Restructuring and Development Programme' (RDP), was based on the understanding of electrification as infrastructure development, which should be integrated with other service-oriented infrastructure development processes and located institutionally in the same place as other forms of infrastructure development.

Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard & Gaunt (2007:11) identify policy and institutional development within the context of the electrification programme in three phases which include: phase 1, from initial scattered effort to the strong appearance of the programme on the policy agenda with strong political backing; phase 2, from 1994 when the programme became part of the RDP and targeted much higher connection rates, and phase 3, from around 2000, when rates dropped to lower levels and the programme was formally institutionalized in government. In the context of the study, the views of these researchers are relevant in comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The following points are extracted from their views:

- i. the barriers to widened electricity power access in the 1980,s and early 1990,s in South Africa were institutional and political;
- ii. the apartheid government through its policy of 'exclusion and separateness' had kept the interest in energy poverty off the policy agenda, and electricity for the poor was not regarded as an energy policy issue;
- iii. the policy and institutional development within the context of the electrification programme took place in three phases: appearance on the policy agenda, policy inculcation in the RDP programme, and the institutionalisation of integrated electrification programme in government.

The review of scholarly work on electricity policy in South Africa is done in the context of the study. In the course of the reviews, the following themes run through the body of the scholarly work:

- i. The worldwide recognition that electricity is a symbol of modern civilization (Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard & Gaunt 2007:8);
- ii. The barriers to widened access to electricity access in South Africa in the 1980's and early 1990's were institutional and political (Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt 2007:8; Eberhard 2004:12; Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt, Marquard 2008:3126; Davidson & Mwakasonda 2004:26-29);
- iii. The dismantling of the apartheid government in 1994 opened vistas for transformation in the electricity sub-sector (Eberhard 2003:11; Davidson & Mwakasonda 2004:29; Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt & Marquard 2008:3125; Spalding-Fecher 2005:53; Van Horen & Simmons 1998 :893; Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt 2007:8-9; Tinto & Banda 2005:26)
- iv. The ANC government that came into power in 1994 was determined to address, amongst other issues, backlogs in electricity development in the entire society through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (Eberhard 2003:12; Malzbender 2005:5; Steyn 1995:96; Davidson & Mwakasonda 2003:29; Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt & Marquard 2008:3126-3127; Spalding-Fecher 2005:53; Van Horen & Simmonds 1998:893; Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard & Gaunt 2007:11);
- v. The electricity policy in South Africa after the demise of apartheid is designed to achieve socio-economic development, poverty alleviation, and social equity (Gaunt 2003:1309-1310; Eberhard 2003:11-12; Malzbender 2005:5; Adam 2010:9-10; Davidson & Mwakasonda 2004:29; Gaunt 2008:3450; Spalding-Fecher & Matibe 2003:722; Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt, Marquard 2008:3125-3126, Lloyd, Cowan & Mohlakoana 2004:18; Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard & Gaunt 2007:8-9; Adam 2010:9-12);
- vi. The constitutional interpretation that electricity power is an implied right (Adam 2010:10-12);
- vii. The intention of the government to achieve environmental sustainability, through the practice of a wider energy mix of renewable and non-renewable sources of electricity power (Spalding-Fecher 2005:60; Winkler 2005:27-30; Davidson & Mwakasonda 2004:29; Winkler, Mukheibir, Mwakasonda, Garg & Halsnaes 2007:17).

2.7 OTHER PUBLICATIONS ON ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY

This section deals with other publications on electricity power policy that are relevant in the study context. It looks at general scholarly views on electricity policy. The reviews are also conducted within the context of the study.

In The Public benefits agenda in power sector reforms, Dubash (2001:5) argues for a public benefits agenda in the changing context of the electricity sector in developing and transition economies. According to Dubash (2001: 5), as the old model of vertically integrated monopolies make way for an emergent model which promotes the re-organizing of the electricity sector around private ownership, unbundling of functions and competition in generation and distribution, policies must be developed to accommodate public benefits in the newly privatized, competitive structures. Dubash (2001:9) argues that the reform model/policies should be designed in the context of the problems facing the particular country. Dubash (2001: 13) also raises such public policy issue considerations in electricity policy/reforms as environmental concerns (maintaining cleaning and healthy environment); social concerns (access and affordability); and good governance (public participation in the policy process). The views of Dubash (2001) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Dubash (2001) examines electricity policies in emerging nations, such as Nigeria and South Africa in the context of a 'public benefits agenda', and proposes that such policy reforms be designed in the context of peculiar socio-economic issues confronting different countries.

Wamukoya (2003: 1273) also argues that electricity reforms/policies are being pursued in many developing countries (like Nigeria and South Africa) on the promise that the reformed system would be more efficient and effective in addressing power demand and meeting the sustainable development agenda. Wamukoya (2003: 1273) further writes that there is emerging evidence that the reforms or policies pursued by national governments are designed mainly to address the economic and financial concerns about the neglect of social and environmental issues. According to Wamukoya (2003:1273) the current electrification reforms and policies are observed not to facilitate poverty alleviation, environmental protection, job creation and increased access by the people; and these are critical policy issues in electricity reforms and programmes in developing countries.

Wamukoya (2003: 1279-1284) identifies the following policy issues as constituting challenges to the reform processes in developing countries: increasing electricity access by the majority of people;

curbing unemployment; setting affordable tariffs; deliberate implementation of reforms in the context of political and economic exigencies; diversification of generation sources to accommodate both renewable and non renewable sources. Wamukoya (2003:1284) also proposes an 'energy commons' approach (energy as a public good and the public sector should not be separated from the operations of the sector) as against 'commodification' of energy. Wamukoya (2003:1285) further stresses the need for a corruption free, people oriented and transparent political system as an imperative for success. The views of (Wamukoya 2003) are also relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

Wamukoya (2003) like Dubash (2001) examines electricity policies in developing countries like Nigeria and South Africa in the context of socio-economic exigencies, as against financial benefits. Wamukoya's (2003) disposition toward an electricity 'commons approach' as against 'commodification' is also relevant to the study context.

Cook (2011:304) discusses the economic and social issues underlying rural electrification and argues that electrification policies have benefitted the non poor (in both access and subsidies) as against the poor, for whom it is intended. Cook (2011:304) blames the situation on the electrification policies of national governments which are guided by the World Bank's recent approach that encourages the promotion of utilities in the private sector. Cook (2011:309) further argues that as electric power supports development and poverty reduction through targets established in the Millenium Development Goals, electricity reforms and policies in developing countries should be pro-poor; and in this context rural electrification and its relation to poverty reduction has implications for rural development, since most people live on the poverty line in the rural areas. According to Cook (2011:309) implementing rural electrification towards income generating activities will raise demand for electricity and support cost recovery which is in line with the recent shift in policy focus by the major international development institutions who favour rural electrification that impacts on poverty alleviation. Cook's (2011) view is relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Cook (2011) also examines electricity policies and rural electrification programmes in developing countries like Nigeria and South Africa in the context of poverty alleviation and social upliftment.

Barnes (2011:260) writes that countries embarking on providing electricity to their poorest populations face significant challenges based on either deciding how to create or modify existing institutions or develop policies to develop rural electrification initiatives. According to Barnes (2011:260), existing

efforts and policies have a tradition of serving the urban population to the neglect of the rural population, and further advocates for an intensified approach to grid and off- grid systems. Barnes (2011:263) also argues for sustained government commitment and effective prioritization and planning. With strong government commitment and effective institutions to implement programmes and adapt them to local culture and community conditions, electrification can provide rural people with enormous social and economic benefits. The views of Barnes (2011) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Barnes (2011) also examines electricity policies of developing countries like Nigeria and South Africa, in the context of the local culture and community conditions.

Winkler, Simoes, Rovere, Rahman & Mwakasonda (2010:1037) argue that access to electricity and other energy plays a vital role in supporting economic and social development; and access to and affordability of electricity play a key role in national development programmes and in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. Winkler et al (2010:1037) also argue that national governments, especially in developing countries are, therefore, challenged to develop accessibility and affordability policies and programmes, drawing insights from successful experiences. Successful electrification as drawn from the experiences of Brazil, Bangladesh, and South Africa, show electrification as an important social investment, and successful electrification requires much focus on meeting community needs in technical and financial issues. Winkler et al (2010:1048) also write that in the case-studies, formal policies were introduced by governments to address both accessibility and affordability issues. These views of Winkler et al (2010) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Winkler et al (2010) examine the electricity policies of national governments like Nigeria and South Africa in the context of ‘accessibility and affordability’, and in meeting community needs.

Haanyika (2005:1) also argues that some of the problems militating against electricity access by the poor include: inadequate policies; limited application of appropriate technologies; limited financing; and weak institutional frameworks. According to Haanyika (2005:1) the efforts of national governments to address electrification concerns at the policy level is being affected by the introduction of market based reforms by international financial organizations in the last decade; and this has affected existing institutional and financial arrangements for extending electricity services to the poor. Haanyika (2005:13) also writes that government policies should incorporate sustainability measures to facilitate

both access and affordability; and legal and regulatory frameworks that facilitate both public and private interests should also be incorporated in the policy framework. Haanyika (2005:13) further expresses the need for clear roles and responsibilities in both policy development and implementation so that responsible institutions can achieve the goals of access and affordability of electricity power among the poor that dwell in the rural areas. The views of Haanyika (2005) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Haanyika (2005) also examines the electricity power policy of national governments like Nigeria and South Africa, in the context of incorporating sustainability measures to achieve accessibility and affordability by the poor.

Zoomers (2003:73) identifies the four main criteria for policy making in the field of electrification as: the need (what is necessary); the environment (what is acceptable); the economy (what is affordable); and the technology (what is feasible). According to Zoomers (2003:74) the linkages between sustainable development and appropriate electrification, the challenge for a successful implementation of electricity power programme, especially in the interest of the poor should take cognizance of the following factors:

- a politically and socially stable environment;
- proper institutional conditions (development of appropriate legislation and regulations);
- support from the international community;
- an appropriate electrification process that views electrification as an aspect of integrated rural development programme;
- a well developed strategy based on establishing relationship with stakeholders to achieve efficiency;
- an appropriate utility organization well adapted to the environment.

The views of Zoomers (2005) are relevant in the context of comparing electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Zoomer (2005) identifies the ‘policy making’ criteria in electrification by national governments such as Nigeria and South Africa in the context of achieving sustainable development.

In ‘Political will and collaboration for electric power reform through renewable energy in Africa’, Chineke & Ezike (2010:678) reiterates that access to clean and affordable electricity is an enabler of development and is a central feature of all Millenium Development Goals, as addressing the energy

needs of the poor provides access to services that address the causes of poverty. Chineke and Ezike (2010:679) identify transparent political will and collaboration as drivers of electric power reform, and further argue that government policies have an important role to play in moving the renewable energy sector into a balanced power development sector. According to Chineke & Ezike (2010:682) effective policies and incentives for low income earners are fundamental steps toward improvement in quality of life and increased access to electricity services. Their views are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. They examine policies on renewable development in African countries like Nigeria and South Africa in the context of political will and transparent leadership.

D'sa (2005:1271) also acknowledges that the power sectors of developing countries are confronted by series of problems; however, reform processes are intended to proffer remedies. D'sa (2005:1272) proposes 'an integrated resource planning' approach for national governments in the policy framework. This approach, assists policy makers by indicating appropriate investment decisions, meeting the electricity needs efficiently, providing for future requirements effectively, contributing to social and environmental welfare, making rational choices from among alternatives, and prioritizing programmes and policies. D'sa (2005:1279-1280) further identifies policy mechanisms that encourage an integrated planning approach in electrification as: policy agents and their roles (the role of policy makers in developing legislations and directives); the independent public authority that develops procedures and undertakes monitoring and evaluation functions; research organizations; the active involvement of electricity service providers; and the involvement of other stakeholders, such as consumer groups and other non-governmental organizations. The views of D'sa (2005) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. D'sa (2005) examines the electricity power policy of national governments such as Nigeria and South Africa in the context of an 'integrated resource planning approach'.

Bazilian, et al (2012:94) writes that policy intervention on energy (electricity power) is driven by issues of either peculiar or general characteristics. These are: social concerns; security or economics; poverty alleviation; promoting economic growth; climate change mitigation; issues of equity based on historical legacy to support particular groups of the population (such as the case of the post apartheid South Africa); industrial development; or poverty alleviation at the household level as an entry point before expanding to community-based development and business promotions. Bazilian, et al (2012:96) further

write that policy interventions are developed according to the purpose they serve and the mechanism employed to reach the objective. According to these authors, policy intervention appears in the form of an 'integrated national electricity programme, whereby, electrification is considered as infrastructure development, to be integrated with other service-oriented infrastructure development processes; and an integrated approach to household energy (electricity) problems. They further write that the institutional setting and ownership involve an alliance amongst the private sector, local governments, civil society, and academia. These views of Bazilian, et al (2012) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Bazilian et al (2012) examine the electricity policy of national governments like Nigeria and South Africa, in the context of socio-economic and environmental exigencies.

In *Power Sector Reform in Africa: Policy Guidelines for the Sustainability of the Sector* UNECA (2007:105-111) proposes some policy strategies and options for making the electricity sector sustainable. These include: enhancing access to electricity among the poor, sequencing reforms as in the South African, and other experiences whereby mechanisms and structures are developed for increased rural electrification; and electrification initiatives precede major market oriented reforms such as privatization; providing technical options for improving access to the poor; ensuring the use of environmentally sound electricity options; and addressing gaps and barriers in the legal and regulatory framework.

The provisions of UNECA (2007) are relevant in the context of comparing the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Nigeria is currently pursuing the major market reforms of privatization, whereas, the electrification policy in South Africa is based on an integrated approach, based on socio-economic exigencies, with government bearing the full financial responsibility.

The review of other publications on electricity policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa is carried out in the context of the study. Insights drawn from the reviews are relevant in the context of the study. In the course of the review, the following themes run through the body of the scholarly work:

- i. Due to pressures from international organizations, the old model of vertically- integrated monopolies in electrification is making way for a new model which promotes re-organisation around market oriented reforms (Wamukoya 2001:1273; UNECA 2003:51-53; Cook 2011:304);

- ii. The current privatization policies seek to address issues of economic and financial concern as against pressing socio-economic issues of employment generation, poverty alleviation, and environmental concerns (Wamukoya 2003:1273; Haanyika 2005:1);
- iii. The policy issues of environmental concerns, scaling-up electricity power access especially to the rural poor, affordability and employment creation constitute policy challenges in developing countries in general, and the Nigeria and South Africa contexts in particular (Haanyika 2005:13; Barnes 2011:260; Bazilian et al 2012:94);
- iv. Developing and implementing electrification policies based on peculiar socio-political, economic, and environmental exigencies.(Bazilian et al 2012:100; Zoomers 2003:73-74; UNECA 2007:51-53; Winkler, Simoes, Rovere, Rahman &Mwakasonda 2010:1037);
- v. The diversification of electricity generation sources to meet the increased demand and environmental sustainability are policy challenges in Nigeria and South Africa (Chineke & Ezike 2010:678-682; Wamukoya 2003:1279-1284);
- vi. The proposals for the enhanced implementation of pro-rural electrification policies to balance the pro-urban practice (Barnes 2011:260-263; Zoomers 2003:74; Haanyika 2005:13);
- vii. The formation of a strong service alliance between the government, civil society, academia, and the service providers is imperative for effective electricity policy making and implementation (Haanyika 2005:10; D'sa 2005 1279-1280; Bazilian et al 2010:100);
- viii. The development of proper legal and regulatory frameworks in the context of streamlining and sustaining electricity power generation, transmission and distribution policies (Haanyika 2005:1; UNECA 2007:51-53; Zoomers 2003:73).

2.8 COMPARISON OF REVIEWS

As earlier stated, this study is motivated by the observed gap in the literature of electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa, as known scholarly work in this area centers mainly on comparisons based on institutional performance, in respect of the electricity service providing institutions in Nigeria and South Africa. In view of this, studying electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa from a policy perspective is guided by the basic objectives of examining the similarities and differences in the electricity generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria and South Africa, and also examining the policy issues that affect electrification in the two

countries. A comparison of reviews of policy documents and scholarly work in the context of the study is carried out in this section.

In the course of the reviews, similarities and differences are observed to exist in the electricity policy and the policy issues in Nigeria and South Africa. Electricity has been found to impact on socio-economic development in Nigeria and South Africa. In Nigeria, the availability of electricity is a strong factor in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (Agba 2011:48; Oseni 2011:4766; National Electric Power Policy 2001:221) and in inducing the commercial and industrial development of the entire country (Roadmap 2010:5; Isife 2010:68). Similarly in South Africa, there is the recognition that electricity is a symbol of modernization in the 20th century (Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard & Gaunt 2007: 8) and the recognition of the potential for electricity as means of achieving sustained socio-economic development (Gaunt 2005:1309; Lloyed, Cowan & Mohlakoana 2004:8; Spalding-Fecher 2003:722; RDP White paper 1994: 48; White paper on Energy Policy 1998: 41).

Access to electricity is a key policy challenge in Nigeria. According to the reviewed policy documents (Electricity Power policy 2001: 225; Roadmap 2010: 4; National Energy policy 2003: 36; Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: 88 & Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006: 9), government is committed to providing ‘universal access’ to electricity for all. Similarly, in South Africa, the government is committed to providing ‘universal access’ to electricity power for all and this is evident in the provisions of the following documents, (RDP document 1994: 48 White paper on Energy Policy 1998: 48; EBSST 2003: 8; Adam 2010: 12; 12; Davidson & Nwakasonda 2004: 29). Moreover, the South African context is characterized by the definition of electrification as a ‘public problem’ and the proper placing of electrification on the public policy agenda for effective policy making (Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt & Marquard, 2008: 3126; Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard & Gaunt 2007: 9).

In Nigeria, the achieving of environmental sustainability through diversification of electricity sources constitutes a policy challenge (Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006:14; National Energy policy 2003: 36). This is similar to South Africa where the government, through various policies on renewables, is committed to achieving a clean environment and increased generation through renewable sources (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 42; Winkler 2005: 27; Davidson & Mwakasona 2004:29; Spalding-Fecher 2005:60; Winkler, Mukheibir, Mwakasona, Garg & Halsnaes 2007:17). The Nigerian government also recognizes that introducing competition in the electricity power industry is necessary to induce efficiency and reliability of service (National Electric Power Policy 2001:223;

Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: 82; National Energy Policy 2003: 36; Roadmap 2010: 5). Similarly, the South African government is committed to competition through the provisions in the following documents (White paper on Energy Policy 1998: 42; Electricity Regulation Act 4, 2006: 3-4).

However, in the course of the review, notable differences exist in terms of the electric power policy and policy issues in Nigeria and South Africa. In Nigeria, the barriers to a widened electricity service are political and institutional. This situation is blamed on corruption, poor governance, the insensitivity of government to the 'public benefit agenda; policy inconsistency (Iwayemi 2008:17; Agba 2011:48; Oseni 2011: 4772; Koloworola 2003: 1; Dubash 2001: 5; Hall 2010 5). In South Africa, the barriers to widened electric power access in the 1980's and 1990's were institutional and political. However, in the South African context, the barriers were created by the apartheid policy of 'racial differentiation' in infrastructural development (Eberhard 2003:12; Steyn 1995:77; Davidson & Mwakasonda 2004:29; Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt& Marquard 2008:3126; Spalding-Fecher 2005:53; Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard & Gaunt 2007:8).

In Nigeria, often, the policy- making framework in the context of electrification is inadequate in the context of addressing relevant issues (Haanyika 2005:1). The provision in the Electric Power Sector Reform Act (2005:83) that the 'power consumer assistance fund' shall be used to subsidize under-privileged power consumers as specified by the minister is vague and prone to manipulations. In South Africa, strong constitutional and regulatory issues drive and sustain electrification. Such issues are the constitutional court interpretation that 'access to electricity is an implied right' (Adam 2010:12), the recognition by government that the 'free basic electricity service' is a primary social welfare function (EBSST 2003:6), government pursuing social equity through electrification (RDP document 1994:8; White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:42; Gaunt 2005:1310; Adam 2010:12; Malzbender 2005:5 Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt 2007:8-9).

Nigeria intends to achieve electricity sector development through market sector reforms and the unbundling of the power utility functions (National Electric Power Sector 2001:223; Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005:82; National Energy Policy 2003:36; Roadmap for Power Sector Reform 2010:5; Hall 2010:3; Amobi 2007:291; Irukere & Isiekwana 2009:154; Wamukoya 2003:1273). The electricity utility company in South Africa is vertically integrated with the utility company ESKOM,

generating 96% of electricity, and is the only transmission licensee, and the distribution shared between Eskom, the municipalities, and other licensed distributors (Electricity Pricing Policy 2008:8).

The review further reveals that in South Africa, the electricity power policy-making process is democratic and involves policy actors from the public and private realms, stakeholders, civil society, and academia (Eberhard 2003:11; Steyn 1995:96; Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt, Marquard 2008:3126-27; Malzbender 2005:5). Moreover, the electricity policy in South Africa is driven by pressing socio-economic exigencies such as social upliftment, job creation and poverty alleviation (RDP document 1994:8; EBSST 2003:8; Gaunt 2005:1311; Adam 2010:2; Van Horem & Simmons 1998:902a; Lloyd, Cowan & Mohlakoana 2004:18; Marquard, Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt 2007:8-9; Tinto & Banda 2005:29).

The comparison of reviews was carried out in the context of the study. It sought to bring into focus the similarities and differences in the reviewed policy documents and other scholarly work on electricity power policy in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa.

2.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter reviews the contemporary body of scholarship on electric power policy in Nigeria, in comparison to South Africa. To execute this task, a wide range of scholarly work in the fields of public administration, public policies, and electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa, are extensively reviewed to find out authoritative conceptions and stances as regards the central problema, which is comparing electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, from a policy perspective.

To place the study in a proper theoretical context, a body of scholarly work on comparative public administration theory, systems theory, and the advocacy coalition framework were reviewed. The reviews were done in the context of examining the theoretical approach to the study. Comparative public administration theory explains the cross-national nature of the study. Systems theory looks at the inter-relationship that exists among institutions, activities, and forces from the environment in a political system to produce authoritative value allocations. The advocacy coalition framework involves synthesizing the policy focus of policy actors in both private and public realms to achieve a particular desired policy goal in the interest of the society at large. The advocacy coalition framework offers the

strong theoretical underpinning for the study as it identifies the interplay and influence of factors such as, policy actors, changes external to the environment of policy making, and the effect of stable parameters in public policy making. These set of factors were observed to, shape policy issues that drive electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. The body of scholarship in comparative public administration theory, systems theory, and advocacy coalition framework produces an integrated explanatory framework for comparing electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from a policy perspective.

In the context of the study, the reviews of scholarly work on public administration sought to examine authoritative views on the generic processes, which constitute the functions of public administration in respect of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. These functions include: policy making, organizing, financing, staffing, determination of work procedures, and control. The reviews showed that public administration has a place in electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. As public administration involves determined action taken in pursuit of state objectives, the reviews also showed the public administration efforts in this direction in Nigeria and South Africa.

Public policy is at the heart of public administration, and public administration is an instrument of public policy. In view of this, the study also reviewed scholarly work on public policy making and comparatively and examined its relevance in the context of electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Generally, the public policy process involves policy actors and issues; the policy stages include: problem or issue identification, agenda setting, policy decision, policy implementation, and evaluation. The reviews showed that the electric power policy process is part of the general public policy process in Nigeria and South Africa. The electric power policy outcomes in Nigeria in comparism to South Africa are outcomes of the general public policy process.

A vast body of scholarly work on electricity power generation, transmission, distribution policy in Nigeria and South Africa was reviewed. The reviews showed that electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa, are influenced by series of policy issues. However, there is the absence of known scholarly endeavors that compare electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, from a policy perspective.

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CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The different historical contexts and socio-political issues have profound implications in comparing the electric power policies in Nigeria and South Africa. Warwick (2006: 29-30) is of the view that policy-making cannot take place in a vacuum, and that the demand for policy actions (or inactions) is generated by the environment through the political system. Electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa draws heavily from the historical experiences and the socio-political issues of the two countries. Warwick (2006: 30-34) further contends that the policy-making environment can be viewed in the context of a specific environment which is made up of the political, economic, cultural, technological and religious components and the general environment which comprises constitutionalism, democratic values, transparency, economic values, etc. These issues viewed in the general praxis reflect either positively or negatively on the electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa.

In the context of the study, the historical and socio-political issues to be considered in Nigeria are the historical context of Nigeria, issues in the Nigerian federal structure, ethnic and sectional consciousness, and religious issues. In South Africa, the prevailing historical and socio-political issues are the historical context of South Africa, apartheid in South Africa, the reconstruction and development programme, reconciliation and redress, and poverty and inequality.

3.2 THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF NIGERIA

Nigeria is a large country, strategically located on the Coast of West Africa, commanding an area of 923,768.00 square kilometers with a vertical measure of 1,040 kilometers, and a horizontal measure of about 1,12 kilometers (Afigbo 1991:16). The country is characterized by extensive socio-cultural, geographical, religious, linguistic, historical and political diversities. These differences to a great extent have been advanced as the reasons behind the emergence of Nigeria as a unified political entity.

However, before the advent of colonialism, the territory that comprise the present day Nigerian state was made up of a multiplicity of ethnic/tribal groups, political arrangements such as empires, kingdoms, chiefdoms, villages etc. Moreover, the socio-political structures in the different societies were characterized by diverse socio-cultural, religious, economic and political practices that held the members together as one integral group. The British occupation of Nigeria was a gradual process. The British imperialists did not come to the area known as Nigeria today for any other strong reason rather than economic. According to Afigbo (1991: 16) the British came to West Africa mainly to trade. Decisions on issues were correct in as much as they were geared towards achieving selfish economic objectives, and most of these decisions were taken without weighing the long term consequences on the people. Afigbo (1991: 16-17) also writes that the British imperialists, through the application of tact, firstly acquired Lagos and its environs in 1862, and by 1897, the British influence had spread all over the Western axis. The second unit to be acquired in 1885 was the area of the Bight of Biafra (East) with the declaration of the protectorate of the Niger districts. The Niger Coast protectorate later metamorphosed into the protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1900. Also, the Northern area was acquired and administered through the Royal Niger Company and by 1900; the vast area became the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. By the end of 1900, these territorial interests had resulted in the emergence of 'three blocks' of British colonial territory, each separately administered through the British home government. Afigbo (1991: 17) further writes that each of these colonial administrations came into being purely for administrative convenience rather than out of concern for maintaining the integrity of geographical, cultural or linguistic areas. The three administrations were remarkably different as they were characterized by different political and administrative traditions and peculiarities designed to achieve the much needed administrative convenience for the colonialists.

Subsequently, the development began to create hard feelings and suspicions among the three separate administrations, and by 1906, the protectorate of southern Nigeria was amalgamated with the colony and protectorate of Lagos. This development reduced the administrative traditions into two (the protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria), and brought the demarcation that subsequently marked the Nigerian colonial politics. In 1914, the Southern and Northern administrations were amalgamated into one administration by the then Governor General, Lord Lugard. The reasons for the amalgamation were administrative convenience and the economy. It would rationalize railway policy that had created disputes between the North and south; solve the problem of border disputes or put it rest for some time; solve the financial situation in the North by

making the resources of the South available for development in the North and also rationalize administrative policy at the center and local levels (Afigbo 1991: 22). Also, the administrative duality in Nigeria was strengthened by the introduction of the colonial administrative practice of 'indirect rule'. Indirect rule was first established in the North in 1900 and was later extended to the South and Eastern areas. It was an administrative practice designed to overcome the strategies in personnel and funds by sourcing resources internally.

The amalgamation of Nigeria, rather than serving as a unifying factor, further worsened the feelings of Northern and Southern administrators. Subsequent efforts to construct Nigerian unity on the basis of a unified administrative system also failed due to resistance, suspicions and fear of domination (the Southern part had also embraced Western education and exposure). It is also important to note that the Richards constitution of 1946 did not introduce divisions into Nigerian politics as these divisions already existed. On the other hand, (Suberu 2010: 460) writes that Nigerian federalism was first instituted, under British colonial rule in 1954, to hold together the diverse society, which comprised two historic colonial administrative regions (North and South), three major ethnic groups (Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Ibo), hundreds of ethnic minorities, and an almost equal number of Muslims and Christians. The 1954 constitution was designed to accommodate these differences and foster 'unity in diversity as the independence of Nigeria approached. In the same vein, Ademolahun & Ayo (1989:157) contend that the formal adoption of a federal administrative system in Nigeria in 1954 resulted from a consensus decision reached between Nigerian nationalist leaders and the British colonial authorities. Such a system was deemed suitable for accommodating the country's diverse ethnic, religious, linguistic and regional groups and interests with one common politico-administrative entity. However, Afigbo (1991:27) insists that 'the dichotomies which federalism was designed to hold in check and reconcile arose not from the conflict of primordial pluralities but from the conflict of different traditions of administration and socio-economic development born and nurtured under British mis-tutelage'. The primordial federal features blossomed with the independence of Nigeria in 1960. These developments led to the formation of political parties and alliances along tribal/ethnic lines, thereby, widening the foundations of sectional, ethnic and religious consciousness that paraded in the Nigerian political terrain after independence in 1960. The socio-political issues arising from the historical context of Nigeria include issues in the Nigerian federal structure, ethnic and sectional consciousness and religious issues.

3.3 ISSUES IN THE NIGERIAN FEDERAL STRUCTURE

Persisting issues bordering on the socio-political and economic failure in Nigeria is often blamed on the federal content of the country. Nigeria has passed through decades of transformations at both the structural and leadership contexts but is still bedeviled by threatening socio-political and economic issues. According to (Suberu 2010:459) despite the massive transformation and reorganizations it has witnessed in 50 years of national independence, the Nigerian system of federalism is often denounced as a veritable source of, rather than a variable solvent for, the country's multifaceted crisis of poor governance, ethno-political conflict and socio-economic underdevelopment. The Nigerian federation is plagued by persistent issues of social coherence, politico-economic-transformations, leadership issues and service delivery, thereby, continually triggering concerns on the sustainability of the federal arrangement.

The situation, abnatio, is routinely blamed on the manner in which the federal system was conceived. The amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates (both peopled by more than 250 disparate ethnic groups) in 1914 by Governor General, Lord Lugard to form a united Nigeria has been described as the 'mistake of 1914'. This led chief Awolowo, the former Premier of the then western region to conclude that Nigeria is a 'mere geographical expression' (Adebanwi & Obadare 2010: 381). The Nigerian federation, as earlier mentioned, was formally instituted by the British colonists in 1954, to hold together the diverse elements in the Nigerian society which include two colonial administrative traditions of the North and South, three major ethnic groups, a large number of ethnic minorities existing alongside the major ethnic groupings and an almost equal number of Christians and Muslim faithful, almost geographically demarcated. The post independence era (first Republic) that lasted between 1960-1966 according to Suberu (2010:461) combined a west-minister-style of parliamentary system with the colonially inherited federal structures of three regions, in which a fourth one, the mid-west was added in 1963. This was followed by a military rule between 1966 and 1979, during which the federal unit was further spilt into 12 and later 19 states. Nigeria witnessed four years of civilian administration between 1979 and 1983 that operated on the existing federal structures.

The military came back in 1984 and continued till 1999. During this period, the number of states grew to 36. The military eventually handed over power to an elected civilian government in 1999, bringing to an end years of military predation and devastation. Over the years, there has been a build up to a lot of issues, arising from the federal structure and practice in Nigeria. The concern is that a good number of

these issues are persistent, distractive to good governance and service delivery and threatening to the corporate existence of the country. In the study context, the following issues are identified and shall be discussed under the Nigerian federal structure. They include: the nature of the federating units, Nigeria fiscal federalism, inter-governmental relations, and the politics of resource control, revenue allocation, sub-national aggression, and state creation.

3.3.1 The Nature of the Federating Units

Adejumobi (2006: 215) opines that federalism remains an ‘unfinished business’ in any country, as it is a question of degrees and dimensions, which largely depends on local peculiarities and the context of each society. However, certain structural characteristics that are identifiable and basic to federal systems according to Walts & Blindenbacher (2002: 24-5, cited in Adejumobi 2006: 215) include:

- i. the existence of two or more orders of government each acting directly on their citizens;
- ii. a formal constitutional division of legislative and executive authority and the allocation of resources between the orders of government;
- iii. provision for the representation of direct regional views within the federal policy-making institutions;
- iv. a supreme written constitution that cannot be unilaterally amended by one order of government;
- v. an umpire in the form of courts to rule on interpretation or valid application of the constitution;
- vi. processes and institutions to facilitate intergovernmental collaboration in those areas where governmental responsibilities are shared or inevitably overlap.

The Nigerian federalism evolved through a disarticulated and disaggregated background to hold together the disparate and diverse groups within the society. The composition is seriously argued as an imposition from the British colonialists who sought to achieve administrative convenience and economic advantage without instituting the stable structures and allowing the arrangement to evolve through local peculiarities and consent. This kind of devolutionary federalism according to Suberu & Agbaje (1998:336) lacks the ‘integrative identities and values of civic reciprocity and mutual respect associated with a voluntary compact or a bargain to join federalism. The amalgamation of two separate administrative traditions (consciously created by the British colonialists) and the lumping together of diverse socio-cultural and political units subsequently, precipitated a series of centrifugal pressures on the federal system. Adejumobi (2004: 216) observes that the crisis of the Nigerian state and its federal

practice is often couched in the euphemism of the 'national question'. The national question thus, refers to 'how effectively to structure the Nigerian federation in order to accommodate the different groups and interests and guarantee access to power and equitable distribution of resources. The national question identifies the challenges that must be addressed if the country is to survive. These are the critical issues that have either been left unsolved, or not well resolved and now threaten the corporate existence of the country. Sklar (2004: 4) writes that the federal question has three distinct components: how shall the constituent units of the federation be demarcated and how many should there be? What will be the relationship between the government of the federation and the governments of its constituent parts? And what will be the relationships between Nigerian citizens and the national government? The attempts to reconcile these burning questions have triggered further issues, for instance, the formation of geographical clusters and the establishment of 'primordial interests' around these clusters, thereby sacrificing the 'national interests'. The implication is the emergence of a form of 'distributive federalism'. In this regard, Adejumobi (2007: 219) further writes that with the creation of weak and dependent states, the alteration of the revenue allocation formula, the oil windfall, and the crafting of the federal character principle, the basis of the Nigerian federalism became a distributive one. The issues of production and wealth creation were de-emphasized in the Nigeria federal structure, and all attention and incentives were geared towards the sharing of the 'federal booty' (revenue from oil). The distributive nature of Nigerian federalism has exacerbated conflicts, competitions, distrust and dis-satisfaction that have threatened the Nigerian union over the years.

Akinrinade (2003: 42) suggests that the central issues in contemporary conflict manifestations in Nigeria revolve around the practice of federalism and the working in the federal structure. Violent conflicts in the Nigerian political system most often are manifestations of the centrifugal strife generated by the desires of different federating units for 'primitive wealth' accumulation from the central source. Akinrinade (2003:42) further writes that violent conflicts in the Nigerian political system have manifested in three important guises: violent ethnic nationalism, including several inter and intra-ethnic configurations, resource-based anti-state conflicts, particularly in the Niger Delta, and religion induced conflicts. The motives of the militias are either to achieve autonomy for the various ethnic nationalities within the federal structure by negotiation or total independence by force.

Resilient issues arising from the nature of the federating units in Nigeria have the following implications:

- i. They threaten the corporate existence of the country instead of acting in a unifying way;
- ii. They affect the durability and sustainability of democracy in the country;
- iii. They create difficulties in leadership transformation from a primordial base to national perspective;
- iv. They impact negatively on national policy developments, especially in the context of service delivery, and
- v. They have adverse implications for policy development in the context of the study.

3.3.2 Nigeria Fiscal Federalism

Fiscal relations are vital in the practice of any federal system of government. The basis is to serve the common good of the people. The attempt to realize this objective in any federation is always difficult and therefore, generates conflicts; conflicts arising from the basis (formula) for allocating funds to the various levels of government, and also conflicts arising from the derivative and other principles in which the constituent states (regions) are embroiled on the issue of who gets what and how). Federalism can therefore, be understood from the angle of fiscal relations between the centre and the federating units. Aigbepue & Ainabor (2011: 26) view fiscal federalism as a system of government where revenue and expenditure functions are divided among the tiers and levels of government. The objectives of fiscal relations in a federation being:

- i. to ensure correspondence between sub-national expenditure responsibilities and their financial resources (including transfer from central government) so that functions assigned to sub-national government can be effectively carried out;
- ii. to increase the autonomy of sub-national government by incorporating incentives for them to mobilize revenues on their own;
- iii. to ensure that macro-economic management policies of central government are not undermined and compromised;
- iv. to give expenditure discretion to sub-national government in appropriate area in order to increase the efficiency of public spending and improve the accountability of sub-national officials to their constituents in the provision of sub-national services;
- v. to incorporate intergovernmental transfers that are administratively simple, transparent and based on objective, stable and non-negotiated criterion;
- vi. to minimize administrative costs and thereby, economize on scarce criteria;

- vii. to provide equalization payments to offset the differences in fiscal, capacity among states and among local government so as to ensure that power sub-national governments can offer sufficient amount of key services;
- viii. to incorporate mechanisms to support public infrastructure development and its appropriate financing;
- ix. to support the emergence of a governmental role that is consistent with market oriented reforms; and
- x. to be consistent with nationally agreed income distribution goals. (Aigbepue & Ainabor 2011: 26).

The issue of fiscal federalism has generated much furore over the years in Nigeria. The continued debate over revenue issues in Nigeria emanates from the simple fact that the country is a monocultural economy and over 80% of its national income is derived from one source which is crude oil. Akinrinade (2003: 47) contends that, ‘as crude oil became the principal revenue earner for the country, the income from oil sales became a target for state power’. The issue of fiscal relations in the Nigeria federal context therefore, hinges on the amount of resources to be allocated among the various tiers of government and the various means of allocations. Aigbepue & Ainabor (2011: 29) describe this in terms of a vertical allocation among the three tiers of government and horizontally among the states and the local government units.

It is also important to note that military intervention in Nigeria politics over the years affected the pattern and practice of fiscal federalism as the federal government maintained ‘exclusive fiscal’ control over collection and disbursements to the federating units. The situation left the federal government with too much revenue at its disposal. The appropriation of all fiscal authority by the federal government under the military, according to Akinrinade (2003: 47) severely injured the utilization of the principle of derivation in the allocation of federally collected revenue to various tiers of government. However, with the advent of democratic government in 1999, the fiscal relations between the federal government and federating units burst into serious issues.

According to Elaigwu (2002: 86), the state governors have argued that a new allocation formula should be put in place, giving the states at least 40 percent. Section 164 (2) of the 1999 constitution provides for the National Assembly to consider the revenue account principles of ‘population, equality of states, internal revenue generation, land mass, terrain and population density, and for the national assembly to

note that the principles of derivation applied on all proceeds from all national resources will not be less than 13% (Elaiwu 2002:86). The issues generated by revenue allocation/fiscal relations in the current federal structure have the following implications:

- i. They affect the inter-governmental correspondence between the federal government and the federating units in terms of expenditure responsibilities;
- ii. They affect infrastructural development and general service delivery;
- iii. They derail policy initiatives between the federal government and the federating units in the study context.

3.3.3 The Politics of Resource Control

Revenue allocation issues in Nigeria result in the emergence of a related concept of ‘resource control’. Bassey & Akpan (2012: 223) write that the phrase ‘resource control’ has become amazingly popular in the Nigerian federation. It was popularized as a political concept in 2003 in the aftermath of the legal tussle between the federal government and littoral states over offshore/onshore dichotomies. The phrase has gained currency in the lingering debate over revenue allocation in Nigeria. Resource control in Nigeria derives from the concerns of the people of Niger-delta region (oil producing areas). Bassey & Akpan (2012: 228) also state that ‘the politics of resource control’ is a challenge by civil society groups and communities in the Niger-Delta over the control of oil and the distribution of its benefits among the constituent units of the federation. The people of the Niger-Delta over the years have accused the federal government of collaborating with the multinational oil companies to under-develop the area. The issues being that since their earth resources are rapaciously exploited to the neglect of their development need; they should be allowed to control their resources.

According to Adele (2008: 80) the clamour for resource control is predicated on the following grounds.

- i. The injustice and inequality that characterize the distribution of national resources, particularly oil revenue.
- ii. The jettisoning of derivation as a fundamental principle of revenue allocation which reduced the amount of fund going to the pauperized oil producing areas as a right.
- iii. The lack of infrastructural development in Nigeria at large, but in the oil producing areas in particular.

- iv. The new democratic dispensation which allows for overt airing of grievances which were violently suppressed under military rule.
- v. The introduction of sharia judicial system by some Northern states which was seen by Southern states as a major test for the federal constitution. The demand for resource control by the oil producing states in the South is an indirect constitutional cum economic response to the introduction of sharia.
- vi. The systematic distribution of the ecosystem in the oil producing areas which led to environmental degradation, pollution, acid rain and the attendant unemployment and mass poverty.
- vii. The failure of the multinational oil companies to contribute to the social and economic development of the oil producing states.
- viii. The activities of ethnic militants made up of unemployed youths in the oil producing communities who are exerting pressure on the political and traditional leaders, thereby, necessitating political action.
- ix. The ‘Ogoni Bill of Rights’ which demanded political autonomy that would guarantee political control of Ogoni affairs by Ogoni indigenes (the right to control and use a fair proportion of Ogoni economic resources for Ogoni development).

These issues have over the years generated and aggravated tensions in the country. This is observed in the continuous agitation by the oil producing areas of the Niger-Delta for the control and distribution of its benefits. The activities of the ‘agitating and civil society groups in this area constitute serious threat to the Nigeria federation. Their activities have resulted in sabotage, civil disturbance, militarism characterized by the kidnapping of oil workers (and the demand for ransom), the vandalization of oil pipelines and oil installations and general lawlessness in the region. However, the federal government in an effort to address the demands of the Niger-Delta established the ‘Niger-Delta Development Commission (NDDC) to replace the old’ Oil and Minerals Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC). The ‘Niger-Delta Development Commission (NDDC) was established to embark on development projects aimed at alleviating poverty and improving the lives of people in the area. The government in a follow-up also established in 2008, a Ministry of the Niger Delta with the basic function of driving the policies of the government with respect to the development of the Niger Delta.

Similarly, these developments have provoked reactions and complaints from other mineral producing states. Elaigwu (2008: 87) writes that the states with solid minerals complain that despite environmental degradation as a result of mining activities in their areas, they have not been adequately compensated for damages. The states are calling for the establishment of the ‘Solid Minerals Producing Area Development Commission’ (SOMPADEC) and all the states from which hydroelectric power is generated are also calling for the establishment of ‘Hydro Power Producing Areas Development Commission (HYPPADEC) to compensate them for the damages caused by power generation activities in the area (Elaigwu 2008:87). The politics of resource control exert the following implications on the Nigerian federal structure:

- i. It creates ‘fluid dynamics’ and propels tension, suspicions and general disorder;
- ii. It derails the national development agenda of the federal government;
- iii. It has a multiplication effect, whereby, similar complaints and demands explode in different parts of the country;
- iv. It affects national leadership quality ‘since it makes it easy for a leader to ‘ethnicize’ his mandate by his policies and actions (Elaigwu 2002: 88);
- v. It affects policy development in the context of the study.

3.3.4 Intergovernmental Relations

The pattern of intergovernmental relations practice constitutes another source of bubbles in the Nigerian federal system. Intergovernmental relationship (especially in the present political dispensation) is characterized more by conflict than by co-operation and has generated concern in different circles for the society. According to Opeskin (2001: 1) inter-governmental relations refer to relations between central, regional and local governments, as well as government at any one level that facilitates the attainment of common goals through co-operation. Inter-governmental relations in Nigeria are intended to achieve the common goals of socio-political and economic development through the development of initiatives at the different levels of government. Two kinds of intergovernmental relations exist in Nigeria. These are vertical relations whereby, the federal government interacts with states and the local government councils, or where the states interact with the localities, and horizontal relations where governments at the same levels interact, for instance, inter-state interactions or inter-local interactions.

Lawson (2011: 201) further identifies the basic features of inter-governmental relations as:

- i. intergovernmental relations to include all governmental levels (central, legislative/state and local);
- ii. actions of officials and their attitudes (purposeful behavior and perception of other participants in the system);
- iii. regular interactions among officials (day-to-day contacts, practical working relationship and continuity of action patterns);
- iv. prominence of policy (rather than mainly legal issues);
- v. financial policy issues (intergovernmental fiscal relations).

In the Nigerian context, through inter-governmental co-operation, areas of policy attention ought to be identified, policies developed and actions streamlined. Freinkman (2007: 2) also adduces the following justifications for building workable inter-governmental co-ordination mechanisms in Nigeria.

- i. In the environment of shared responsibility for service delivery, non-coordinated interventions of different government levels create a risk of duplication of efforts and sub-optimal allocation of resources.
- ii. When there is an agreement on common national priorities and development objectives, it is sensible for all government levels to align their actions with such priorities and thus compliment each other's efforts, this is because, as in common complex social systems, there is significant potential for synergies between co-ordinated policies and actions, and
- iii. There is a case for standard of efficiency argument which posits that co-ordination could lead to better overall resource utilization through economy of scale, quicker project completion, more efficient use of limited resources and the dissemination of best management practices.

The frictions generated by inter-governmental relations in Nigeria routinely derive from the nature of the federal arrangement and the constitutional practice. Developments in federalism, both during the pre-colonial and the post-colonial era, and a series of military incursions in politics have contributed to the challenges confronting inter-governmental relations in Nigeria. The military in the course of ruling the country instituted a highly centralized federal structure. Lawson (2011 201-202) argues from the view point of the 1999 constitution which 'failed to pass through the normal constitutional making

process as it was drafted in a hurry'. The basic issue hinges on the extent to which the constitutional provisions will enhance inter-governmental relations within the framework of the constitution. In the context of the vertical and horizontal pattern of relationship, intergovernmental relations occur in three major areas which include power relations, revenue allocation and provision of certain welfare and infrastructural facilities. As regards power allocation, the federal government legislates on the 'exclusive legislative list' and both the federal and state governments legislate on the 'concurrent legislative list', whereas the 'residual list' is for the state governments (the residues form the two lists). However, in the case of conflict between federal and state laws, the federal law prevails, and where state executive action conflicts with that of the federal, the latter also prevails.

The implication is that the 'inter-governmental relationship between the federal government and the states is more centralized than decentralized'. With too much power at its disposal, the federal government can intervene in any matter of public importance it deems necessary. This situation has generated much conflict and tension between the federal government and the state governments since the inception of democratic rule in 1999. The state governments therefore, insist:

- i. that the power of the federal government is enormous;
- ii. that the federal government is intervening in functions which are not within its domain;
- iii. that the situation is turning the state governments to beg for favours from the federal government thereby, undermining the constitutional intensity of the state government(Lawson 2011:202);
- iv. the situation affects the developmental initiatives of the state governments who are closer to the grassroots.

On the other hand, the federal government according to Elaigwu (2002:18) insists that a strong centre can give the country a strong sense of security so as to prevent the occurrences of the past where, the country disintegrated and was plunged into civil war due to the weakness of the centre. A strong central government can also intervene and carry out fiscal and developmental equalization among the component units. The power relations between the state and local governments also generate conflicts as state chief executives sometimes use arbitrary powers on local government chairmen, thereby, failing to realize that local governments are 'a constitutionally guaranteed third tier of government'. This has resulted in a legal suit filed by a local government chairman against

thirty six governors and their state assemblies. In the suit, according to Adele (2008: 84) the local government chairman sought the following reliefs amongst others:

- i. A declaration that it is unconstitutional and ultra-vires, the powers of the state governors to remove or suspend a democratically elected chairman of a local government council before the end of his tenure of office.
- ii. A declaration that it is not part of the function of the state Houses of Assembly to make laws to remove or suspend the chairman of a democratically elected local government before the end of his tenure of office.

Elaigwu (2002: 79) further writes that in the relations among federal, state and local governments, there are signs of residual militarism in the actions of political executives. Issues in intergovernmental power relations in Nigeria have the following implications:

- i. they affect standard efficiency in service delivery;
- ii. they affect the co-ordination of resources for overall national development;
- iii. they stifle policy initiatives at the state and local levels of government;
- iv. they derail development as the levels of government waste substantial time and energy on legal tussles;
- v. create distrust and suspicion among the levels of government and also affects relationships at the horizontal level;
- vi. affect policy development in the context of the study.

3.3.5 Sub-national Aggression.

Another form of contradiction manifest in Nigerian federalism is the seeming rise in violent and aggressive behaviours. These explosive behaviours perpetrated by different groups in different forms are expressions of discontent with the federation. However, the centralized pattern of 'military federalism' had suppressed the violent and aggressive tendencies of sub-national groups who feel deprived in the present federal arrangement. Elaigwu (2002: 88) comments that signs of the resurgence of aggressive sub-nationalism were suppressed during the military era but 'exploded into violence' with the inception of the civilian administration in 1999. With the emergence of a civilian administration, various groups resorted to registering patterns of disapproval and discontentment in the system.

Viewed from a general perspective, Omotola (2010: 38) identifies reasons that may foster violence by subgroups in a federal arrangement like Nigeria as ethnic conflict, religious and ideological conflicts, socio-economic deprivations, perceived political irregularities, lack of adequate channels for peaceful communications among other issues. However, in the context of the oscillating issues arising from the nature of Nigerian federalism, violence and other forms of aggressive behaviours by sub-national groups requires a different kind of explanation. Cline (2011: 273-274) blames the issues on the colonial legacy and insists that many of the issues lie in the 'structural imbalance in the configuration of Nigerian federalism'. As such, the structural imbalance in the ethnic, religious and regional compositions of Nigeria and the manipulation of such identities can be said to be responsible for the various aggressive behaviours and conflicts in Nigerian federalism. However, Elaigwu 2002: 88-89) writes that positions expressed, reflect the nature of concerns of various groups. These include:

- i. disapproval over leadership monopoly in the country by a particular group;
- ii. a feeling of alienation from the resources that sustain the whole country by the groups that own them;
- iii. the concern that some parts of the country attract government presence in terms of industrialization and major federal government projects more than others;
- iv. the concern that groups want to control both political and economic power thereby, negating the federal principle of sharing;
- v. the feeling of alienation from political and economic power by those who fought over the nature of the federal association; and
- vi. the feeling of suspicion and distrust existing among the different groups in the country.

These groups hide behind the mask of issues of perceived sub-national peculiarities and concerns to unleash violence and wanton aggression on Nigerian federalism. The attitude and perspective of the sub-national groups, especially those from the Southern part of the country is the restructuring of Nigerian federalism, whereas, the Northern counterparts are more inclined to the status quo ante.

Adejumobi (2011: 223) identifies these groups in terms of their basis and orientation in relation to the demands they make for the restructuring of the Nigerian federation. The first are the ethnic based civil society organizations. Some of these groups insists on 'self determination of their nationality' and call for the 'convocation of a Sovereign National Conference' to address the issues. Prominent among these groups are the 'Niger Delta groups whose resources are of strategic importance to Nigeria's national

survival. Sampson (2009: 31) states that militancy in the Niger Delta is occasioned by the endemic poverty of the locals, flagrant environmental degradation and destruction of livelihood sources by the multinational oil companies, marginalization and inequitable distribution of revenue, repression and human rights abuses. In the same vein, Arowosegbe (2009: 585) insists that the marginalization of the oil region is a result of the lopsidedness of Nigeria's federal structure, the contradictions and injuries inherent within its fiscal operations, and the destructive disposition of elite politics in the country. In view of this, the groups in the Niger Delta region have insisted on the convocation of a 'Sovereign National Conference' and other violent and aggressive attitudes to register their discontentment within the federal structure. Adejumobi (2004: 223) further writes that some other groups argue against the 'convocation of a national conference'. These groups are satisfied with the present federal structure, and as has been pointed out earlier, these groups are the Northern folks. They operate under the umbrella of Arewa Peoples Congress (APC). A more radical groups known as MASSOB from the Eastern part of the country takes recourse to past experiences in the federal arrangement and calls for secession. Also, the Odua People's Congress (OPC) from the Western part of the country moved for the freedom of its people in 1999 and instigated violence that resulted in several deaths and destruction of properties.

Sub-national aggression in Nigeria has the following implications:

- i. it results in wanton destruction of lives and properties;
- ii. it causes loss of revenue to the multinational oil companies, and the Nigerian state;
- iii. it deepens fears and suspicion among the sub-groups in the country;
- iv. it affects the foreign image of the country (kidnapping and killing of expatriate oil workers creates a bad image of Nigeria within the international community);
- v. it adds to the emergence of local pirate activities in the Niger Delta region;
- vi. it results in general lawlessness and disorder;
- vii. it is a threat to the corporate existence of the country;
- viii. it affects policy development in the context of the study.

3.3.6 State Creation

Another contradiction of Nigerian federalism prevalent in the extant literature is the lopsided structure of the federalism which was created by the British colonial administration prior to the independence of

Nigeria in 1960. This arrangement over the years has constituted a part of the national question in the context of initial conflict between the majority and minority ethnic groups and subsequently, perceived domination within the groups. Alapiki (2005: 50) contends that many groups of people were arbitrarily sandwiched into a territorial unit that formed a geographical entity called the nation state, and that there was no identification with the state as a symbol of collective identity (no political community). In view of the foregoing, the state creation exercise in Nigeria is basically intended to achieve national integration. A strategy of integrating the various groups with different sheds of identities into the nation state, and achieving this through the process of ‘breaking up’ the nation state into subordinate units known as states and also devolving powers to the states.

From a general perspective Ojo & Adebayo (2008: 334) proffer a number of factors for state creation, among which are:

- i. the need to minimize conflicts between states and among states;
- ii. the need for unity in the country;
- iii. the need for government to be nearer to the people, and
- iv. the need for maintenance of worthwhile cultural peculiarities and economic development.

State creation in Nigeria can therefore, be understood from the official or ‘state’ reasons for national integration and bringing government closer to the people, and also for reasons that derive from the socio-cultural and political context of the Nigerian federal structure. Orji (2008: 101) views it in the context of convergence of the interests of the elite groups especially the dominant elite groups and the post-war (civil war) emphasis on equality in the distribution of federal resources. In a bid to maintain effective control after the war, the military government centralized the collection and spending of the national revenue, and uses the states as conduits for distributing federal resources.

Nigeria is presently a federation of 36 states. The country passed through the process of creating new states between 1967 and 1996 out of the old pre-independence and post- independence structure of four regions, notably; the Western, the Northern, Eastern and Midwestern regions. Rustad (2008: 10) views this process as important in understanding the power sharing strategies that Nigeria has established, and that the increasing number of states poses serious challenges for both wealth sharing and office distribution arrangements. This view holds, in view of the fact that the first effort at creating the Midwestern region in 1963 was perceived with bitterness and rivalry; thereby, bringing to question the

reason for integration and the geographical balancing it is designed to achieve. In 1967, the federal military government recognized the need to divide Nigeria into smaller units. This according to (Rustad 2008: 10-11), was to prevent any one state from becoming so strong that it would either control the central government or opt for secession. The five principles put forward by the government for splitting the country into 12 states are:

- i. No state should be in the position to dominate or control the central government;
- ii. Each state should form one compact geographical unit;
- iii. Administrative convenience, the facts of history, and the wishes of the people conceived must be taken into account;
- iv. Each state should be in a position to discharge effectively the functions of the existing regional government; and
- v. It is essential that new states are created simultaneously (Elaigwu 2007:115 cited in Rustad 2008:11).

The splitting of Nigeria into the 12 states structure temporarily soft-pedaled ethnic pressures for states creation demand, and according to Suberu (2001: 87-88 cited in Rustad 2008: 11), the federal state became more centralized and the federal government gained more power. The creation of the 12 state structures subsequently, opened vistas for the demand for more states. This is due to the realizations that 'state status' has a lot of associated socio-economic and political benefits. In 1976, the federal military government yielding to the demands for new states creation created 7 extra states out of the then 12 states structure, thereby bringing the number of states to 19. The basic motivation by the government for the creation of the 19 states structure was for economic development and democratic stability of the country. According to Ojo & Adebayo 2008: 342), 'the basic motivation in the demands for more states is rapid economic development....' This was in contrast to the previous exercise that hinged mainly on political and ethnic reasons (to share power among the ethnic groups more equally). However, the 19 states structure was considered inadequate among the ethnic groups that did not get more states as the arrangement placed them at a disadvantage at the national level. The issue is that stability and harmony cannot be achieved unless there is a fair balance between the three major ethnic groups. Rustad (2008: 11) also contends that the new 19 states structure did not satisfy popular demand, especially among the ethnic groups that did not gain much, such as the Ibos who only controlled two states.

The military in 1987 altered the 19 states structure by increasing the number of states to 21 and in 1991 created 9 additional states thereby bringing the number of states to 30. According to (Rustad 2008: 12), ‘the main arguments of the federal government for this were the principles of social justice, development and inter-ethnic balance...’ Another unofficial side of the argument is that the then military head of state used state creation as a strategy to stay longer in power and also prepare grounds for his transformation into a civilian president. Ojo & Adebayo (2008: 346) also write that the 1999 reorganizations in the federal structure trivialized and bastardized the process of territorial reform in Nigeria, thereby negating the principle of national integration. The reorganizations provoked protests and demonstrations in certain quarters of the country, slowing disapproval and discontentment with the new federal arrangement. In 1996, another structural reorganization was carried out, as six additional states were created by the then military head of state, bringing the number of states to 36. According to Rustad (2008: 12) the military head of state justified the new structure by arguing that ‘state creation had become a periodic and accepted feature in Nigeria politics’.

Between 1967 and 1996, the Nigerian federation passed through several processes of state creation. The justifications lie in number of factors, though these factors are derived from the federal structure in itself. Alapiki (2005: 59) argues that the complex mix of ethnic, economic, and class forces brought about the increase in the number of constituent states in Nigeria. These factors range from governments’ efforts to accord a strong sense of belonging to the minorities, the desire to curb the powers of the regions and maintain a strong centre, equality of units, economic and democratic development, to the selfish desires of the military presidents to strategize political ambitions through state creation. And with the demand for more states still unabated, the central problem is that state creation outcomes in Nigeria have failed to assuage the very forces that instigate new state demands (Alapiki 2005: 49). The implication is that each state creation exercise results in the emergence of a new set of minorities, thereby sparking the agitations for new states. State creation therefore, turns out to be a means of ‘merely’ devolving political and economic powers to assuage the demand of groups rather than an instrument of national integration and uniform socio-economic development.

State creation in Nigeria has the following implications:

- i. it produces a continuous demand/agitation for more states, as each state creation exercise produces new minorities;

- ii. it has resulted in the idea of ‘statism’, whereby issues of national concern are viewed from a state perspective. The phenomenon of ‘statism’ also affects labour mobility, and non state indigenes find it difficult to get employment in government establishments in other states;
- iii. it increases distrust and suspicion among constituent states;
- iv. in the power relations between the central government and the constituent states, the states turn out to be weak in terms of checking the abuse of power or the overbearing influence of the centre;
- v. in the fiscal context, only a few states are viable enough, with the majority of the states dependent on the centre for fiscal sustenance. The revenue base of most of the states is too low;
- vi. it continues to create disputes among states in terms of ‘asset sharing’ and ‘boundary adjustments’;
- vii. it also affects policy development in the context of the study.

The Nigerian federal structure is characterized by different issues. These issues are generated by the nature of the federation in itself. Nigeria is a federation of plural societies and socio-political differences keep generating issues that border on the nature of the federal structure. These issues are persuasive in content and also threatening in form. The next issue is ethnicity and sectional consciousness.

3.4 ETHNICITY AND SECTIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Ethnicity is another feature of the Nigerian state. As a socio-political issue, it generates persistent problems and challenges not only for national governance but also for the citizens of the country. The issue of ethnicity is a serious concern, since after several years of corporate existence as one united and indivisible unit the political class has failed to knit together the various ethnic forces and sensibilities that pervade the country. Rather, the mechanism of ethnicity is constantly used to advance and negotiate for selfish group political interests. As such, ethnicity in Nigeria according to Ojie & Ewhrudjakpor (2009: 8) has become a vehicle in the attainment of the ethnic groups’ fair share of the ‘national cake’, catalyzing serious conflicts and truncating the sustainability of socio-political

development in Nigeria. The issue therefore, adds to the mounting questions that probe the levels of unity and social cohesion in the country.

Jinadu (1985:73) refers to ethnicity as identity relationships which are based on a common language, religion, culture, caste or race (which are sometimes referred to as primordial attachments). This view predicates the concept of ethnicity on the basis of social relations. Ojie (2006: 547-548) therefore, opines that ethnicity as a natural social phenomenon derives from the tendency of ethnic groups to project and glorify their distinct primordial features at the expense of others. Its features are:

- i. ethnicity exists only within a political society consisting of adverse ethnic groups;
- ii. ethnicity is characterized by a common consciousness of being one in relation to other relevant groups;
- iii. it tends to be exclusive as acceptance and rejection on linguistic cultural grounds characterizes social relations;
- iv. it is characterized by conflict (Ojie 2006: 548).

Ethnicity is always pronounced in plural societies like Nigeria with more than 250 language groups. With a language divide of such magnitude, the language factor becomes salient as people tend to relate more with those they share common language with and adopt a different attitude to people outside the language group. Other predominant identity relations such as religion and culture are also facilitated by the language divisions. It therefore, produces the feeling of loyalty and attachment by people within the same ethnic group, and also makes people suspicious of others outside the immediate relational domains. Jinadu (1985: 73) further contends that ethnicity, per se, need not generate conflict, but once it is situated in a particular type of social or plural diversity, it assumes potential conflict significance. Ethnic relations in Nigeria exist in the context of pronounced social and plural diversity that constantly generates conflictual relationships. Thus, ethnicity as a phenomenon is behavioural in form and conflictual in content, in the sense that people from different ethnic groups see each as competitors in the quest for resources rather than compatriots (Attoh & Soyombo 2011: 40). It is the aggregation of ethnic feelings and the politicization of ethnicity that degenerates into the ethnic discrimination, intense rivalry and prejudice that is found in Nigeria. The discourse therefore, looks at the ethnic background of Nigeria, ethnicity and power struggle, and the implications of ethnicity on Nigerian state.

3.4.1 Ethnic Background of Nigeria

A fundamental fact of the Nigerian state is its composition by multi-ethnic groups. Nigeria is an ethnically heterogeneous society comprising more than 250 ethnic nationalities. The three major ethnic groups are the Hausa-Fulani group, found in the Northern part of the country; the Ibos, in the East; and the Yoruba's in the West. The view that Nigeria is a product of colonialism, derives firstly from the fact that the British Colonial administration out of selfish ambition rather than concern for national integration, administratively subdivided Nigeria along three main regional lines of North, West and East with these major ethnic groups and clusters of minority groups drawn along these lines. However, before the incursion of colonialism, the various ethnic groups had related and interacted mutually on different socio-economic platforms such as trading and exchange of visits, during cultural expeditions.

According to Ojie (2006:550) the arrangement by the British colonists laid the foundation for separate political developments in Nigeria as the different ethnic groups treated each other with suspicion and fear of domination. Existing under separate administrative commands, therefore, led to the development of sectional biases as each ethnic group perceived itself as different from the other. Nnoli (2003: 3) propounds that the colonial state also seized available opportunity to spread the propaganda that Nigerians did not have a common destiny with respect to political freedom and independence because they were separated by differences of history and tradition. The colonial administration then encouraged the different ethnic groups subsisting along the North, West and East geographical divides to maintain and nurture socio-political and economic development along their various peculiarities. Nnoli (2003: 3) further writes that it is against this backdrop that in 1910, the colonial government in the Northern part of the country promulgated the 'Land and Nature Rights' ordinance. This policy was aimed at segregating Southerners from Northerners, as the colonists believed that 'the Southerners were capable of undermining the alliance between the Fulani ruling class that they deemed crucial for the colonial enterprise in Nigeria'. This policy therefore, created bifurcations in the Northern part of the country thereby, facilitating ethnic consciousness to the extent that people from the Southern part of the country who came to live in these settlements were separated from the Northern indigenes and referred to as 'native foreigners'.

In 1914, the colonial administration amalgamated the Southern and Northern protectorates into one political entity with a unified administration. The amalgamation brought the separate administrations of the North and South together and regional leaders had to come together. This unification exercise often

referred to as the ‘mistake of 1914’ was done without considering the existing pattern of relations existing among the composite groups. Anugwom (2000: 65) also states that the British exercise at unification was over-ambitious and showed little regard for the so called natural boundaries. The unification exercise imposed on Nigeria by the colonial administration was however, merely a bid to use constitutional and administrative power to address the socio-political and linguistic differences that had constituted problems to the administration and the people. The arrangement ironically, instilled more sectional consciousness in the leaders, as the different leaders in the regions perceived each other as competitors. Moreover, it resulted in an increase in interactions amongst Nigerians at both individual and group levels, thereby, increasing the competitive tendencies of people over access or control of scarce resources such as political appointments, employment in the bureaucracy, government contracts, allocation of funds for development, siting of government projects, education scholarships etc.

The various political and constitutional reforms embarked on by the colonialists also helped in widening sectional consciousness in Nigeria. This is evidenced in the provision of the 1922 Clifford constitution, where the legislative council made laws for the South and the governor made laws for the North by proclamation, the Richards constitution of 1946 which ironically introduced more divisions in the guise of federalism, the 1951 Macpherson constitution which further widened these gaps with the introduction of regionalism (the constitutional division of the country into three regions of the North, West and East). In addition, the build up to independence in 1960 was characterized by perceived suspicion and distrust among the various ethnic groups in the regions and the minorities as each feared marginalization and domination in the post-colonial era. It is also important to note that often, the background to ethnic relations in Nigeria is defined in the context of power play among the three major ethnic groups, thereby, neglecting or excluding colonial influences on the orientation of the minorities that constitute a large proportion of the Nigerian state.

3.4.2. Ethnicity and Power Struggle in Nigeria.

Jinadu (1985: 72) argues that the political salience of ethnicity is due to its being deployed for competitive purposes by political enterprises. The ethnic background in Nigeria politics posits that different groups, both majority and minorities are continually linked in conflict of interests with each group claiming to champion and protect the interests of its people. This is because, due to the distributive character of Nigeria politics, each group tries to position itself at centre stage so as to play an active role in the distribution of the natural resources or the ‘national cake’. Attoh & Soyomba

(2011:42) rightly observe that prior to independence and the post independence era, the regional elites used the instruments of ethnicity to carve out economic spheres for themselves. The regional elites created false impressions that the political parties were the champions of the interest of the various ethnic groups. However, these elites manipulated the ethnic feelings of their people to advance their selfish economic and political interests, to the detriment of the majority of less privileged people whom they claim to be protective of. The various ethnic movements and actions are therefore, perceived to be instigated by the privileged political class for the selfish accumulation of economic and political benefits.

The ethnic dimension of Nigerian politics is therefore, viewed in the context of an intense struggle for the control of government machineries so as to influence political appointments at the national level, the siting of major industries, infrastructural developments, the award of juicy contracts etc. These have generated intense power struggles over the years among the competing groups – both the majorities and minorities. The power struggles resulted in intense political conflicts that led to the 30 month civil war between 1967 – 1970, military coups and counter coups, and a series of military adventurism in Nigeria politics, the annulment of June 12, 1993 presidential election (the election was annulled because the winner came from a different ethnic group). Other manifestations are political and economic sabotage by aggrieved groups, general lawlessness and disorder resulting in wanton destruction of lives and properties, violence during election campaigns, protracted legal battles after general elections, aggravated distrust and suspicion among different ethnic groups, the rise of inter and intra-ethnic militarism etc.

Salawu (2010: 33) writes that these conflicts are either struggles over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain some desirable values but also to neutralize, injure/or eliminate their rivals. The situation is pervasive and over the years has prompted the questioning of the corporate existence of Nigeria. Metumara (2010: 95-96) on the other hand, identifies reasons why Nigerians are easily mobilized to participate in ethnically orientated activities as:

- i. the fact that Nigerians face persistent impoverishment and socio-economic insecurity that alienate them from the state and this condition pushes them to seek solace in primary group identity;
- ii. the faulty electoral process which encourages ethnic chauvinism;

- iii. the Nigerian political scene presents an environment for a strong belief in ethnic group entitlement (elites and masses perception of the benefits or the size of the national cake that should go to the respective ethnic groups);
- iv. the globalizing effect whereby authoritarian ethnocentric regimes are supported to repress certain resistance (the multinational oil companies in Nigeria support repressive activities by the Nigerian government over the ethnic minorities in the Niger Delta, thereby sparking off more agitation).

These situations have made Nigerians vulnerable to ethnic manipulation of the Nigerian political scene. It has resulted in intense ethnic rivalry among the various ethnic groups in competition for political power, the use of political power to further their interests, and also the use of power to lord it over the other groups. However, in the context of the power struggles between the various ethnic groups, the federal government over the years has adopted some 'therapeutic policies' (Ojie & Ewruhjakpor 2009: 12). These policies include:

- i. the adoption of federalism characterized by decentralization and the devolution of power to the federating units;
- ii. the continuous creation of states and local governments to appease ethnic agitations against marginalization;
- iii. the National Youth Service Corp programme (in which fresh university graduates are deployed to states other than their immediate states of origin for one year of compulsory national service, the essence being to build love and trust among people of different ethnic groups);
- iv. the establishment of unity schools etc.

Furthermore, a new political formula whereby the office of the executive president of the country and other key government functionaries would rotate among the six geographic zones in Nigeria has been introduced. All these measures were adopted by the state to curb the intense power struggle ignited by ethnic and sectional consciousness in Nigeria.

3.4.3 Implications of Ethnicity for National Integration

The politicization of ethnicity and the attendant implications of the intense struggle for power among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria – majority and the minorities- have far reaching consequences for the Nigerian state. The consequences are pervasive and affect national integration and policy development in the study context.

The impact of ethnicism on national integration in Nigeria manifests in the following ways:

- i. Primordial sentiments: due to the heterogeneous nature of the Nigerian state, the politicization of ethnicity has enabled the different groups to manifest their primary group identity of primordial attachments. Because these groups are united by factors of culture, religion, defined geographical area, and common socio-economic values, they relate well and adopt attitudes of suspicion and mistrust of other groups. This, according to Nnoli (2003:3), was encouraged by the initial colonial policies that tended to secure the right of each ethnic group to main its identity, individuality, nationality and a chosen form of government and the peculiar social institutions that evolved from the expectations of past generations. This is the reason why the colonialists adopted different patterns of administration among the three major groups of the West, North and East.
- ii. Socio/political conflicts: The distributive nature of Nigerian politics, where the perception is that access to government enables each group to control and allocate the state's resources to its advantage increase conflict and tension among the different groups. Conflicts therefore, arise because each group struggles for control over the scarce resources of the state such as political appointments, government contracts, distribution of social amenities, siting of government projects etc. Jinadu (1985:73) argues that scarcity being a major constraint in politics, ethnicity becomes a crucial criterion for regulating political conflict and distributing public goods in situations of plural diversity. This phenomenon has resulted in intense power struggles by the various ethnic groups to control the centre. It has resulted in power tussles within the political and even the military class and has had serious negative effects on national integration and development. Salawu (2010: 332) also suggests that such conflict in Nigeria results in political instability and the inability to plan objectively for the generality of Nigerians, regardless of ethnic or religious affiliations. This has therefore,

- affected the government's carrying capacity. Government efforts at national integration and development are constantly sabotaged by groups that feel neglected at the moment.
- iii. Affects the electoral process and democracy: Cases of military intervention in Nigeria politics, annulment of national elections, rigging of elections and other electoral malpractice are effects of ethnicism. Each group tends to employ every possible machination to grab power and control the centre.
 - iv. Agitation for state and local government creation: The different ethnic groups are continually locked in the agitation for more states and local governments. The perception being that the more states and local governments a given group controls, the larger the 'share of national resources' they are disposed to have. However, Osaghae & Suberu (2005: 10) opine that the creation of and multiplication of states and local government areas which have replaced the broader regions has led to the emergence of new majorities and minorities. The development therefore, continually leads to increased agitation and increased multiplications of states and local governments. Osaghae & Suberu (2005:10) also state that the creation of more states and local governments has sharpened communal identities and conflicts thereby, producing a resultant system of 'discriminatory citizenship'. In view of this, demarcations are created resulting in the refusal to accept of citizens from other states in the bureaucracy and other socio-economic and political activities in another state.
 - v. Exacerbates feelings of marginalization in the federal fiscal arrangement. The salient issue here is the perceived marginalization by some groups in the federal fiscal structure. Marginalization according to Anugwom (2000:73) exists when an ethnic group or any other kind of group feels disenchanting with the working of things in a society of which it is a constituent part. The ethnic minorities of the Niger Delta have over the years been agitating for a pattern of fiscal federalism that will benefit them more. The crude oil which is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy is from this area. The people are therefore, exposed to environmental degradation due to the mining activities of the oil companies. In view of this, they are agitating against marginalization and the perceived fiscal imbalance in Nigerian federalism. They want more of the applications of the derivative principles otherwise they want to be allowed to control their resources. Other groups who feel their contributions to the national wealth are not adequately compensated for are also agitating for increased revenue allocation.

- vi. Affects the stability and corporate existence of the country. The complexity and divergence of ethnic group activities threatens the stability and corporate existence of the country. Ethnic group orientations and perceptions are instrumental to series of negative political developments that affect stability and peaceful coexistence in the country. Such issues as flawed electoral processes, ethnic militarism, civil disorder and other forms of political violence, economic sabotage etc are often prompted by ethnic sentiments. The aggregation of these factors undermines governance, political stability and makes the political environment uncertain.

3.4.4 Implications for public policy and the study context.

The politicization of ethnicity has serious implications on public policy development in Nigeria. These implications are observed in the following ways:

- i. Policy development: This involves the proper identification of policy challenges and the formulation of appropriate policies to achieve the intended outcomes. Ethnicism impacts negatively on certain areas of policy development in respect of socio-economic development challenges. Ugoh & Ukpere (2011: 9800) suggest that the ‘politicization of government policies’ have resulted in ethnic and regional tension. This is evidenced in the siting of major government projects and the development of social amenities. The ‘politicization of policies’ has resulted in certain projects being sited in the wrong places because the policy makers come from that particular area. Some areas are deprived of social amenities such as electricity and good roads because the people are not in control of the national government. Also, policy issues of national significance are ignored because the implementation may not favour a particular group or may favour a particular ethnic group more than the others. In addition, the ethnic factor influences the siting of government projects or the provision of amenities such as electric power without considering the areas that need them most.
- ii. Affects the performance of the bureaucracy: Politicization of ethnicity affects the performance of the bureaucracy in the study context. Firstly, it leads to nepotism, where unqualified people are hired to work because their people control the national government, and the qualified ones are marginalized. Such developments have affected efficiency and output in the implementation of policies in the study context. Secondly, the implementation of national policies is viewed from the ethnic perspective of which group it may favour

- more than the others. It therefore, leads to sabotage of policies of national significance, and often causes policies crafted with honest intentions to fail.
- iii. It also stifles constructive inputs in policy formulation. The views of certain groups are not factored in, in policy making. This is not because these views are not right or because the groups don't have the right to be consulted, but that the policy makers feel that such views may clash with certain majority views. This has placed certain groups, especially the minorities in disadvantageous positions on certain issues of national significance, such as electricity provision.
 - iv. It also affects inter-governmental policy development. The federal and state governments are expected to cohere in certain areas of policy development, especially in electrification. However, due to the attachment of these states to their ethnic umbrella, it makes it difficult to solicit the cooperation of the state governments.
 - v. Formulation of discriminatory policies: It has resulted in the formulation of certain discriminatory policies, especially, by the state governments. The phenomenon of 'indigenship' has led to the implementation of discriminatory policies in the education and bureaucracy, etc, thereby affecting the chances of Nigerians to achieve fulfillment in any part of the country they may choose to reside in.
 - vi. It also affects policy making and implementation in the context of the study. Electric power policies of several past administrations have failed because, it is deemed to have favoured one group more the other, or electric power projects have been sited in one area instead of another.

Nigeria is a heterogeneous society comprising different ethnic groups. Before the advent of colonialism, these groups existed separately, though they interacted mutually. These various groups are united by common identities. However, the colonial experience resulted in the arbitrary lumping together of these groups of different sizes. The result is a union of strange bed fellows. The union of different ethnic nationalities lumped together into the Nigeria federalism due to colonial over-ambition has generated different questions on the corporate existence of the country. Ethnicity has been politicized in Nigeria, resulting in intense ethnicism and sectional consciousness. Ethnic group leaders have manipulated sectional sentiments to their selfish advantage. The effect is burdening the Nigerian state and creating suspicion and fear among the different groups, owing to the high level of primordial

attachment created by ethnicism. The implications are pervasive and affect national integration and policy development especially in the context of the study.

3.5 THE ISSUE OF RELIGION

Religious identity is an issue that comes next to ethnicity in Nigeria. Religion interestingly plays a pivotal and sensitive role in the daily lives of Nigerians, and a very high percentage of the population share one form of religious attachment or the other. Christianity and Islam are the two principal religions in Nigeria, and although the two have co-existed for close to 200 years, the distrust, competition and rivalry between them is profound and therefore, threatening to the corporate existence of the country. Strong attachment to religion by Nigerians have made it a politically active instrument in both national politics and the country's external relations which at times, assume a destructive dimension (Muhammad 2008:121). The politicization of religion has therefore produced deep religious conflict situations thereby, constituting a serious threat to the socio-economic and political stability of the country.

Christianity and Islam constitute the two dominant religions in Nigeria. Approximately, half of the population is Christian, with an almost equal number of Muslims, and less than 10 percent are adherents of traditional African religion. Geographically, most of the Christians live in the Southern part of the country and most of the Muslim populations live in the Northern part. However, some states in the North have both Christians and Muslims. Like ethnicity, the background to religious tension in Nigeria was due to her colonial experiences. Colonialism led to the lumping together of people with diverse religious and socio-cultural backgrounds into one administrative entity called Nigeria.

Muhammad (2008: 122) further observes that the sowing of the seed of antagonism between Islam and Christianity dates back to the pre-independence period when the British colonialists embarked on the policy of protecting the Muslims in the North from the 'destructive influence' of the Christian South. Furthermore, the then colonial government found in the Islamic religion relevant social and political structures of governance. The Islamic religion operated through a defined system of social cohesion characterized by well defined political authority and a co-ordinated socio-economic arrangement.

Ojo & Lateju (2010: 32) comment that the colonial government inherited the social cohesion and supporting administrative structures generated by Islam and maintained it largely for the sake of expediency, given the colonial administrations lack of manpower for creating extreme new layers of administration of the 'Indirect Rule' system of administration. It thus facilitated the implementation of this administrative system in the Northern part of the country where the Islamic religion had laid the relevant structures. Ojo & Lateju (2010: 32) further write that colonial policies towards Muslim and Christian communities institutionalized religious differences in Nigeria. This initially manifested in the provision of Western education by the Christian missionaries in the non-Muslim areas and imposing restrictions on Christian advances into Northern Nigeria, partly to preserve the internal social integration strategies in the North that formed the basis of Muslim rulership. A strong Christian-Muslim dichotomy, therefore, lingered during the pre independence era and blossomed with full intensity as a result of series of socio-political developments in the country after independence in 1960.

3.5.1 Politicization of Religion in Nigeria

Salawu (2010: 345) writes that Nigeria since independence has produced a catalogue of ethno-religious conflicts which have resulted in an estimated loss of over three million lives and unquantifiable psychological and material damage. The Christian-Muslim relationship in Nigeria over the years has produced serious conflict situations. Besides, the antagonism is deepening and constitutes a serious threat to the corporate existence of Nigeria.

An insight into this perennial conflict situation reveals the preponderance of political undertones. Before, and after independence in 1960, the religious factor was weaved into ethnicism by members of the political class in the Northern and Southern parts of the country to achieve selfish political interests. Muhammad (2008: 123) opines that the political class finds in religion a potent instrument that is used along with ethnicity to advance their self-serving political interests. The Nigerian state is challenged by a wide range of political and socio-economic issues, and these issues most often find expression and definition through religious platforms. These issues also produce conflict situations as different religious groups tend to employ possible machinations to advance their parochial socio-political and economic interests. In this context, religion, therefore, is used as a means to an end through the manipulation of religious sentiments of the less privileged. Issues of national relevance and concern are addressed in the context of some selfish and parochial religious sentimentalism. The situation has

created distrust, rivalry, competition and wide suspicion between the two dominant religious groups and also resulted in violent conflict situations.

The different attitudes of the two religions and the geographical factor (predominance of Muslims in the North and predominance of Christians in the East and the South – South, and West, with a little mix of Muslims in the West), has equally engendered this conflict situation. Muhammad (2008: 124) further writes that within this context of ethno-geographical leaning of Islam and Christianity, one can explain the prevalence of religious conflicts in the North and its consequent reprisal attacks in the Southeast and South-South, whereas, the Southwest appears less prone to such attacks. The political salience of religion in Nigeria therefore, finds explanation in the manipulation of religious sentiments by adherents located in the various parts of the country to advance their selfish political interests. As such, the relationship between Muslims and Christians located in different parts of the country have become volatile resulting in intense violence. The political context of religion has therefore, deepened bigotry and chauvinism with manifest implications on political leadership and governance, and public-policy making in the study context in Nigeria.

Religious conflicts impacts negatively on the Nigeria state in the following ways.

- i. It is a threat to national security and corporate existence. Perennial religious conflict in Nigeria constitutes a major internal threat to national security and corporate existence. It has resulted in the growth of ethnic militarism and these groups operate under the guise of religious chauvinism to unleash terror on the nation state, thereby causing serious embarrassments to the national government.
- ii. It has resulted in the loss of lives and property. Many lives and property worth billions of naira have been lost since independence in 1960 due to religious violence. It is in this line that (Salawu 2010: 345) writes that it has resulted in estimated loss of over three million lives and caused unquantifiable psychological and material damage.
- iii. Religious conflict in Nigeria also undermines the government's security capacity. It constantly undermines the capacity of the national government to maintain order and peaceful co-existence in the country.
- iv. It also brings divisions within the government rank and file. This affects the capacity of the government to function with strength and purpose. Some of the government functionaries are linked with these causes in terms of financial sponsorship and other support.

- v. It also affects the foreign image of the country. The violent religious conflicts in Nigeria affect the foreign image of the country in terms of driving away foreign investors and denting the corporate image of the country in the community of nations.
- vi. It equally has negative implications in the context of the study.

3.6 IMPLICATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES IN NIGERIA ON THE STUDY CONTEXT

- i. It has implications on the identification of electricity power as a public policy problem that demands strategic national action. It has negatively affected the proper placing of electric power on the public policy agenda. Issues of electrification are viewed from mixed parochial standpoints arising sometimes from which area benefits more or less, or issues arising from project locations (Salawu 2010:332).
- ii. A mix of the historical and socio-political issues also has negative implications in identifying the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria. Policy issues are generated from limited and parochial perspectives, lacking broad based national appeals.
- iii. It also affects the policy impacts and initiatives from the subordinate units and other stakeholders such as the private sector, professional groups and the academic sector. Such impacts are most often guided by ethno-religious sentiments.
- iv. It affects the policy initiative from the bureaucracy. The performance of the national bureaucracy is affected by ethno-religious and other particular interests, thereby negating broad based impacts on national electric power policy development.

Nigeria is confronted with aggravating issues of socio-political and economic failures. These issues are routinely blamed on the federal context of the country. As such, the failure of the country to resolve these threatening issues after 50 years of independence is arguably attributed to the country's colonial experience. The Nigerian federation in the first instance, was a colonial creation that resulted in the arbitrary lumping together of people with disparate historical, socio-political and cultural backgrounds. The British colonialists started the Nigeria colonial adventure by initially maintaining three separate administrative traditions in the North, West and Eastern parts. This was basically for colonial administrative convenience and not out of the concern to maintain the socio-political, cultural and

linguistic separateness of the people. The subsequent amalgamation of the different colonial administrations was intended to facilitate colonial administration without considering its psychological suitability on the people.

Besides, a series of political and constitutional developments later led to the independence of Nigeria in 1960. As a result, Nigeria constitutionally became a federation comprising of many constituents units. Since independence in 1960, a series of socio-political issues have characterized the Nigerian state and these are issues arising from the nature of the federal arrangement, ethnic and sectional issues, and religious issues. These issues have persistently imposed serious challenges on the nation state. Issues in the Nigerian federal structure include: the nature of the federating units and the federating units are also plagued by conflictual issues; others, such as issues in the Nigeria federalism, the politics of resource control, issues of inter-governmental fiscal relations, sub-national aggression and state creation, all constitute issues that have persistently ignited a series of national questions.

Nigeria is also characterized by ethno-religious issues. These issues are pervasive and create serious conflict situations. The ethno-religious sentiments of people, (especially the less privileged) are manipulated by the political class for selfish political reasons. The situation has created suspicion, fear and distrust among Nigerians and has resulted in series of violent situations that have destroyed millions of lives and properties. The general implications are enormous on the state and the study context.

3.7 HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICA

This section is concerned with the historical and socio-political issues in South Africa. It basically starts with the historical context of South Africa, which forms the background of the study. The major historical issue of apartheid is discussed, and other socio-political issues that have relevance to the study such as the reconstruction and development programme; the growth, employment and redistribution policy; South Africa developmental state project; reconciliation and redress; and poverty and inequality are discussed.

3.8 THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

South Africa is a medium sized country located at the Southern tip of Africa, with a total land area of about 1, 2221.037km² (471, 445sq miles). Its coastline stretches more than 2, 500km from the desert border with Namibia on the Atlantic (Western) Coast Southwards to the tip of Africa and then North to the border with Mozambique on the Indian ocean (Thompson 2000:265-268). The country is also strategically located in the Southern Africa and is populated by people of different historical, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The divisions in the country are so many. Ross (1999: 1) captures it in the African National Congress (ANC) 1994 campaign slogan of 'one nation, many cultures' or Archbishop Desmond Tutu's view of 'The Rainbow people of God'. Mackinnon (2004: 1) also states that in South Africa, there are no essential 'types' of people based on rigid ethnic or on physical characteristics, and that groups and societies are fluid and change overtime. The people of South Africa are understood in the context of 'struggles' for freedom, to satisfy material needs and the social relations arising therefrom. The country is therefore recognized on the basis of existing social, cultural, economic and political differences. These splits therefore, define the character of South Africa as a 'rainbow nation'.

In pre-colonial South Africa, the socio-political and economic relations were similar to what existed in other parts of pre-colonial Africa. Different groups of people routinely moved from one area to another due to hostile environments such as climatic changes or war with competing groups, or in search of better areas of economic activity such as farming, hunting, herding etc. The people were also bonded on their exiting social relations. However, distortions of traditional structures and other circumstances of disorder are blamed on strong external influences that emerged in the form of imperialism.

Colonial South Africa, according to (Ross 1999: 3) was founded by the premier capitalist corporation of the seventeenth century, the Dutch East India Company, and was taken over by Britain at the height of Britain's industrial revolution. The Dutch imperialists arrived at the coastal part of the country in 1762 and took over these areas. They also moved through the hinterlands where the majority of the indigenous South Africans lived. They had the advantage of superior fire arms and other military sophistication. Thompson (1990: 33) states that modern South Africa began as a by-product of the enterprise of these Dutch merchants. The development therefore, introduced a mercantilist economy and opened South Africa to external economic relations. As such, the Dutch colonizers saw South Africa as an African new world and saw themselves as white pioneer settlers and also proclaimed

themselves as 'Afrikaners' (Were 1982:17-21). The Dutch settlers exploited the economic advantage available in these areas, though they incurred the resistance of the indigenous South African people.

However, economic developments in Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of Great Britain as a super force. Mackinnon (2004: 46) writes that intensified British imperial activity soon brought South Africa to the centre of these tumultuous changes after Britain acquired the Cape and introduced new settlers and a colonial government. The British seized the Cape colony from the Dutch in 1806 and brought settlers who also saw South Africa as a permanent home. This created tensions between the British and the Dutch settlers, and caused most of the Dutch settlers to move northwards to re-establish new communities. Ross (1999: 38) contends that the coming of the British intensely altered the balance of relationship between the colony and the South African beyond its borders. The British style of colonialism was different from the Dutch pattern. The Dutch were concerned with establishing an egalitarian state in the interest of the Dutch only, to the exclusion of the indigenous South Africans. MacKinnon (2004: 46) writes that British policies for South Africa, on the other hand were conditioned by the two principles of liberalism and humanitarianism which emphasized equality and individual rights and representative democracy that sought the respect of individual rights. These rights, however, were only extended to black South Africans that were able to acquire property and British education, to the exclusion of the overwhelming majority of impoverished South Africans whose traditional socio-economic structures were uprooted and distorted by the inordinate imperial incursions of the Dutch and the British. Mackinnon (2004: 47) further writes that the British commercial orientation was different from the Dutch. This was evidenced in the British abolition of the Atlantic slave trade in 1807 and the use of slaves in the British colonies in 1834. The abolition of the slave trade partly restored the dignity of the African labourers. They were freed from the savage practice of slavery that dehumanized the victims. Freedom from this sort of mental and physical thralldom meant a lot to the indigenous Africans. The indigenous South Africans then enjoyed some right to negotiate and work for their employers and receive wages.

Thompson (1999: 10) writes that the peak of British imperialism coincided with the identification and exploitation of precious deposits of diamonds and gold in South Africa. It brought South Africa into the international limelight, thereby, making South Africa a contributor to the world economy. This situation induced fast economic developments and the opening up of many commercial opportunities for the white settlers to the exclusion of the indigenes (the indigenous South Africans were reduced to

minor roles of commercial labourers). British rule also opened South Africa to more external contacts, such as the influence of missionaries and the introduction of Christianity to the indigenous South Africans.

The British occupation of the coast of South Africa and their subsequent intrusion into the interior, triggered developments amongst the indigenous South Africans and the initial Dutch settlers. Basically, it created tension and crisis among the traditional kingdoms due to forced migration pressures and competition for material sustenance. On the other hand, it caused thousands of Afrikaner families (Dutch settlers) to move Northeast wards to establish permanent homes in the interior. Gilomee & Mbenga (2007: 108) write that the reasons for the movement called 'the great trek' was a combination of burning grievances and good intentions. The rationale was therefore, to find free lands for permanent occupation and seek new economic opportunities away from the controlling hands of the British in the Cape.

Subsequently, perceived political marginalizations, the British supremacy, intense rivalry, and competition led to the outbreak of war between the British colonialists and the Dutch settlers (the Afrikaners). Ross (1999: 72) writes that the war known to as the 'Anglo-Boer war' was referred to by the 'Nationalist Afrikaners' as the second war of liberation. It was also the greatest military confrontation in the colonial conquest of Africa... With the British victory and the annexation of the Afrikaner republics on May 31st 1902, the peace of Vereeniging was signed in Pretoria (Thompson 1990: 43). This therefore, led to the incorporation of the Afrikaner republics into what later became the Union of South Africa in 1910. The declaration of the Union of South Africa in 1910 also resulted in a series of political developments. Under the provisions of the act, the union remained British territory, but with home rule for Afrikaners (Wilson& Thompson 1975:349).

The period 1910 – 1948, was marked by series of socio-political and economic developments in South Africa. It was marked by the introduction of discriminatory policies by the ruling government. These policies further triggered a series of protests and resistance especially from the indigenous black South Africans. Ross (1999: 88) writes that the first attempted implementation of segregation was with regard to the rural areas. The land act of 1913 prevented black South Africans from buying land within white areas (or the reverse) except in the Cape Province, where the act was disallowed by the courts because it made it impossible for blacks to acquire the qualifications (properties or education) to vote in elections. Thus, with these developments, black opposition intensified leading to the formations of a

political organization known as the ‘South African Native National Congress (SANNC) which later changed to the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923 (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 236). The five basic aims of the SANNC, as spelt out in the constitution were:

- i. The promotion of unity and mutual co-operation between the government and the black people of South Africa.
- ii. The maintenance of a central channel between the government and the black people.
- iii. The promotion of educational, social, economic and political upliftment of the black people.
- iv. The promotion of mutual understanding between the various chiefs and the encouragement of loyalty to the British Crown and to lawfully constituted authorities and bringing about better understanding between white and black South Africans.
- v. To seek and obtain redress of any of the just grievances of the black people (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 236).

The SANNC thus became a voice of the black people and was used to champion the black cause and criticize the harsh policies and actions of the government against the black people. Giliomee & Mbenga, (2007: 348) further write that due to poor funding and organization, the SANNC could not achieve much and was overshadowed by a trade union organization called ‘The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICWU) which was established in 1920 to fight for the rights of black South African labourers. The period was characterized by the introduction of many segregational policies and the growing resentment of the indigenous people and the emerging coloured population against government policies. On 26 May, 1948, a general election was organized in South Africa which the National Party won. Ross (1999: 115) writes that the election was won under the slogan of ‘apartheid’ which literally means ‘separateness’ and which was to become the watch word of the government and a worldwide term of abuse among opponents.

The political victory of the Afrikaners coupled with the relinquishing of power by the British spelt series of negative consequences for the black South Africa population. Basically, there was the disenfranchisement of all South African blacks (the initial British system had enfranchised male citizens who had property or education). The National party advanced the interest of the Afrikaners and instituted a huge racial divide in the country. Apartheid was formalized and remained the guiding principle of governance, as successive governments formalized and extended the existing system to racial discrimination and denial of human rights into the legal system of apartheid (Williams 1997:250-

251). The system was characterized by the promulgation of series of apartheid legislations that oppressed and alienated the indigenous black population from the mainstream of socio-political and economic developments in the country. These developments therefore, led to a rise in the African nationalist struggle. The African Nationalist Congress (which was banned in 1960 and operated in exile), and other political movements and the trade union associations' launched aggressive attacks on the apartheid government. They embarked on the politics of mass demonstration and armed resistance and attracted the sympathy and support of the international community. Black consciousness grew and the combined activities of both Christian movements (both internal and external), and human rights organizations led to some political transformation. As such, with increasing internal and external opposition to the apartheid government characterized by political negotiations, militant activities, civil unrest and the imposition of social and economic sanctions by the international community, the independence of neighbouring Southern Africa countries, all culminated in changes that led to the unbanning of ANC in 1990, and the release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

After some years of negotiations under the auspices of the convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) a draft constitutions appeared in July 1993, and contained concessions from all sides, a federal system of regional legislatures, equal voting rights regardless of race, and a bicameral legislature (Thompson 2000:252-254). A national election was conducted in 1994 and the African National Congress won the majority of votes. On 10 May, 1994, Nelson Mandela was sworn in as South Africa's new president and South Africa became a democratic country, free from the shackles of colonialism and apartheid. Ross (1993: 3) holds the view that the various strands in the country's history are of course not independent of one another; it is out of their interweaving that modern South Africa has been created. Interestingly, several decades of chequered and distorted history characterized by inordinate external incursions, the dehumanization of the indigenous black South Africans, followed by endemic oppression, abuse and segregation was officially brought to an end. The next issue is apartheid in South Africa.

3.8.1 APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The term apartheid, which literally means 'separateness', was officially introduced in South Africa in 1948 following the build up to the general elections in which the National Party won and the aftermath of the elections. However, racial segregation in South Africa predates 1948 following initial white minority domination over the black indigenous majority. Apartheid, therefore, was a system of racial

segregation enforced through legislation by the National Party government, which was the ruling party from 1948 to 1994 in South Africa, under which the rights of the majority black inhabitants of South Africa were curtailed and white supremacy and Afrikaner minority rule was maintained (Williams 1997:250-251; Thompson 2000:190-195). The introduction of apartheid therefore, created oppressive government over the unwilling and suppressed majority and of resistance on behalf of the oppressed majority to achieve freedom. Thompson (1999: 190) writes that at the heart of the apartheid system were four ideas, namely:

- i. the population of South Africa comprised four ‘racial groups’ – white, coloured, Indians and Africans -each with its peculiar culture;
- ii. whites as the civilized race were entitled to have absolute control over the state;
- iii. white interests should prevail over black interests, as the state was not obliged to provide equal facilities for subordinate races;
- iv. the white racial group formed a single nation, with Afrikaans and English-speaking components, while Africans belonged to several distinct or potential nations- a formula that made the white nation the largest in terms of population.

The foregoing depicts an ideology formulated on the principles of racial exclusiveness to protect the white nation and their status and further protect and advance their political and economic interests. Giliomee & Mbenga (2007: 314) further explained that apartheid rested on several bases, of which the most important were the restriction of all power to whites, racial classification and racial sex laws, group areas for each racial community, segregated schools and universities, the elimination of integrated public facilities and sports, protection for whites in the labour markets, a system of influx control that stemmed the movement of blacks to the cities , and designated ‘homelands’ for blacks as the basis for preventing them from demanding rights in a common area. Apartheid instruments therefore, divided South Africa between two major racial lines of whites and non whites. It was further aimed to unite the whites against the non-whites and to strictly maintain white superiority, dominance and control of black labour which is vital to sustain the system. Furthermore, it tended to place restrictions on black political consciousness and agitation for justice and self determination. According to Mackinnon (2004: 213) two key features of apartheid which undermined the freedom of blacks were: strict limitations on their movements and right to land and their exclusion from political participation. Through these means, the majority black population was isolated from the country’s political activities.

The blacks were denied access to working in the bureaucracy and holding government positions, movement within the country and involvement in socio-economic and political activities were placed under strict guard.

3.8.2 Apartheid Legislations in South Africa

Mackinnon (2004: 215) writes that the Nationalists (the white minority government) developed apartheid as means of social engineering which in their words, was intended to keep the black-man in his place, and that place was working for the whiteman. Apartheid to all intents and purposes was dangerous and destructive to the black race. The perpetrators divided the people along strong racial lines, and manipulated these divisions to secure and consolidate the political power of the minority whites over the majority non-whites, and to further their material and economic interests. As such, soon after taking political control in 1948, the government started the implementation of the apartheid policies, so as to impose strict limits on inter race interactions. The first apartheid law was the prohibition of mixed marriage Act of 1949, and the immorality Act of 1950 which created legal boundaries between the races by making marriage and sexual relations illegal across the colour line (Thompson 1999:190). The two pieces of legislation therefore made it an offence for people across racial divides to marry, and also prohibited sexual relations between unmarried people across colour lines. Mackinnon (2004: 215) writes that the purpose was to punish both white men who strayed from the ideal of race purity and the black women they dominated in those sexual relations. In 1950, the state passed the population Registration Act of 1950, which formalized the racial divide in the country. This Act according to Thompson (1999: 190) provided the machinery to designate the racial category of every person in the country. To achieve this, the government introduced an identity card for all persons over the age of eighteen years, specifying their racial group. Its application led to the breaking of homes especially where one parent was classified as white and the other was classified coloured. Another strong pillar of grand apartheid was the Group Areas Act of 1950. The Group areas Act of 1950 brought to an end, the practice of different races living side by side, and therefore, determined where one lived according to race (Thompson 1999:190).

In 1951, the government passed the Separate Representation of Voters Act. According to Mackinnon (2004: 217) the act was to finally bring to an end any direct black voters act in the Cape. The Act also enabled the coloured community to elect four white representatives to parliament rather than to participate in general election procedures on the common voters roll (Mackinnon 2007: 217). Another

grand apartheid law was the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953. Thompson (1999: 190) writes that the Act followed after a court had ruled that 'segregation was not lawful in public facilities for different racial groups that were not equal'. As such, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was passed by the parliament to legislate such inequality. Also, under the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, municipal grounds could be reserved for a particular race, creating among other things separate beaches, buses, hospitals, schools and universities. Signboards such as 'whites only' applied to public areas including parks and beaches. Black people were provided with services greatly inferior to those of whites, and to a lesser extent, to those of Indian and coloured people. The government also passed into law some other legislation aimed at suppressing resistance to the apartheid government. The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 banned the South African Communist Party, and similar parties with communist ideals. Other laws suppressing resistance such as Unlawful Organization Act of 1960 were used to check the formation of militant resistance organizations. These include the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956, the Sabotage Act of 1967 and the internal security Act of 1976. Thompson (1999:199) writes that the mass of legislation gave the police vast powers to arrest people without trial and hold them indefinitely in solitary confinement, without revealing their identities and without giving them access to anyone, except government officials. The government therefore, teleguided all activities as it could ban any organization or prevent certain gathering it deemed an unlawful assembly. The government, in a bid to protect the white workers and prevent the influx of blacks seeking employment in the cities and the industrial areas, tightened the system of passes under the 1952 Abolition of passes and consolidation of Documents Act (Mackinnon 2004: 217). This provided for the creation of a single document book 'the dompas,' which all Africans had to carry. The passbooks had to be presented to state officials on arrival in a city upon which the individual is allowed three days to find a job or 'endorsed out' of the area and failure to comply was punished by either fines or jail or both (Mackinnon 2004: 217).

Also, through the Bantu Authorities Act of 1952, the government created separate government structures for the white and black citizens. Through this policy, areas of rural South Africa were set aside as 'homelands' for the black population who were supposedly given a degree of self-government. The promotion of black self Government act of 1959 entrenched the National Party's policy of nominally independent homelands for black people. The government created 10 black homelands. The follow up to this legislation was the Homeland citizenship Act of 1970. It changed the status of black people living in South Africa so that they were no longer citizens of South Africa, but became citizens

of one of the ten autonomous territories. The main objective was to ensure a demographic majority of white people within South Africa by having all ten 'Bantustans' achieve independence, and also to deny non-whites the fruits of white labour in commerce and industry. Thompson (1999:191) also writes that in the Homelands, an African nation was to develop along its own lines with all the rights that it was denied in the rest of the country.

In the education sector, the government introduced segregation by means of the 1953 Bantu Education Act. This Act crafted a separate system of education for African students and was designed to prepare black people for lives as a laboring class. Mackinnon (2004: 220) also writes that the Act took control of Africa education away from the long established mission societies, since the government felt that the predominantly English speaking schools fostered liberal ideals which were subversive of white, Afrikaner supremacy. Under Bantu education, schools were forced to use Afrikaans and English in teaching; schools were also forced to use the various African languages to teach in order to emphasize tribal identities; the government changed the curriculum to reflect dominant racist views. In 1959, separate universities were created for black, coloured and Indian people; existing universities were not permitted to enroll new black students.

The Apartheid government created and enforced numerous pieces of repressive legislation to protect its power base. Those pieces of legislation were crafted with the fundamental ideals of maintaining white and Afrikaners supremacy and control over the indigenous majority black population. These laws harshly divided the country among the racial lives of whites and blacks and others, and created a false white majority by splitting the African population into homelands. Furthermore,, these laws were used to suppress agitation and resistance to the oppressive government. Ironically, the high degree of repression and development along racial lines was catalytic to increased agitation for systemic change and national self-determination.

3.8.3 Oppositions to Apartheid

Mass opposition, which represented the interests of the majority of black South Africans, rose as the burden of apartheid legislations and the capitalist economy mounted. The principles and practice of apartheid deliberately rooted in mischief and unbridled malevolence engineered criticism and resistance from black South Africans and a few sympathetic whites. Apartheid was criticized fundamentally on the basis of separateness in administration and development, discrimination and inequality and in the

callousness and viciousness of the state. In view of this, Thompson (1999: 204) writes that the South African council of churches labeled apartheid a pseudo-gospel in conflict with Christian principles. The Apartheid society was characterized by great dictatorship, instability and stress.

Opposition to apartheid was fundamental, and was basically rooted in the unity of black the population in response to the super forces of deprivation and denials (the apartheid government had declared that majority of the South Africa lands belonged to the white minority through the land Act of 1913). However, the consciousness of the black population was awakened by the unguarded momentum of the apartheid state. As such, mass criticism and opposition mounted through black political organizations, missionary societies, the South African students association, the black women's organizations, labour unions and the academics that exposed the evils of apartheid through publications. On the other hand Motlana & Mogoba (1988: 11-12) identify the opposition phases of the apartheid government as the period of negotiation (1912-1950), which was merely marked by consolidating strength and seeking democratic and peaceful resolution to the problem; the period of positive non-violent action (1912-1960) which was characterized by working out some clear policies of opposing the government, such as the famous Defence Campaign led by Chief Albert Lithuli, the then president of ANC; the emergence of the Congress Alliance movement which introduced other races into the struggle.

The next phase was marked by violence (1960-1970) as blacks intensified their resistance to apartheid. It was marked by such incidents as the 1960 Sharpeville protest which resulted in the Sharpeville massacre of blacks by the police; the 1960 burning pass campaign (ANC leaders called for the burning of passes); the 1963 Poqo uprising (a country wide violent uprising which resulted in many arrests); the 1963 Rivonia uprising which led to many arrests and imprisonments. The next phase was the period of youth revolt (1970-1988). It was characterized by the emergence of the black consciousness movement and government responded with arrests and imprisonment, the 1976 Soweto uprisings in which the government deployed the police and the army to quell the riots, resulting in the death of more than 1000 people; the period of new organizations and new leadership (1980-1988). This period witnessed the emergence of new opposition organizations in the country.

This history of apartheid which was marked by increasing brutality also engineered massive opposition. The African National Congress (ANC) was at the centre of opposition having mustered a lot of public support overtime. The ANC, defiantly, championed the issues of the black elites and the oppressed black majority. The ANC mobilized resistance through mass demonstrations and critical campaign.

On 26th June, 1955, 3000 delegates representing South African black workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, students, and representatives of coloured, the Indian and whites convened in Johannesburg and adopted the Freedom Charter, a vision for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Thompson (1999: 208) writes that the charter started with the ringing assertion ‘that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people’. The charter also had other provisions which include:

- i. The people shall govern.
- ii. All national groups shall have equal rights.
- iii. The people shall share in the country’s wealth.
- iv. The land shall be shared among those who work in it.
- v. All shall be equal before the law.
- vi. All shall enjoy equal human rights.
- vii. There shall be work and security.
- viii. The doors of learning and culture shall be opened.
- ix. There shall be housing, security and comfort.
- x. There shall be peace and friendship.

Despite some differences, the charter enjoyed majority support. Giliomee and Mbenga (2007: 330) write that the charter retained its status quo as ANC’s programmatic vision for the next 140 years and even today government policy often echoes its phraseology. As earlier stated, the ANC was banned in 1960, and it continued to operate in exile with the generous support of sympathetic national government in Africa and outside Africa. The international community, comprising international political, social and economic organizations also launched international oppositions against apartheid in South Africa. The United Nations Organization (UNO) adopted series of resolutions that condemned apartheid ‘as a crime against humanity’. In 1973, the UN adopted the Apartheid convention which defined apartheid as a crime against humanity which might lead to international criminal prosecution of the individuals responsible for perpetrating it.

The United Nations also in 1978 and 1983 condemned apartheid in South Africa at the World Conference against Racism, and a significant divestment movement started, pressurizing investors to disinvest from South African companies or companies that did business with South Africa. Other international organizations such as the Commonwealth and the Organization of Africa Unity were also

in strong opposition to the apartheid regime. The OAU used its platform to campaign against apartheid, and some member countries of the organization also conferred citizenship status on exiled ANC leaders and activists. They also offered financial support to the ANC. At individual states level, the United States and Britain discontinued their arms trade with South Africa and pushed for arms embargo which became effective with the passing of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 418.

Opposition to apartheid in South Africa was pervasive. It had both internal and external dimensions. Internally, the ANC, which was the arrow head of the campaign, embarked on politics of demonstrations and armed resistance. Civil society, missionary groups, students and workers organizations and a small group of sympathetic whites also carried out serious campaigns against the cruel principles and practices of apartheid. At the international level, the international community which comprises international political and social organizations, the frontline Southern Africa states and other sympathetic countries of Africa and the world heaped their massive support financially and psychologically on the liberation struggle (Thompson 2000:221-240).

3.9 THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (RDP)

The philosophy of the ‘Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was expressed by former President Nelson Mandela in his inaugural address to a joint sitting of parliament on 24th May, 1994 (White Paper on RDP 1994: 6). The then President stated that:

My Government’s commitment to create a people-centered society of liberty binds us to the pursuit of the goals of freedom from want, freedom from hunger, freedom from deprivation, freedom from ignorance, freedom from suppression and freedom from fear. These freedoms are fundamental to the guarantee of human dignity. They will therefore, constitute part of the center piece of what this Government will seek to achieve, the focal point on which our attention will be continuously focused. The things we have said constitute the true meaning, the justification and the purpose of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, without which it would lose all legitimacy (White Paper on RDP 1994:6).

The victory of ANC in the 1994 general elections and the formation of a government of National Unity set the country on the road to massive socio-political and economic transformation. According to the (White Paper on RDP 1994: 6), ‘centuries of oppression and decades of formal apartheid required that every talent and energy be brought to the task of reconstruction’. It is in view of this that the government adopted the RDP as a policy framework for development to redress the imbalances and mend the devastations created by many decades of apartheid practice. Wessels (1999: 235) refers to the RDP as South Africa’s Marshall Plan for reconstructing the country from the remnants of its apartheid past. The RDP, therefore, became a basic socio-economic and political transformation blue print of the first ANC government.

The question arising from the foregoing therefore, are, what is the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and why does South Africa need the programme? The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is a policy framework for integrated and coherent socio-economic progress. It seeks to mobilize the people and the country’s resources toward the final eradication of the results of apartheid. Its goal is to build a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future and it represents a vision for the fundamental transformation of South Africa by:

- i. developing strong and stable democratic institutions;
- ii. ensuring representativity and participation;
- iii. ensuring that the country becomes a fully democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society;
- iv. creating a sustainable and environmentally friendly growth and development path (White Paper on RDP 1994:7).

The foregoing recognizes that all encompassing political and socio-economic development of the country leans on the present democratic context. These aspects of the society were scuttled by colonialism and apartheid which created a segregated and repressive system replete with denials and the suppression of individual’s development potentials. The identification and realization of the socio-economic goals through stable and democratic political institutions and the creation of a sustainable and development oriented environment therefore, becomes imperative. Politically, the RDP fosters a viable and participatory representative democracy with sustained integrative framework, developed on non-racial and non-sexist models. Reconstruction and development require a population that is empowered through expanded rights, meaningful information and education, an institutional network fostering

representative and indirect democracy, and participatory and direct democracy (ANC 1994:120). The commitment is, therefore, the reconstruction of the South African society on the principles of freedom and participation which are the fundamental ideals of modern democracy. Socio-economically (Reitzes 2009:5) writes that the RDP decisively relates growth to development, arguing against commonly held notions that development is a marginal effort of poverty. The Reconstruction and Development Programme, which is also founded on the ideals of socio-economic transformation of the society, is basically concerned with addressing the problems of poverty and inequality and to expanding economic opportunities. According to the ANC (1994:6), the RDP integrates growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution into a unified programme. The key to this link is an infrastructural programme that will provide access to modern and effective services such as electricity, water, telecommunications, transport, health, education and training for all the people. The programme will both meet basic needs and open up previously suppressed economic and human potentials in urban and rural areas. The ANC government was therefore, poised to address the backlog of socio-economic problems created by apartheid through the 'Reconstruction and Development Programme. According to the White Paper on RDP (1994:7), the need for the RDP emanates from the following:

- i. The existence of massive poverty and inequality created by several years of apartheid.
- ii. The economy was systematically built and implemented on a racial sphere.
- iii. There is stifling control and the dominance of the previously minority advantaged in commerce and industrial outfits to the disadvantage of the majority blacks.
- iv. The situation has created serious problems in all spheres of the South African society.
- v. In view of this, all stakeholders in government are committed to the RDP objectives.
- vi. The enormous challenges facing South Africa therefore, need a comprehensive approach.
- vii. Democracy cannot thrive if the people suffer deprivations and are trapped in a poverty cycle.
- viii. A sustainable and integrated programme is needed to achieve the basic objectives of freedom and improved living conditions.
- ix. The RDP is designed to tackle these issues and provide a framework of choice in the society (White Paper on RDP 1994:7).

The Reconstruction and Development Programme is therefore, justified on a fundamental need, an immediate need to address socio-economic imbalances, and a need to comprehensively, create a sustained democratic environment that provides the framework for choices and the fulfillment of

potentials of the previously deprived. The RDP, according to the ANC (1994: 2-6, cited in Wessels 1999:236) deals with three core concepts, namely: South African society is in need of transformation and renewal; South African society is in need of a comprehensive redesign and reconstruction of existing activities; and the Reconstruction and Development Programme sets out to integrate growth, development, reconstruction, redistribution and reconciliation into a unified programme. The ANC government thus, developed the RDP as an integrated policy plan to address the enormous challenges created in the economic, social, legal, moral, cultural and environmental spheres of the South African society.

3.9.1 The Principles of Reconstruction and Development Programme

According to the (White Paper on RDP 1994:6-9) the challenge facing the government is to facilitate and give content to the six basic principles of the RDP; and it is the combination of these principles that ensures a coherent programme. The principles include:

- i. **Integration and Sustainability:** An integrated and sustainable programme is required to overcome the apartheid legacy; prompting RDP objectives to be implemented at the various levels of government. Business and organizations within civil society are all encouraged to work within the framework of the RDP.
- ii. **People- Drive:.** The programme must be premised on achieving the aspirations and collective determination of the people. The government is therefore, committed to the welfare of the people.
- iii. **Peace and Security:** The programme is aimed at promoting peace and security for all. The government is also committed to combating all forms of violence and upholds the constitution and respects human rights.
- iv. **Nation Building:** Government is committed to the task of nation- building through the promotion of unity in diversity.
- v. **Meeting basic needs and building the infrastructure:** As the RDP integrates growth, development, reconstruction, redistribution and reconciliation into a unified programme, the key to this link becomes an infrastructural programme that will provide the people with basic essential services such as electricity, water, telecommunication, transport, health facilities, education and training etc. The programme will meet basic needs and open up previously suppressed economic and human potentials in urban and rural areas.

- vi. Democratization: A successful reconstruction and development programme leans on a viable democratic process characterized by freedom, participation and representations. The democratization of the society will require a process of transformation of both the state and civil society (White Paper on RDP 1994:6-9).

Furthermore, to achieve these basic principles of the RDP, five key programmes are outlined (White Paper on RDP 1994:9-10). They are:

- i. Meeting Basic Needs: Meeting basic needs of the people such as job creation, land reform, the provision of basic amenities such as water, electricity, housing, telecommunication, good health care, social welfare etc tops the agenda of these programmes. The RDP encourages a participatory decision-making process in the context of managing these projects.
- ii. Developing Human Resources: The RDP encourages the participatory decision-making process. This will empower the people for participation in government and management activities; though necessary education and trainings are needed and the recognition for previously disregarded skills will be advantageous. All forms of discrimination should be removed, and diversities in culture turned into a great national asset.
- iii. Building the Economy: The economy is still controlled by the previously privileged minority group and the poor majority still lacks access to employment, good housing and other amenities of life. Existing barriers to economic growth will be addressed and workers' rights will be adequately addressed. The RDP also solicits the co-operation of Southern African neighbours in building the South African economy.
- iv. Implementing the RDP: Implementing the RDP is not only exclusive to the government. It also requires the participation of the private and civil society. Its implementation should, as well, be guided by defined procedures (White Paper on RDP 1994:9-10).

The Reconstruction and Development Programme in South Africa was developed on the fundamental principles of reconstruction and development. These principles form the cornerstones for its implementation as it was designed to overhaul previous apartheid arrangements and set the country on the pedestal of reconstruction. Reconstructing and transforming a country of South Africa's status requires the institutionalization of democracy which is characterized by freedom, participation and proper representation. It also involves strong commitment to address the economic needs of the people such as job creation, poverty alleviation, and increased access to the basic amenities of life, such as

electricity, water, good health care, transportation etc. The realization of individual potentials and aspirations, and the institutionalization of proper frameworks also becomes imperative. The post-apartheid, ANC government introduced this massive reconstruction programme which represents ‘ a detailed action plan of its kind ...’(Wessels 1999:24), to integrate, reconstruct and bring about positive government impacts that had eluded the majority of South Africans. Furthermore, the, government outlined some key programmes to achieve these vital principles. These objectives give the framework for participation in the programme (White Paper on RDP 1994:9). It offers the procedures, the general implementation patterns and the challenges.

3.9.2 The Reconstruction and Development Programme Impacts.

Viewed in the context of political freedom and meeting the socio-economic expectations of the previously deprived majority of South Africans, the RDP came as the right programme at the right time. In terms of institutionalizing democracy, the RDP expanded the rights of the citizens and promoted a free for all society characterized by equality and respect and devoid of all forms of discriminations. It, equally, fostered a people oriented political process through grass root participation and representative democracy. According to Wessels (1999:257) this philosophy or model of social order is in stark contrast to the elitist approach of governing elite, which had been typical of political life in recent decades. A democratized and viable political environment therefore, becomes the pillar of post apartheid political integration and nation building upon which the government’s reconstruction and development programmes are made feasible.

Socio-economically, the RDP expanded opportunities through the promotion of poverty alleviation and employment creation policies and programmes. At a remarkable level, it was implemented through the removal of previously imposed socio-economic barriers especially in the commercial and industrial sectors. On meeting the basic needs of the people, which is another basic commitment of the RDP, Lehohla (2007:6) provides some of these findings in the areas of housing and services. These include:

- Over 70% of households now live in formal dwellings and this reflects a steady increase, from 64.4% in 1996 to 68.5% in 2001, and 70.5% in 2007;
- Use of electricity as the main source of lighting increased substantially between 1997 and 2007(from 57.6% in 1996 to 80.0% in 2007);

- The proportion of households owning a radio, television, computer, refrigerator and cell phone increased considerably from 32.3% in 2001 to 72.9% in 2007.
- The percentage of households with access to piped water increased from 84.5% in 2001 to 88.6% in 2007. Lehohla (2007:20) further writes that ‘they (South Africans) say in these areas of delivery of meeting basic needs, 2007 is better than 2001, and indeed 2001 was better than 1996’. ‘Today is better than yesterday’ (Lehohla 2007:20).

The impact of RDP, in the aspect of service delivery or meeting the basic needs of the people, can rightly be assessed in terms of the percentage increase in the number of service beneficiaries. According to Reitzes (2009:7-10), considerable impact is being felt in terms of meeting basic needs. As at 2008, more than 3.5million households have electricity; more than 10 million people have equally benefited from the water scheme; there is increased service delivery in the health sector (a 2006 internal survey reflects a decrease in the prevalence of HIV amongst pregnant women who use public health facilities, and currently 80% of primary healthcare facilities provide services for the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV); more than 10.5million poor people are now beneficiaries of social grants (Shisana 2008:186 cited in Reitzes 2009:9).

The foregoing shows that the RDP has made a considerable impact on the lives of South Africans, especially in the area of meeting with the basic needs of the people. However according to the South African Year book (1995-1997c:2, cited in Wessels 1999:241), the RDP is focused on the people’s immediate needs and it relies, in turn, on their energies. Development is not about delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. , It is about active involvement and giving empowerment (Wessels 1999:241). The government is still challenged in the areas of service delivery and expanding the economic opportunities of the people. The final stage of Reconstruction and Development is when freedom is sustained in all aspects, which is socio-political and economical.

3.10 THE GROWTH, EMPLOYMENT AND RE-DISTRIBUTION POLICY (GEAR)

The Growth, Employment and Re-distribution Policy was introduced in 1996. The introduction of GEAR suggests that the government realized that while the social objectives of the RDP were noble, faster economic growth was required to provide resources to meet social investment needs. The emphasis of GEAR was more on increasing economic growth, thereby, paying more attention to the

impacts of macro-economic variables such as inflation, interest rates, tax rates etc which determine long-run investment decisions.(Reitzes 2009:10). Another area of focus in GEAR was in employment generation.

The introduction of GEAR was however trailed by much criticism, especially from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The government was criticized for masterminding a shift in the basic responsibility of equitable distribution of national resources (noting the socio-economic challenges facing the country) to an uncertain idea of increasing economic growth (Reitzes 2009:10).

Naidoo (2006:115) identifies the impact of GEAR as macro-economic stability. The introduction of GEAR enabled the economy to grow consistently for 10 years. It enabled the government to reduce borrowings, inflation and interest rates decreased, and the current account deficit moderated and was easily financed. It also led to low external debt, increase in private sector exchange reserves, export diversification etc. On the otherhand, the main objective of GEAR, which is increase in employment opportunities, could not be achieved.

3.11 A DEVELOPMENTAL SOUTH AFRICAN STATE

In the South African context, the establishment of a developmental state is imperative. The South African development state involves the establishment of a people-centered state found on the philosophy of meeting the basic needs, demands, aspirations and fears of the diverse population. Lennan (2010:15) writes that the basic rationality of this approach is that bureaucratic and market forms of public management are inappropriate for dealing with the complexity of delivery in a networked global context. Through clearly identified and defined objectives and national goals, the state intervenes to address the plethora of socio-economic challenges confronting the post-apartheid society. Tsheola (2012:166) writes that the characterization of a developmental state for South Africa has to deliberately portray it as a development facilitator and partner. The reconstruction and transformation agenda of the post-apartheid state is defined in terms of an integrated and coherent socio-economic progress (White Paper on RDP 1996:7). Levine (2009:946) also writes that the strategy and tactics of the ANC, adopted at its 52nd national conference in Polokwane in December, 2007, identifies four attributes of the South African development state. These are:

- i. a strategic orientation- a people-driven approach and sustained development based on high growth rate and economic restructuring;
- ii. mobilizing capacity- definition of common national agenda, and the mobilization of the different segments of the society to partake in implementation through effective people-oriented leadership;
- iii. organizational capacity- ensuring that the structures and system facilitate in achieving a defined national agenda;
- iv. technical capacity- the ability to translate the broad national objectives into programmes and projects to ensure effective implementations.

Basically, the post-apartheid South Africa state has a vital role to play in addressing the massive inequalities and inequities created by several decades of apartheid. These apparent differences cannot be addressed through the distorted and imperfect market that created it on the first instance. Turok (2008:13) identifies the following as the functions of the South African developmental state based on the policy documents from the 2008 conference. These are:

- enhancing service to the society through improved public infrastructure, efficient systems and requisite skilled personnel;
- recognizing the crucial role of the state in providing public goods such as health, education, electricity, housing, public transport, education and social security;
- implementing a comprehensive social security system, including initiatives such as free basic services for the poor, passenger transport subsidy, social grants, expansion of the asset base of the poor through housing, small business and reform programme, private retirement savings, unemployment and accident insurance, and medical aids;
- reduction of cases of TB, diabetes, malnutrition, maternal deaths and malaria, violent crime and road accidents;
- reversal and eradication of the HIV and AIDS pandemic;
- implementation of a comprehensive human development strategy, including improving education system, intensifying education in mathematics and natural sciences, promoting social sciences, and expanding the nation's artisanship base;
- improving throughput in research at universities and effective adult basic education;
- specific programmes of redress such as land restitution;

- consolidation of partnerships across society to strengthen social cohesion and ensure the values of a caring society;
- contribution to the improvement of civil society organizations, including sports, women's and youth bodies, the media and family.

The South African development state project therefore, depicts the active intervention of the post-apartheid state through mobilization of national resources to achieve the much needed socio-economic transformations imperative for nation-building and the efficient and effective delivery of public services such as electricity, housing, education, water and other essential public services to the needy population.

3.12 RECONCILIATION AND REDRESS

A matter of socio-political attention and sustained relevance in post apartheid South Africa involves the sensitive and over-arching issue of national reconciliation and redress. The past was undoubtedly, a history of people divided along racial lines, subjected to deprivations and denials, and encircled in distortions and devastations, unleashed with such unrestrained mischief and callousness. The first post apartheid government led by President Nelson Mandela, strongly committed to nation building and socio-economic transformations, shrewdly identified the need for reconciliation and redress (in view of ugly past experiences). The strong essence is for people to live together in peace and harmony and with fewer grudges in the new democratic dispensation. Reconciliation in this context, involves not only telling the truth about past activities, but also requires reparation for material and other forms of deprivations and the restoration of the human community in a spirit of respect for human rights and democracy (Henrard 2002:18). National reconciliation is captured in the wisdom of seeking forgiveness through truth, and offering redress as consolation. It is intended to keep in check, the re-occurrences of past conditions. It is also intended to keep the society moving forward.

3.12.1 South Africa's Effort at Reconciliation and Redress

The search for national reconciliation and redress in South Africa was part of the initial government concern at the beginning of the new democratic dispensation in 1994. In view of this, the government of National Unity led by President Nelson Mandela took a wise and necessary step to facilitate the

peace process by inaugurating the 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission'(TRC). Gibson (2006:411) argues that the initiative leans on the 'assumption that understanding the past will contribute to a more peaceful and democratic future'. Peace and stability, founded on the pillar of truth and reconciliation is taken to be imperative in the new task of nation building. Van der Waldt, Franchi & Stevens (2003:252) write that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission emerged as one of the outcomes of the negotiations between political powers that had reached a stalemate in 1990. The resultant negotiated settlement had many consequences which include, an agreement to share power for the first five years of the transitional democracy, within a free market framework; minority rights were retained and white civil servants were allowed to retain their positions in the state bureaucratic structures; and amnesty was promised to all participants for apartheid era acts if they disclose all information regarding the extent of their participation. Van der Waldt, Franchi & Stevens (2003:252) further write that one vital reason for deliberately overlooking certain contentious issues lies in the intention to establish the new government upon the infrastructure and expertise of the previous regimes for future benefit. However, the ideas and strategies encapsulated in the commission's terms of reference have consequences for real reconciliation and redress within the present context.

Williams (2000:208-209) writes that in terms of section 3, 4, 11,20 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, number 34 of 1995, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established to disclose the truth about killings and other gross violations of human rights committed between March 1960 (the month when the Sharpeville massacre took place) and May 1994 (when Nelson Mandela became the first President of democratic South Africa). The aim was to promote national unity and reconciliation in the new dispensation by establishing the nature, causes and extent of human rights violations during the apartheid era, and also offering amnesty to culprits who revealed their acts and the extent of their involvement in the past years of suppressions and abuses. According to (Walaza 2003: 191) the overall aims of the TRC are:

- i. To return the victims to their civil and human rights.
- ii. To restore the moral order of society, ie to seek truth and record it.
- iii. To make the truth known to the public.
- iv. To create a culture of human rights and respect for the rule of law.
- v. To prevent a replication of the shameful events and atrocities of the past.

Norval (2009: 311) also contends that a crucial rationale for this process was to foster conditions under which the articulation of past experiences, losses and traumas could contribute to a transformation of relations amongst the citizens of this new South Africa. The process therefore, makes it possible for the truth to be unraveled by victims relating their experiences in return for reparations and rehabilitation, and also for perpetrators to disclose the nature and circumstances of their participation. Also in this context Gibson (2006: 410-411) argues that the truth can reconcile a divided nation, at least based on the South African experience. Truth and reconciliation are connected and truth did not undermine reconciliation with any of the groups in South Africa -black, whites, coloured and those of the Asian origin. Gibson (2006: 413) further states that ‘truth is conceptualized and operationalized as the degree of individual acceptance of the collective memory promulgated by the TRC’. Reconciliation in the South African context is therefore, complicated and is viewed in terms of:

- i. inter-racial reconciliation (rejection of inter-racial stereotypes and prejudice);
- ii. political tolerance (willingness to allow one’s political foes full rights of political contestation);
- iii. support for human rights principles (and in particular, the rule of law); and
- iv. the extension of legitimacy to the political institutions of the new South Africa (parliament and constitutional court) (Gibson 2006: 413).

These dimensions of the South African truth and reconciliation process proffer fundamental conditions of acceptance among the different races – blacks, whites, coloured and Indians. It also helps in building political tolerance and a measure of political co-operation, respect for the rule of law and submission to the political institutions in the country. However, (William 2000: 210) contends that ‘judicial forgiveness and exemption from prosecution for telling the truth about apartheid crimes is fraught with verification of truth itself’. Also, the ‘the idea of exposing the truth for ‘rehabilitative, morally regenerative and humanizing reconciliation is being sacrificed for political expediency’. Nevertheless, as earlier mentioned, the conditions of socio-political change in the new dispensation had been negotiated to at least ensure a balance of all political interests to achieve ‘political expediency’. Reconciliation requires that all South Africans accept moral and political responsibility for nurturing a culture of human rights and democracy within which political and socio-economic conflicts are addressed both seriously and in a non-violent manner (TRC 1998: 435 cited in Gibson 2004: 6). In view of the foregoing, sustaining the nascent democracy in South Africa is also dependent on building

a viable political culture. A viable political culture nurtures reconciliation, since it is characterized by positive political values and attitudes and other inherent features to sustain the entire socio-political process. Walaza (2003:192-193) writes that the Truth and Reconciliation process has some gains that are relevant in the process of nation-building in South Africa. Such achievements are:

- i. the Truth and Reconciliation commission process provided South Africa with a valuable lesson to share with the rest of the world;
- ii. through the TRC process, South Africa developed a way of giving meaning to and addressing past violence and repression;
- iii. it provided a platform for people to tell their stories and explain their pain – breaking a culture of silence, these voices will also provide a permanent challenge to apartheid and racist propaganda;
- iv. the process laid the foundation for building a human rights culture;
- v. it also laid the foundation for building a new and sustainable democracy;
- vi. it contributed to the democratization process through its public inclusive and transparent character;
- vii. it led to the recognition of humanity by every person (both victims and perpetrators);
- viii. it also offered South Africans some sense of the human cost of the transition (Walaza 2003: 192-193).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission provided a strong platform for establishing national reconciliation in the new South Africa. The articulation of past experiences is perceived to provide some basis for improved relations amongst the different groups (the victims and perpetrators), and thus foster emotional and psychological compromise. Also, the improved relations could be potent in fostering and sustaining a new socio-political order, upon which national integration and democratic sustenance can stand.

3.12.2 Issues beyond the Reconciliation Process

Reconciliation and redress in post-apartheid South Africa is an issue usually viewed from the standpoint of objectivity and fairness. Reconciliation is assumed to provide a platform for peaceful and harmonious co-existence, without being distracted by ugly past experiences. Redress on the other hand,

provides a sort of consolation in the form of reparations (this process is also assumed to facilitate healing). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was conceived to help facilitate these processes.

However, the reconciliation and redress process is expected to be comprehensive. Apart from making recommendations on issues bordering on national harmony which were fundamental in the negotiations pre-dating the inauguration of the commission, arguments were raised that economic issues were not adequately addressed or were sidelined. As such issues were raised concerning fostering 'national harmony' without fully considering the prevailing economic antagonisms in the country. Van der Walt, Frachi & Stevens (2003: 253) argue that if these strategies prevented the economic and social redress of apartheid inequalities by creating a sustained amnesia, then the TRC only contributed to deferring a potential revolution that could have addressed that which was omitted in the negotiated settlement, namely, the trial and prosecution of those responsible for apartheid oppression on one hand, and on the other, the redistribution of wealth and land. The economic dimension of reconciliation and redress is imperative. Post-apartheid South Africa is arguably, still trapped in wide socio-economic inequalities and national reconciliation and redress cannot be accomplished if the persisting economic issues are not adequately tackled. This, therefore, brings one to the view that the national reconciliation and redress process is a continuing one. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was used to start the process. According to (Dyzenhaus 2000: 490 cited in Norval 2009: 312) 'the TRC was only the start of the process and it is yet to be concluded. This is basically viewed in terms of certain limitations that were characteristic of the TRC process (making recommendations to the president on measures to prevent future occurrences and also to rehabilitate and make reparations to victims). Norval (2009: 312) argues that the situation presents an 'unfinished business', citing the instance of emerging groups that are predicating their agitations on three interrelated areas of political life, viz: opposition to the government strategy of trade liberalization and the pursuit of economic growth, struggles focusing on government failure to meet basic needs and address socio-economic issues, and struggles challenging the total enforcement of government policies and resistance attempt at repression. They also seek to obtain redress on outstanding TRC issues in the context of the South African government's failure to fulfill its promises on reparations and to deal comprehensively with the apartheid experiences of victims. Norval (2009: 315-316) further views reconciliation and redress on the following platforms:

- i. any project of national reconciliation has to address the divisions within the South African plural society;

- ii. there should be adequate reparations to the victims of the human rights abuses; and
- iii. the economic system should be structured to fully accommodate victims of these abuses and demands.

The contention, therefore, lies in government adequately addressing socio-economic issues. As such, any form of reconciliation that fails to include substantive measures to address the wide economic disparities in the country may not be sustained. Redress is also premised on addressing the socio-economic contradictions created by several years of apartheid. In this regard (Williams 2002: 212) suggests that such measures must incorporate strong poverty alleviation measures. 'Poverty is one of the biggest time bombs in the country which has to be observed and defused, and reconciliation by its very nature is dialectically linked to the elimination of the social conditions that generate the tensions, contradictions and overall destitution'. Poverty creates frustration and hopelessness. It is therefore, difficult to achieve national reconciliation when it is argued that similar conditions of socio-economic disparities that created poverty and destitutions in the first instance still prevail. It is Walaza's (2003: 203) view that real reconciliation and nation building cannot happen unless it is accompanied by the fundamental transformation of the entire socio-economic fabric of the society. National reconciliation is thus viewed as a product of social and economic conditions.

Van Der Walt, Franch & Stevens (2003: 264) strongly contend that, as regards the operation of the TRC, the specific period of history chosen side-tracks the discernible character of apartheid which manifested in the denial of economic opportunities and gross human right violations. The inequalities of the past have been expressed, the major issue remains that enough has not been done by the government to implement redress. Also, the various recommendations of the TRC have not been implemented by subsequent governments. The rehabilitation process is still under- implemented and the reparation packages incomplete. Also, the inability of those who perpetrated the injustices to acknowledge their evil deeds poses obstacles to real national reconciliation. According to Henrard (2002: 340), this has left post-apartheid South Africa to adopt a substantive conception of equality but still searches for a balance in achieving that, without alienating the population groups that benefited from the apartheid era. Socio-economic imbalance still persists, and with the level of economic inequalities exacerbated by inadequate opportunities, it becomes difficult to achieve full reconciliation. Part of the truth lies in these disparities. Full reconciliation and redress can be made possible through wealth re-distribution. The transformation of the socio-economic system is therefore, a strong factor in

reconciliation and nation building in the post apartheid South Africa. The next issue is poverty and inequality.

3.13 POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

South Africa may have achieved political power in 1994, but several years down the line, the country is still deeply challenged by serious cases of poverty and inequality within the population. Self determination achieved with much struggle and negotiation could not have quickly wiped out the heavy lines of poverty and inequality in the country, and despite considerable government efforts, these issues remain persistent. A major concern of the post apartheid ANC government has been to tackle the high incidence of poverty and inequality existing in the country. In view of this, the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development clearly states that ‘at the heart of the Government of National Unity is a commitment to effectively address the problems of poverty and gross inequality evident in all aspects of the South Africa society (White Paper on RDP 1994: 5). Furthermore, it is stressed that the country’s history has been profiled by colonialism, apartheid, repression and all forms of denial, producing a pathetic situation where ‘poverty and degradation exist side by side with modern cities and developed mining, industrial and commercial infrastructure (White Paper on RDP 1994: 7). The resultant effect is that present day South Africa is still confronted with serious poverty and inequality issues arising basically from the iniquitous past apartheid socio-economic formations and relations. The apartheid government had largely excluded the majority black population from the vast economic and educational opportunities and concentrated these on the minority white population. The country was therefore, polarized on a class basis of minority haves and majority have not’s.

Since 1994, the South African government has been making considerably effort at poverty reduction and the narrowing of the inequality gaps in the country. This is evidenced in the series of poverty alleviation and wealth re-distribution policies and programmes being initiated and executed at different levels of government (National, regional and municipal). However, given all the gains that have been made, South Africa still remains one of the highest in the world in terms of income inequality (Triegaardt 2006: 1).

3.13.1 Poverty and Inequality in the Present South Africa

Poverty is basically defined ‘as lack of something; poor quality’ (Oxford Advanced Dictionary 2008). Triegaardt (2006: 2) also writes that poverty is characterized by shacks, homelessness, unemployment, casualized labour, poor infrastructure and lack of access to basic services. It could therefore, be inferred that poverty exists in different forms, such as the inability of people to access the basic necessities of life such as food, shelter, housing, good drinking water, medical care, education and other social amenities. It equally exists in a situation where these needs could be met, but not sufficiently enough to satisfy the desire for wanting them. Both conditions of poverty existed in South Africa during apartheid rule and were carried over to the present dispensation. May (1998: 4) writes that in the South African context, a number of specific causes of poverty can be identified. These are:

- i. the impact of apartheid which robbed people of their natural assets, created distortions in the economic and social institutions through racial prejudice, and the perpetration of violence and destabilizations.
- ii. under-mining and sabotage of the asset base of the people through poor living conditions, the mismatch of resources and opportunities, and a condition of general social isolation;
- iii. the negative impact of the apartheid state, characterized by denial of communication channels, and general insensitivity to the needs of the impoverished black majority.

May (1998: 4) further write that these ‘triggers have shaped the nature of poverty in South Africa...’ it further perfected conditions of inequality by instituting a system of heavily un-equal socio-economic relations guarded by several repressive policies. Seekings (2007: 2) also writes that apartheid has perpetuated income poverty and exacerbated income inequality by stripping the blacks of their natural possessions, strictly restricting their socio-economic opportunities and also restricting them to the poor areas whereas, prevailing public policies benefitted the minority whites.

The foregoing had far reaching implications on the majority black population during apartheid and also the post apartheid era. Thus:

- i. the majority black population were denied opportunity of harnessing their natural potentials and resources;
- ii. apartheid resulted in stifled opportunities of proper socio-economic foundations (for the black majority population);

- iii. it limited educational opportunities and a distorted curriculum produced a bunch of dependent intelligentsia;
- iv. denial of basic infrastructural services such as electricity, housing, telecommunication, transportation facilities etc, and these grossly negated grass roots socio-economic development;
- v. the 'superior-inferior' relations created by apartheid instilled a pattern of psychological derailment on the majority of the black population.

It is in view of this, that former President Mbeki, in 1998, described South Africa as a 'two – nation society'. One of these nations is white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographical dispersal. The second and larger nation... is black and poor, with the worst affected being women in the rural areas, the black rural population in general, and the disabled. These two nations were distinguished by unequal access to opportunities (Hansard, House of Assembly 1998: 378 cited in Seekings 2007: 9).

It is obvious that South Africa's past apartheid experiences impact heavily on the dimensions of poverty and inequality in the country. Armstrong, Lekezwa & Siebrits (2008: 12) argue that the apartheid past imparted a strong and stubborn racial character to the country's poverty level and distribution of income and wealth. Past socio-economic structures and relations created a lopsided pattern of wealth distribution that is largely contributory to the present day poverty and inequality situations in the country. As such, several years into the new democratic dispensation, the poverty and inequality gap between the majority black and coloured South Africans in comparison to their white counterparts remain wide. Triegaardt (2006: 2) writes that poverty and inequality in South Africa have racial, gender, spatial and age dimensions. The concentration of poverty lies predominantly with black Africans, women in rural areas and black youths (Triegaardt 2006:2). Armstrong, Lekezwa, & Siebrits (2008: 12) offer a diagrammatic representation of the poverty rate in South Africa, which represents more than a decade after democratization.

Figure 3.1 Poverty rate, population share and Poverty share by population groups.

Group	Poverty rate of individuals	Percentage shares of population	Percentage shares of poor individuals
Blacks	54.8	80.1	93.3
Coloured	43.2	8.7	6.3
Indians	7.1	2.5	0.4
Whites	0.4	8.6	0.1
All	47.1	100.0	100.0

Source: (Statistics S. A. 2008, cited in Armstrong, Lekezwa & Siebrits 2008: 12).

The table shows that several years after democratization, the poverty rate in the country as at 2008 was 47.1%. The incidence of poverty among the black and coloured remained higher compared to whites and also the heavy incidence of poverty among blacks means that the black group's share of poor individuals exceeded that predicted by its population share. (Armstrong, Lekezwa & Siebrits 2008: 12). The general inference from the foregoing is that there is still a heavy incidence of poverty on the majority black population, several years after independence. Levels of poverty and inequality within the broader society, and also within the country's historically defined groups have also continued to rise. The average life expectancy of a South African is 52.8 (Finn, Leibbrandt & Wegner 2011:70).

3.13.2 Governments' Effort at Poverty Alleviation

Since coming to power in 1994, the ANC government has felt committed to the issue of addressing poverty and inequality in the country. May (2010: 5) writes that the Reconstruction and Development Programme prepared in 1993, as the incoming government's manifesto, singles out the reduction of poverty in all its dimensions as the general concern of the post apartheid era. Government at different levels has introduced and implemented different policies aimed at poverty alleviation and narrowing the existing wide gap between the previously economically empowered minority and the majority deprived groups. Triegaardt (2006: 3) writes that most of the pro-poor policies have been effected in housing, healthcare, social security and education. These policies and programmes reflect government's commitment to reduce the high incidence of poverty and inequality prevalent in the country from the colonial/apartheid years.

Government has assisted the poor through social grants, through the state old-Age Pension and the Disability Grant and the Child Support Grant which were introduced in 1998, government has offered some relief to poverty stricken households. Social assistance increased dramatically from 1994. Government spending on such grants increased tremendously and the number of beneficiaries rose from 2,9 million people in 1994 to 13.4 million people in 2009 (May 2010:7). South Africans drawing grants and/pensions from the government increased to 14.8m in 2011(Finn, Leibbrandt &Wegner 2011:71). Through the 'Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP) which was introduced in 2004, government has created more than 1 million work opportunities for South Africans (May 2010: 8). As a national priority public works programme, it creates jobs for the unemployed by utilizing labour intensive methods rather than capital base technologies, and was created with the purpose of job creation, infrastructural development and service delivery, training skills and development (DBSA 2005: 30 cited in Triegaardt 2006: 5). There is also major improvement in the provision of basic social amenities such as electricity, water, housing, and telecommunication. The number of households with electric connections doubled between 1993 and 2004, access to water and sanitation improved, access to telephone services and formal housing also increased (Seekings 2007: 17).

Government has also made considerable impact in the education sector, since education is viewed as a vital instrument of poverty eradication. The South African Schools Act (1996) made educational attendance compulsory for all children aged 7 to 15, placing the responsibility on both parents and the state (May 2010: 8). Also, the 2005 Education Amendment introduced a school Fee Exemption Policy in 2007, and the Primary School Feeding Scheme Programme provided one meal a day to more than 6 million school children in 18, 000 Schools (May 2010: 8). In the health sector, the government through the comprehensive HIV and AIDS programme provides support to approved prevention, treatment, care and support interventions including implementation of the operational plan for comprehensive HIV and AIDS care, Management and Treatment for South Africa (May 2010: 9). The HIV and AIDS pandemic has had serious negative impact on the South Africa labour force in recent years, and also contributes to poverty. Many people out of frustration and hopelessness give up on getting employment when they are infected. The HIV and AIDS pandemic poses serious concern in the government's efforts towards poverty and inequality eradication. Notably, in recent years, as against the 1990s and the early 2000, government impact has been remarkable.

The issue of poverty and inequality is a serious one confronting the South African government. Poverty is felt more among the majority black population and to an extent the coloured who passed through several years of devastating colonial and apartheid experiences. Poverty and inequality in present day South Africa is arguably, a product of the massive socio-economic imbalance created by the previous apartheid system. However, the post apartheid government which took off in 1994 with a strong commitment to eradicating poverty and inequality has been making a considerable impact. The government's impact has been felt in the areas of increasing social grants and using them to support the aged, women, the sick and disabled etc. The governments impact is also felt in the aspects of job creation, educational and health support, and in the provision of basic social amenities such as electricity, housing, water, the provision of educational and health services etc. Despite these serious government efforts, the poverty and inequality gap in the country is still very wide. Certain areas of curbing poverty and inequality such as land reform (process of transferring land to the poor) are potentially a long term way of reducing the level and depth of poverty in the country (May 2010: 9). Finn, Leibbrandt & Wegner (2011:81) further concludes that there has been some success with reducing poverty levels since 1993, but none with decreasing inequality which has increased since South Africa transition to democracy.

3.14 IMPLICATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICA ON THE STUDY CONTEXT

The historical and socio-political issues in South Africa have implications on the study context. The implications are:

- i. The dismantling of the apartheid structure in 1994 and the institution of a democratically elected ANC government led to the identification of electric power as a public policy problem. Eberhard (2003:11) writes that the changes in the electricity sector in South Africa over the past years have taken place within a context of radical transformations of political, economic and social institutions in the country. These changes are therefore, instrumental in the proper identification of electricity power policy issues in the country.
- ii. Electric power as a means of poverty alleviation and social equity: The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which is an official manifesto of the post apartheid ANC

government had key programmes and was fundamentally challenged to 'meet basic needs'. Electric power provision falls within the basic needs. According to Malzbender (2005:5), one of the basic objectives of the electricity policy is to improve 'social equity' by addressing the energy (electricity) requirements of the poor. The post apartheid ANC government used electricity provision as a means of addressing the imbalance in infrastructural development created by the previous apartheid government.

- iii. The proper placing of electric power on the public policy agenda of the post apartheid ANC government: Eberhard (2003:11) further writes that a wide range of stakeholders have participated in shaping the electricity reform process and some economic contradictions, particularly, its impact on the poor have influenced the positive dispositions of the stakeholders. The electric power policy restructuring in favour of the previously disadvantaged majority, then became imperative and gained strategic importance in the public policy agenda.
- iv. The implementation of the Integrated National Electrification Programme: Through the 'electricity for all programme' the government was committed to electrifying poor households, schools, and clinics that were previously excluded. Tinto & Banda (2005:26) view the development as 'a post- apartheid energy paradigm shift'. The implementation which is the government's financial responsibility was designed for the further objectives of grass roots socio-economic development.
- v. The implementation of the 'Basic Electricity Service Tariff' programme: The policy was developed to address affordability issues in the newly electrified poor households. According to the EBSST Policy Document (2003:8) the government's intention in introducing the 'free basic electricity service' is to alleviate the negative impact of poverty on communities'. Through the programme, government provides 50kwh free electricity to all the poor households connected to the national grid. Adam (2010:12) writes that the inclusion of electricity in the government's free service package and the allocation of free electricity to qualifying households is an implicit acknowledgement of a right to sufficient electricity along the same lines as the constitutional right of everyone of 'access to sufficient food and water'.

The socio-political issues in post apartheid South Africa are arguably, outcomes of the country's historical contexts. South Africa's history is profiled by colonialism and apartheid. Colonialism created distortions and devastations within the traditional socio-economic formations of the indigenous people. It resulted in forced movements, set different groups against each other, and deprived the people of

their traditional and natural possessions. Apartheid was further used to consolidate colonialism. The people suffered deprivations and massive cruelty under the perpetrators. Through repressive apartheid policies, the people were divided and separated from the existing bond of one nationhood. The system created a lop-sided socio-economic formation that favoured the minority white population and relegated the majority blacks to pauperism. The majority black population was further excluded from the infrastructural development of the country. The electric power policy was therefore, developed and implemented along racial lines of excluding the majority black population.

However, years of struggles, agitation and negotiations later resulted in political reforms in the early 1990's. In 1994, the apartheid structures were dismantled, thereby, making way for a democratic dispensation. The post apartheid ANC government which came to power in 1994 formed a government of 'National Unity'. The government was confronted with issues of nation building, national integration and socio-economic transformations. Through the 'Reconstruction and Development Programme' (RDP), the government was committed to fighting poverty, creating opportunities for socio-economic development, and the provision of 'basic needs' to the previously disadvantaged. However, despite government efforts at addressing the massive imbalance created by previous apartheid regimes, the country is still confronted with persisting socio-political issues of reconciliation and redress, poverty and inequality.

3.15 CONCLUSION

The historical and socio-political issues are found relevant in a comparative study of the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa. The colonial experiences of the two countries, and issues arising therefrom, and the present socio-political contexts have influenced the electricity policy in the two countries.

The Nigerian state is a colonial creation which is the outcome of inordinate and over ambitious British imperialism in the 18th century. The British imperialists used their military and psychological advantage to subdue the people who constitute the present day Nigerian state. Moreover, in order to achieve their selfish economic interests, they not only distorted the traditional socio-economic institutions of the people but at the same time, forced groups with disparate characters (diverse historical, socio-political

and cultural backgrounds) into one political union. As such, at independence in 1960, the Nigerian state epitomized the phraseology of constructed unity in diversity.

The Nigerian state is therefore, profiled by different socio-political issues. These issues such as the Nigerian federal structure, ethnicity and sectional consciousness, religious issues have proved irreconcilable so far, thereby, negatively affecting the corporate existence of the country. The Nigerian federal structure persistently generates such issues as the nature of the federating units, issues of fiscal federalism, politics of resource control, issues on intergovernmental relations, sub-national aggression and issues on state creation. The complexities and challenges by these issues constitute the uncertain and delicate character of the Nigerian federal structure. The corporate existence of the country is also heavily threatened by ethno-religious issues. Ethnicity and religion are politicized and used to pursue selfish and inordinate sectional interests. Ethno-religious issues generate persistent concerns and challenges for the Nigerian state. They intensely undermine peace, unity and the corporate existence of the country. The historical and socio-political issues have an impact on the electricity policy in Nigeria. Electric power policy issues are generated within these historical and socio-political contexts.

South Africa like Nigeria passed through colonial experiences, though in a rather excruciating form. Colonialism and apartheid distorted the traditional socio-political and economic formations of the indigenous South Africans and imposed a dehumanizing apartheid system characterized by racial segregation, racial policies of 'separateness' in administration and socio-economic development, endemic oppressions, human rights abuses etc. The apartheid government which lasted for several decades caused a lot of devastations to the people of South Africa. Through different repressive apartheid laws, the majority black populations were separated from the socio-economic development of the country. The blacks were divided into homelands, a policy designed to alter their unity and keep them away from the mainstream affairs in the country. Through the 'Separate Amenities' policy, the blacks were excluded from the infrastructural development of the country. The blacks were further denied opportunities of proper economic and educational development.

After several years of struggle, resistance and negotiation, apartheid and its repressive system came to an end in 1994. The collapse of apartheid was made possible by a combination of internal and external factors. With the victory of ANC in the 1994 general election, apartheid came to an end. The ANC formed a government of national unity. Furthermore, at independence in 1994, the South African government was confronted with serious socio-political issues which include issues of balancing socio-

economic development through the 'Reconciliation and Development Programme, issues of reconciliation and redress, poverty and inequality. These issues are outcomes of the past socio-political experiences. As such the first post apartheid ANC government which assumed power in 1994 was confronted by the challenges of nation building and socio-economic transformation. The government was committed to addressing the imbalances created by previous years of colonialism and apartheid. The socio-political issues still constitute challenges to the government. However, these issues have implications for the electric power policy in South Africa. The electric power policy issues are generated within the contexts of these historical and socio-political issues.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE PLACE OF ELECTRICITY POWER GENERATION, TRANSMISSION AND DISTRIBUTION POLICY IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The origin of public administration according to (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 2008:22) can be traced to people who come together to make a living in certain circumstances and geographical localities. As a result of the prevailing circumstances, people had 'specific need' for certain collective services to be rendered to the community. Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (2008: 22) further write that human need is the major contributing factor to the origins and human development of the services of public administration. Public administration in the context of the study is a means of responding to the electric power needs of people in Nigeria and South Africa. Gildenhuis (2004:57-58) identifies the needs of the people as the lower needs, which comprise the need for food, shelter, drink, health care, relaxation, sport etc (physiological), the need for safety, security, personal needs, education and mental development (a combination of physiological and psychological), and the higher needs such as self esteem, self actualization, need for a good quality of life etc, (purely psychological). These needs are hierarchically represented and every society has its own hierarchy of needs emanating from their circumstances of living such as geographical, historical, political and socio-economic, etc. Gildenhuis (2004:59) further writes that it is difficult to make a clear distinction between physiological and psychological needs since the satisfaction of some psychological needs demands physical infrastructure such as schools to satisfy the psychological needs, and in this circumstance, "government often faces the dilemma of having to decide on an optimum need satisfaction policy and programme (Gildenhuis 2004: 59).

In the context of the study, electric power has been identified as part of a collective need in Nigeria and South Africa. Collective needs are those general or common needs that require satisfaction on a collective basis by government institutions at the appropriate level (Gildenhuis 2004: 59). In Nigeria and South Africa, the electric power need emanates from the human environment which comprises households, the industrial and commercial sectors, the service sector, agriculture etc. Every sector of society has a paramount need for electric power. At the household level, electricity provides lighting

and cooking energy. As an economic infrastructure, it facilitates the raising of production at the industrial and agricultural level, delivery of health and educational services that facilitate other commercial activities etc. Because of the utilitarian nature of electric power in Nigeria and South Africa, it is viewed as a 'public good' and government provides public goods for the well being of the people. Hughes (2003:78) writes that a 'public good' benefits all users whether or not they have paid the price. They are 'non-excludable', ie if provided to one, they are available to all'.

By implication, public goods are provided for the interest of every member of the public by the government. Government exists to promote and protect citizen's interests. Public policies are a reflection of the 'public interest' and serve as the government's intention or its course of action to promote public interests. Anderson (2004:138) writes that one of the approaches to the definition of 'public interest' is to search for widely and continuously shared interests that, because of these characteristics, can be called 'public interest'. Anderson (2004: 138) further writes that 'here the public interest appears as public need'. Electric power in Nigeria and South Africa is a public need. It has been identified as a 'public interest' in the context of the study. Electricity provision is an ongoing agenda item in both Nigeria and South Africa. This is due to public priorities and values placed on electricity power as economic infrastructure. This makes it imperative for the governments of Nigeria and South Africa to respectively, satisfy the public interest in respect of electricity generation, transmission and distribution. Electricity provision, therefore, constitute as policy challenge to the governments of Nigeria and South Africa. As has been mentioned, the policy challenge comes in two dimensions. Firstly, the challenge to national governments, especially developing ones, by international organizations such as the United Nations and World Bank for increased access to reliable and affordable electric power as a means of achieving economic development and also in enabling the achievement of the millennium development goals. Secondly, is the internal dimension arising from the increased demand for electricity power access in Nigeria and South Africa. In Nigeria, during the colonial administrative era, electricity provision was limited to the urban areas and was essentially, viewed only as an economic infrastructure to facilitate colonial administration. Subsequent governments, therefore, failed to adequately identify electricity as a 'public need' and a 'public interest' that should be properly placed on the government's policy agenda for effective policy action. In South Africa, the apartheid government policy on electricity power provision was limited to the minority white and coloured areas, white farms and industrial and commercial establishments etc to the exclusion of the black majority population.

The electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa cannot be studied without bringing into focus the fundamental role of public administration as it concerns understanding and explaining comparatively, the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa. Fox & Meyer (1995:3) view administration as a system. In this context, a system according to Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (2008: 42) is a cohesive whole consisting of various interactive phenomena, and because of these interactions, certain results are produced. The demand for access to electricity, which is a public need in Nigeria and South Africa emanates from the two environments; ie people with electricity needs - households, industries, schools, hospitals etc. The demand is channelled to the government and the two governments respond through electric power policies in Nigeria and South Africa. The policy outputs are expected to achieve the respective electrification goals of the Nigerian and South African governments which is 'the provision of quality and cheaper electricity to the people and to achieve access by all'. Shafritz, et al (2007:10) view public administration as 'implementing public interest'. In the context of the study, public administration, due to its service nature, functions to implement electrification policies in Nigeria and South Africa. This chapter discusses electricity as a public good, good governance and public interest in electrification. It also discusses electric power policies in Nigeria and South Africa and electricity generation transmission and distribution as a function of public administration in Nigeria and South Africa.

4.2 ELECTRICITY POWER AS A PUBLIC GOOD IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

There is an important relationship between the level of development of a particular community and its level of needs for services rendered by the government through public administration (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 2008: 24). Due to restrictions placed on individuals by the orderly co-existence of people, it has become impossible for individuals to meet their own needs for certain services, eg water, education, health, electricity etc. Individual needs now become public needs and this has led to the origin of a type of government. Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (2008:24) further writes that 'this government was expected to meet the common needs of society'. In this circumstance, public administration according to Shafritz et al (2007: 7) 'is what government does'. Most often in most countries, public administration tends to 'public businesses. Public business is very encompassing and touches on all segments of public life. Besides, it forms the foundation of the real essence of the society in itself. For instance, environmental cleanliness, administration of justice, national defence, building of high ways and bridges, provision of

essential services especially for the less fortunate etc contributes to public business. Public administration plays significant roles in implementing the electric power policies of governments in Nigeria and South Africa, and electric power in the context of the study is a public good.

Shafritz et al (2007: 8) further write that public administration 'is both direct and indirect'. It is direct when government employees provide services to the public as varied as mortgage insurance, merit delivery, electric power, etc. It is indirect when government pays private contractors to provide goods or services to its citizens. In the context of the study, electric power is identified as part of a public good that is provided by the service nature of public administration. Holcombe (1997: 1) writes that 'economists define a public good as a good having one or both of the characteristics of non-excludability and jointness in consumption'. Non-excludability means that it is difficult to keep people from consuming the good once it has been produced, and jointness in consumption means that once it has been produced for one person, additional consumers can consume at no additional cost. In other words, a public good is a commodity or service provided without profit to all members of a society; either by the government or private individual or organization, and it is provided for the benefits of the wellbeing of the public. Holcombe (1997: 2-3) further writes that 'a public good is a good that, once produced for some consumers, can be consumed by additional consumers at no additional cost: that public goods are government produced goods. Also, 'there is no good revealed preference mechanism for public goods, so they will not be produced efficiently, if at all, in the private sector'. Because of the nature of electric power and its socio-economic relevance to the society, government takes concern and responsibility for its production. The intention is always to achieve its production at an optimal level and government policy whether it is produced directly or indirectly by contractors is to realize the intended objectives of electrification

The need for government provision of public good according to (Hughes 2003:77) 'may reflect the presence of political and social ideologies which depart from the premises of consumer choice and decentralized decision making. Hughes (2003:77) also writes that the concept of governance is appropriate in this circumstance as opposed to the narrower concept of government. Good governance tries to do more than mere efficient management of economic and financial resources, or particular public services; it is also a broad reform strategy to strengthen the institutions of civil society, and make government more open, responsive, accountable and democratic. Hughes (2003: 77) further writes that although the provision of goods and services is the basis of capitalist society, there are some

circumstances where markets may not provide all the goods and services that are desired, or may do so in ways which adversely affect the society as a whole. Hughes (2003: 77) writes that ‘since market mechanisms alone’ cannot perform all economic functions; public policy is needed to guide, correct, and supplement it in certain respects. In this case, there are submissions that government can better provide these goods and services in the interest of the society, government policy is therefore, designed in this direction. In the context of the study, one could make the following deductions about the general nature of public goods:

- i. The provision of public goods is part of the service nature of public administration. It can be provided directly by government employees or indirectly, by contractors hired by the government to do so;
- ii. Provision of public goods has implications for good governance as it strengthens the institutions of civil society, and makes government open, responsive, accountable and democratic (Hughes 2003: 77);
- iii. It is part of the social responsibility and commitment of government to provide public good, since it is in the interest of the majority of the people, especially, the poor and the weak;
- iv. Such goods are cost intensive, it is therefore, better provided by the government in the interest of all;
- v. When the market is left to provide such goods, it may be done in ways which adversely affect the whole society;
- vi. Such goods are socially desirable, but which market cannot provide optimally, they are excludable when produced by the market, there are however, more benefits for the society when government produces them;
- vii. To achieve a level of efficiency in their production, they are best produced by government;
- viii. Public goods benefit all users, whether or not they have paid for it, they are provided without profit;
- ix. The provision of public goods may reflect the presence of political and socio-economic ideologies of the government which is guided by the needs, values and demands of the people.

In Nigeria, the concept of electricity as a public good is strengthened by the increased demand for electric power arising from rapid population increase, rapid increase in rural-urban migration, the need for mass production in both the industrial and agricultural sectors and the need to induce socio-

economic development at the rural level. Comparatively, in South Africa, electricity power as a public good is necessitated by the need to correct the imbalance in infrastructural development practiced during the apartheid era, the need to implement social objectives of poverty alleviation and achieve massive political support. There is also the need to induce socio-economic development especially at the grassroots and achieve politico-economic integration which is characteristic of a change from past undemocratic practices of separateness in development to an all embracing and people oriented national government. Generally, as a public good in both Nigeria and South Africa, electricity serves the following purposes:

- i. Electricity is needed to raise the competitiveness of business to enable the delivery of education and health services. It enables the sterilization of medical equipment, clean water supply, and refrigeration of essential medicines. It is an incentive for teachers, doctors and nurses who reside in the rural areas, thereby, promoting the delivery of these services. Also, education of children is promoted since it illuminates the poor, rural households (UN 2006: 83);
- ii. It provides households with lighting and cooking energy;
- iii. The availability of electricity enhances production in the industrial and agricultural sub-sectors.
- iv. It facilitates effective delivery in the transport and communication sub-sectors.
- v. It is equally vital for the extractive and construction industries.

Recognizing electricity as a public good cannot be divorced from its nature as a public need. The level of development in every society is related to the prevailing level of needs. The difficulty in individual members of the society in meeting some of these needs result in their status as common needs requiring the intervention of government to provide them. Government therefore, through the instrument of public administration provides these goods for the interest of the entire society. The major essence of this is to achieve efficiency in their provision. Electricity is one such public good. In Nigeria and South Africa, electricity has been identified as a public good due to its general nature and its socio-economic relevance. Electricity under-pins socio-economic development in Nigeria and South Africa. The social objective of electricity as a public good in South Africa is intended to achieve ‘poverty alleviation and mass political support’. Also, government policy on electrification in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa is in response to the needs, values and demands of the people and an extension of the socio-economic ideologies of the two governments. The discussion of electricity as a public good in Nigeria and South Africa leads to the next topic which is good governance and public interest in electrification.

4.3 GOOD GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC INTEREST IN ELECTRIFICATION

The way decisions are made in the electricity power sub-sector strongly influences the success of policies (EGI South Africa, <http://www.electricitygovernance.wri.org>). The emphasis here is on improving governance of the electricity sub-sector and to sustain government initiatives and regulatory capacity to create the right conditions for electric power generation, transmission and distribution, and to achieve this within a framework of service efficiency, and social equity in line with sustainable development and public interests in Nigeria and South Africa. Good governance and public interest has influence on electrification; and seeks to examine if electrification policies are made and implemented in line with public interests.

According to Wiafe (2010: 2) good governance can be defined in a broad context as government living up to its responsibility to pursue policies that enhance the social and economic well being of its people. At the political level, good governance includes the creation of resilient political institutions which give a voice to citizens, which resolve conflicts in a peaceful manner, and which protect basic human rights. At the macro-economic level, good governance is about pursuing sound macro-economic policies that create a stable environment for private enterprise. At the sectoral level, it is about creating the right institutional and regulatory framework that ensures efficient service delivery and this includes providing the sector institutions with the requisite autonomy and capability to carry out their functions. Wiafe (2010: 3) writes that in the case of electricity, it includes creating an effective institutional structure that ensures the delivery of quality services in an economically efficient manner.

Wiafe (2010:3) states that ‘good governance is also about accountability’. This means creating the necessary mechanisms to ensure that people, to which responsibility and authority for efficient service delivery has been given, can actually be held accountable for performance. One of the endemic problems in service delivery in electricity in developing countries has been the failure of the mechanisms of accountability. Accountability is fostered by setting clear goals, defining performance benchmarks, providing the necessary resources etc. Wiafe (2010:4) further writes that government must in turn design the right policy and institutional framework to achieve good performance, hence, the performance of the electricity system as a whole will reflect the effectiveness of government policies and their implementation. Effective public administration systems, as well as good governance in general, have a critical role to play in the implementation of the development goals outlined in the

United Nations Millennium Declaration (UN, ECOSOC 2002). The principal elements of good governance include:

- i. Accountability: Government is able and willing to show the extent to which its actions and decisions are consistent with clearly defined and agreed upon objectives.
- ii. Transparency: Government actions, decisions and decision-making processes are open to an appropriate level of scrutiny by other parts of government, civil society and in some instances, outside institutions of government.
- iii. Efficiency and effectiveness: Government strives to produce quality public outputs, including services delivered to citizens, at the best cost, and ensures that outputs meet the original intentions of policy makers.
- iv. Responsiveness: Government has the capacity and flexibility to respond rapidly to societal changes, takes into account expectations of civil society in identifying the general public interest, and is willing to critically, re-examine its own roles.
- v. Forward Vision: Government is able to anticipate future problems and issues based on current data and trends and develop policies that take into account future costs and anticipated changes.
- vi. Rule of Law: Government enforces equally transparent laws, regulations and codes (Directorate of public governance and temporal development of OECD, <http://www.oecd.org/documents/32/03746>).

Gildenhuis & Knipe (2000:11) write that it is imperative for every politician, public official and citizens to understand the principles of good governance and act in accordance with them. They should act as fundamental guidelines for public servants, especially in their relationships with members of the public whom they are supposed to serve. The task of government, according to Anderson (2006:137), as often proclaimed, is to serve or promote public interests. Policies include the public interest for agency action, and this normative concept is therefore, a useful criterion for decision making.

Anderson (2006:137) writes that difficulty arises, however, with the definition of public interest. Is it the interest of the majority? If so, how do we determine what policy the majority really wants? Is it the interest of consumers, who are a rather large group? Is it what people would want if they 'thought clearly and acted rationally'? Anderson (2006: 137) further writes that sometimes the public interest is depicted as a myth by which policy, however, particularistic, can be rationalized as in the general interest and hence, made more publicly acceptable. When evaluating a policy, 'we need to be able to

state not only whether the policy is accomplishing its intended objectives but also whether the objectives are worthy of accomplishment'. Anderson (2006: 137-139) suggests three approaches to public interest. The first is to look at policy areas rich in conflict among group interests. In some instances, the direct interest of one group or another may prevail and become accepted as the public interest. Secondly, to search for widely and continuously shared interests that, because of these characters, can be called public interest. Here, the public interests appear as needs. Thirdly, to look at the need for organization and the procedures to represent and balance interests, to carry public policy into effect. Anderson (2006: 136) further writes that there is public interest in fair, orderly and effective government. It diverts attention towards unorganized and unarticulated interests that otherwise may be ignored in both development and evaluation of policy.

Public interest means the wellbeing of the general public. It is a term used to denote the political movements and organizations that are in the public interest: supporting general public and civil causes, in opposition to private and corporate ones (particularistic goals). The public interest can mean what is considered beneficial to the public: something in which the public interest is central to, policy debates, politics, democracy and nature of government. Shafritz et al (2007: 10) state that public interest is generally taken to mean a commonly accepted good, the phrase is used to both further policies that are indeed for the common good and to obscure policies that may not be commonly accepted as good. It is therefore, the universal label in which political actors wrap the policies and programmes they advocate. The nature of policy making in the electricity sub-sector determines the outcome of such policies. To achieve the desired outcomes, good governance and public interest considerations play vital roles. Good governance in the context of the study means government living up to the responsibility of initiating and implementing positive electric power policies in Nigeria and South Africa. It involves using the instruments of public administration to achieve the desired electrification goals. According to Wiafe (2010: 3) good governance, in the electricity sub-sector involves government using public administration agencies to play key roles in all aspects of service delivery, ranging from being owner of the utilities, being regulator of the industry, and acting as representatives of people to whom the service is being delivered. It is imperative for policy makers and administrators in the electricity power sub-sector to observe the elements of good governance and act in accordance. Moreover, the central task of government is to promote public interest. Public interest in the context of the study means achieving the electricity power interests of the general public (household, industries, agricultural, service sectors etc). Electricity power is provided for the well being of the general public. It is therefore, the public interest

dimension that justifies electricity as a public need and by implication a public good. Policy reactions aimed at achieving electrification objectives, when guided by good governance, emanate from the needs and demands of the people as against particularistic or primordial interests.

In Nigeria, the electricity policy deficiency according to Agba (2011: 45) is partly caused by the inability of the government to provide good governance, ie the failure of leadership to honestly address the problems facing the electricity sub-sector. Salawu (2010: 332) writes that Nigeria needs a programme of development that will be able to generate widespread improvements in electricity and other essential services. Interestingly, these are socio-economic amenities and infrastructure which are majorly distributed by government at all levels. However, in the distribution of these amenities, the Nigerian politics, and the policy process as noted by Salawu (2010: 332) has presented the image of struggle among the various ethnic groups due to intense ethnicism for the equitable division of these socio-economic amenities that are distributed by the government. In the context of the study, ethnic sentiments contribute in derailing factors of good governance and public interest in the electricity and other infrastructural sub-sectors in Nigeria. Policy considerations in the electricity sub-sector most often exclude the 'public interest'. Salawu (2010: 332) further writes that this affects the development of amenities. Amenities that can improve the wellbeing of people and which make a difference in the standard of living of people are denied people because they do not belong to the main stream of the society. The failure or success of government is measured by its ability to implement the public interest. Against this background, Popoola (2011:211) writes that bureaucratic institutions of the state administration in Nigeria have become very centralized, with the citizens largely relegated and irrelevant in decision-making on service delivery (electricity and other public goods) matters that affect them. Adebayo (2010: 214) suggests that the struggle for control of government at the centre, the demand for the control of resources, (oil in the south - south) inter - ethnic/religious conflicts in various states across the country, perceived socio-economic imbalance etc are the historical structures that generate mutual fear and suspicious among Nigerian groups in a competitive process. They reflect dissatisfaction of the Nigeria groups with the state of the federation, and this affects the provision of economic infrastructure, such as electric power.

In the context of the study, ethno-religious issues and primordial interests are issues that supplant good governance and public interest considerations in electrification in Nigeria.

- i. These issues pose a serious threat to the stability of government, public policy- making and implementation institutions and generate tension and fluid dynamics in the socio-political and economic environment of electrification, thereby, affecting the proper identification of electricity as a ‘public good’, the placing of electrification on the public policy agenda and the proper execution of electricity policies and programmes in the interest of all.
- ii. It creates distractions in government and affects agenda-setting on electrification. It also affects the real problem-structuring and problem definition approach (Cloete & Meyer 2006: 107).
- iii. These issues also cause disarticulation and disaggregation of public interest in respect of electrification. Anderson (2006:139) writes that public interest directs attention beyond the more immediate, towards broader, more universal interests.
- iv. These issues also impact negatively on the institution of public administration in implementing the ‘public interest’ in respect of the provision of public goods like electric power. Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (2008: 199) note that public administration is affected by environmental phenomena that are both internal and external.

In contrast, (Eberhard 2004: 227) writes that the reforms in the electricity power sub-sector in South Africa over the years have taken place within the context of radical transformations of the political, economic and social institutions in South Africa. The ANC (African National Congress) won the first democratic elections in 1994 with 63% of the votes and for the first few years, there was a government of National Unity with representatives of the other major parties. The new government in 1994 represented an overwhelming majority of South Africans and its style of governance was to make policy debates and decisions much more visible in sharp contrast to the closed elitist system of apartheid governments that had concentrated economic and social opportunities in the hands of the white minority. Eberhard (2004: 227) writes that the first ANC led government adopted the Reconciliation and Development Programme (RDP) ‘an integrated policy platform that set out a marshal plan-like programme for social and economic advancement, centered on the development of infrastructures for poor communities’.

Eberhard (2004: 227) writes that the RDP promised to redistribute land, promote affirmative action, create employment, provide houses, electricity power and water and attack poverty and deprivation. Prior to the launching into action of the RDP programme, the Energy and Development Research Centre (EDRC) had commenced a national meeting that brought together all stakeholders in the

industry with political parties, trade unions and civic organizations in attendance (Eberhard 2004: 257). From that meeting, emerged the idea of a national conference on electrification and the creation of a negotiating forum involving all stakeholders. After two national conferences involving more than seventy organizations, the National Electrification Forum (NELF) was launched on May, 1993 (Eberhard 2004:237), as well as the impact of the Electricity governance initiative, for promoting good governance to ensure a sustainable energy future in South Africa. (EGI. <http://www.electricitygovernance.wri.org>). It is a unique network of civil society organizations dedicated to promoting transparent, inclusive and accountable decision making in the electricity sub-sector. They facilitate collaboration of civil society, policymakers, regulators and other electricity power sub-sector actors using a common framework to define 'good governance'. In the context of the study, 'good governance' and 'public interest' manifest vital roles in electrification in South Africa. This is evidenced in the following:

- i. The recognition that electricity is a 'public problem' and urgent attention had to be given to providing it to the majority of South Africans (Eberhard 2004: 236).
- ii. The mobilization of relevant public administration institutions and agencies towards the effective and efficient implementation of government policy on electrification.

Good governance and public interest play recognizable roles in electrification. It makes for policy making based on the recognition of the electricity need of the people. Policy making is therefore, based on broad-based interests of the society rather than on some particularistic or primordial interests. The recognition that electricity is a 'public problem' and its provision requires effective policy action to sustain socio-economic development is imperative for the institutions of public administration and government in Nigeria and South Africa.

4. 4. ELECTRICITY POWER POLICIES IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Warwick (2006:29) writes that the policy-making function is regarded as the predominant function in public administration as all government functions and services originate from a policy. Electrification as a policy challenge in Nigeria and South Africa requires appropriate plans, legislations and effective policy processes. In this circumstance, Warwick (2006:29) further writes that policy is more than just a decision, as the policy making- process involves a series of decisions; decisions as to which policy to

formulate, decisions relating to implementation of a policy and decisions relating to analysis of a policy policies. Electrification as a policy challenge in Nigeria and South Africa emanates from the need for the two governments to adopt appropriate and effective policy measures to address the imbalances and inefficiencies that exist in the electricity power sub-sectors of the two countries. Sabatier (2007:1-2) writes that a policy process involves an extremely complex set of elements that interact overtime. They comprise the following:

- i. Multiplicity of actors such as interest groups, governmental agencies, legislatures, etc and these actors (either individually or corporate) have different interests, values, perceptions and policy preferences;
- ii. This process usually has a time span of a decade or more to allow for 'fair evaluation' within the policy cycle;
- iii. Within a policy domain, there are normally dozens of different programmes involving multiple levels of governments, that are operating or being proposed to function;
- iv. Policy debates from different quarters about the policy involved, these debates of technical character is essential in understanding its causes, and the possible policy impacts.
- v. The high and varied interests and the large financial resources involved leads to serious 'politicking' in and around the policy process.

Government efforts to address electrification challenges in Nigeria and South Africa are in response to the overall nature of electricity as a 'public problem' and a 'public good'. Electricity plays a supportive role in the socio-economic development of the two countries. As a public good, possessing essential service characteristics, electricity is a corollary to enhanced and sustained productivity in the industrial, agricultural, service sectors, etc, and is indispensable as a means of enhancing living standards in households. Also due to the nature of electricity as a public good, government takes responsibility for its production through various electricity power generation, transmission and distribution policies. As earlier, stated, governments in Nigeria and South Africa intend to address the imbalance and inefficiencies in the electricity power sub-sectors through the policy process. The imbalance and inefficiencies and the intentions to achieve optimal electrification respectively, in Nigeria and South Africa, as contained in the policy documents (it is government intention to, provide cheap and quality electricity to the people in Nigeria and South Africa, and to achieve access by all) constitutes policy

problems which the two governments intend to solve through the electrification public policy processes.

Policy problems help in determining the dimensions and intensity of policy challenges. Anderson (2006: 82) defines a policy problem as a condition or situation that produces needs or dissatisfaction among people and for which relief is sought. Public problems are those affecting a substantial number of people and having broad effects, including consequences for persons not directly involved. Anderson (2006: 83) further writes that for a condition to be converted into a problem, there must be accepted standards or criteria by which the troubling situation is adjudged to be appropriate for government to handle, and that conditions do not become public problems unless they are defined as such, articulated and then brought to the attention of government.

Cloete & Meyer (2006: 107) write that problem definition is the way in which the policy problem has been structured (e.g as a need, opportunity, challenge or threat). The problem structuring approach will have significant influence on the contents and processes of policy programmes designed to solve the problem. Cloete & Meyer (2006: 107) further write that the problem definition will determine the feasibility, manageability and sustainability of the policy design and the implementation strategies devised to deal with it. Besides, effective structuring of the issue or problem necessitates a clear underlying value and policy goal definition, and the scope of the policy intervention and the strategies that will be used to address the issue or problem must establish clear-cut causal linkages between the policy problem and its intended solutions (appropriate policy remedies). Meeting the electricity challenges in Nigeria and South Africa depends on the identification of electrification as a policy challenge, which basically, deals with its actual definition as a public problem and its proper placing in the policy process' and the mobilization of resources for it.

4.4.1 Electricity Power Policy in Nigeria

As has been discussed in chapter one, the independence status Nigeria achieved since 1960 has not had the expected positive impact on electrification in Nigeria. Policy efforts of successive past governments, both civilian and military have failed to achieve the much desired policy outcome. The current installed capacity of grid electricity is about 6000 MV, of which about 67% is thermal and the remaining 23% is hydrobased. Generating plant availability is very low and the demand supply gap is rising tremendously due to an increase in the population, rural urban migration, and an increase in

economic activities in both the urban and rural areas. Poor electricity power services have forced most industrial customers to install their own power generators and most Nigerians households now depend on private generators for household electricity at a cost to themselves and the Nigerian economy. Access to electricity in Nigeria is very low. Even when it is installed, the service efficiency is low (Electricity policy guidelines 2006:19). About 65% of the populations of over 160 million people is not served with electricity and the per capita consumption of electricity power is approximately 100kwh. The chronic shortages of available generating, transmitting and distributing capacity has negatively affected households, the industrial, manufacturing, agricultural and service sectors. It also affects the development and productivity of small scale business units thereby, affecting the self-employment generating efforts of the teeming unemployed Nigerian youths.

Despite the importance of electricity for socio-economic development, Nigeria has been unable to generate adequate and reliable electricity to meet the demand of the growing population. It was earlier stated that the period 1960-1999 witnessed little or no policy development in the electricity sub-sector. The period was characterized by incessant military incursions into politics, and general political instability. This made it impossible to conceive positive policies in the electricity sub-sector. The successive military governments in Nigeria failed to identify and properly define electricity as a 'public problem' that should be appropriately placed on the public policy agenda for effective policy-making.

Electricity power development appeared as a policy issue following the advent of civilian administration in 1999. The 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria places electricity generation, transmission and distribution on the concurrent legislative list (Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006:9). This allows all tiers of government to be involved in policy-making in the electricity power sub-sector. According to Okafor, (2008: 85-86), the government, recognising that the power problem was scuttling socio-economic activities in the country, launched some expansionist policies in the electricity sub-sector. In the generating area, the capacity was increased from 1824 MW (from 19 generating units) in March 2000, to about 1824 MV (from 40 generating units) and a new peak generation of 2934MW was recorded in the process. In the area of transmission, efforts were made to extend and reinforce the transmission grid through the construction of 14 transmission lines and associated sub-stations and the reinforcement of 26 substations. Also, the distribution network was expanded through the installation of one hundred and thirty six 15MVA33/11KV power transformers and associated equipment nationwide, and another 7.5 MVA 33/11 KV power transformer and

associated equipments nationwide. However, these initial efforts at the inception of the civilian administration in 1999 were unsustainable due to the poor policy framework, and other debilitating factors such as inefficiency of personnel, vandalization of equipment, corruption, ageing equipment etc. Another dimension of challenge in the electricity sub-sector is the urban-centered electricity policy. Ajayi & Kolawole (2009:412) note that the present urban-centered policy development in the electricity sub-sector is deplorable as cases of rural and sub-rural electricity demand and supply do not reach the centre stage of the country's energy development policy. The main attention has been on the cities and various places of industrialization, 'thereby creating an energy imbalance within the country's socio-economic and political landscape'.

Against this background, the Nigerian government in a bid to find a lasting solution to the electricity problem has come up with policy reforms. The reforms, according to Oseni (2011:4766), include: privatization, liberalization and fundamental transformations in the electricity sub-sector. The core aspects of the reforms in the electricity sub-sector are: the unbundling of the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), the creation of an Independent Regulatory Commission, and the encouragement of competition in the generation, transmission and distribution of electricity. The call for a policy overhaul and power sector reform in Nigeria is due to the below -average performance of the power utility company (NEPA) that has affected significantly, socio-economic development in the country. According to Okoro & Chikuni (2007:53) the federal government in 2000 adopted a holistic approach of restructuring the power sector and privatizing the business units unbundled from NEPA. By this development, NEPA was unbundled into seven generation companies, one transmission company, and eleven distribution companies. Furthermore, this arrangement is expected to encourage private sector investment in the generation and distribution segments. Okoro & Chikuni (2007:53) further write that the reform bill which was approved by the federal executive council is intended to achieve five objectives:

- Unbundle NEPA;
- Privatise the unbundled entities;
- Establish a regulatory agency;
- Establish a rural electrification agency, and
- Establish a power consumer assistance fund.

In line with these developments, the government came up with the ‘National Electric Power Policy 2001’. The Electric Power Policy statement ‘is to ensure that Nigeria has an Electric power supply industry (ESI) that can meet the needs of its citizens in the 21st century’(National Electric Power Policy 2001:223). The electric power sub-sector is to be built on technical and commercially efficient stand which is critical for achieving Nigeria’s growth and development goals which are basically:

- i. To meet all current and prospective economically, justifiable demands for electricity throughout Nigeria;
- ii. To modernize and expand its coverage; and
- iii. To support national economic and social development including relations with neighbouring countries.

The policy objectives, according to the (National Electric Power Policy 2001:225-227) are divided into the short-to-medium term (3-5years) and the long term (to commence beyond 5years). The short-to-medium term objectives are:

- i. to ensure a system of generation, transmission, distribution and marketing that is efficient, safe, affordable and cost-effective throughout the country;
- ii. to ensure that the power sector attracts private investment both from Nigeria and from overseas;
- iii. to develop a transparent and effective regulatory framework for the power sector;
- iv. to develop and enhance indigenous capacity in electric power sector technology;
- v. to participate effectively in international power sector activities in order to promote electric power development in Nigeria, meet the country’s international obligations and drive maximum benefit from international cooperation in these areas;
- vi. to ensure that the government divests its interest in the-state owned entities and entrenches the key principles of restructuring and privatization in the electric power sector;
- vii. to promote competition to meet growing demand through the full liberalization of the electricity market;
- viii. to review and update electricity laws in conformity with the need to introduce private sector operation and completion into the sector.

The short-run objectives are palliative, and are intended to bring the electricity sub-sector into a pedestral of development. These objectives are preparatory to the main and long-run objectives that are

intended for sustained development in the electricity power sub-sector, and its full integration into the long-run socio-economic agenda of the country.

The Long-term objectives according to the (National Electric Power Policy 2001:226-227), includes:

- i. to provide a new regulatory environment that is sufficiently flexible to take into account new technological developments and the international trends in the power sector;
- ii. to ensure that electricity supply is made more reliable, economically efficient and equitable so as to effectively support the socio-economic development of the country;
- iii. to provide universal access to electricity, although not necessarily through the grid;
- iv. to encourage domestic production of electrical equipment in Nigeria, and the development of related software and services;
- v. to establish and meet aggressive targets for the rural electrification programme;
- vi. to protect the integrity, and ensure the security, of the state and its citizens;
- vii. to encourage Nigerian electric power sector operating companies to become global leaders in the industry;
- viii. to ensure minimum adverse environmental impact;
- ix. to create the enabling environment, including the provision of incentives, that will attract investors and resources to achieve the objectives earlier stated;
- x. to ensure the leadership role of Nigeria in the development of the proposed West African Power Pool;
- xi. to minimize government guarantees for privately funded investment; and
- xii. to ensure that subsidies are efficiently targeted.

The objectives outlined in the 'National Electric Power Policy 2001' are realizable in the short and long terms. The wide range of objectives are socio-economic, and serves the purpose of enhancing efficiency of the electric power sector, thereby, making electric power available for the socio-economic development of the country; technical, for the purpose of strengthening the generating, transmitting and the distributing capacities; and the political issues of creating and ensuring a level playing field for all stakeholders in the emerging new electric power sub-sector.

The 'National Energy Policy 2003' provides a comprehensive plan for the general energy sub-sector of Nigeria. In the area of electrification, the (National Energy Policy 2003:36) justifies the on-going restructuring in the electric power sub-sector through the following policies:

- i. the nation shall provide constant and reliable electric power supply at all times, and at affordable rates for industries and socio-economic activities of the country;
- ii. the nation shall continue to engage intensively in the development of the electric power sector with a view to making reliable electricity availability to 75% of the population by the year 2020; and
- iii. the nation shall promote private sector participation in the electric power sub-sector, while ensuring broad based participation by Nigerians.

The broad policy outline complements the 'National Electric Policy 2001' and also provides the policy base for the reforms in the electricity power sub-sector. According to the (National Energy Policy 2003:36) the objectives of the policy include:

- i. to provide electricity to all state capitals, local government headquarters and major towns by the year 2020;
- ii. to stimulate industrialisation in the rural areas in order to minimize rural-urban migration;
- iii. to provide reliable and stable power supply to consumers, especially to industries;
- iv. to ensure the removal of bottlenecks militating against the utilization of the full capacity of the existing electric power plants;
- v. to broaden the energy options for generating electricity;
- vi. to attract adequate investment capital, both foreign and domestic, for the development of the electricity industry; and
- vii. to maximize access by Nigerians to the investment opportunities in the electricity industry.

The federal government of Nigeria, according to the (National Energy Policy 2003:37) has designed the following strategies for achieving the outlined policy goals:

- i. Rehabilitating existing power plants in order to derive optimum power from the installed capacity;
- ii. Completing on-going projects designed to enable the national power utility company (NEPA) satisfy the national demand;

- iii. Reinforcing the transmission and distribution networks necessary to allow consumers to enjoy steady and reliable supply of electricity;
- iv. Establishing basic engineering infrastructure for the local manufacturer of electrical equipments, devices and materials;
- v. Ensuring research and development in the generation, transmission and distribution of electricity; reducing high import duties paid on generation, transmission and distribution materials;
- vi. Setting up a National Electricity Supply Training Institute and zonal centres for training of middle and lower level manpower;
- vii. Ensuring the participation and involvement of indigenuous professionals and research groups in the execution of ongoing and future projects;
- viii. Developing and implementing a programme for the participation of the private sector in the various sectors of the electricity industry;
- ix. Developing other potential sites for hydropower, gases and coal-fired power plants for electricity generation;
- x. Intensifying the national effort in training, research and development with a view to generating electricity using nuclear, solar, wind and other renewable sources in order to conserve fuel fossils;
- xi. Taking effective measures to ensure the security of electrical installations;
- xii. Providing appropriate incentives to entrepreneurs to ensure adequate returns on investment;
- xiii. Providing appropriate financing facilities to support indigenus investment in the electricity industry;
- xiv. Encouraging off-grid generating generation and supply of power in remote or isolated areas;
- xv. Establishing a rural electrification fund to facilitate electrification in the rural areas;
- xvi. Establishing a reduced tariff regime for very low income and especially handicapped electricity consumers and a mechanism for funding the subsidy.

The policies and the policy objectives in the electric power sub-sector as provided in the ‘National Energy Policy 2003’ comes in the wake of increasing demands for electricity in Nigeria. This is highly induced by the need to achieve a level of efficiency in the power sub-sector, attract funds internally and externally, increase the generation, transmission and distribution capacities, widen access, encourage competition and minimize losses.

Besides, the Nigerian government in acknowledgement of the fact that the much sought after increased access to electricity power cannot be achieved from conventional sources and grid extensions alone came up with the ‘Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006’. According to the (Renewable Policy Guidelines 2006:5) the federal government ‘will seek to meet electricity access targets through the following strategies:

- Grid-based extension for proximate areas;
- Independent mini-grids for remote areas with concentrated loads where grid services is not economic or will take many years to come; and
- Standalone renewable electricity systems for remote areas with scattered small loads.

Against this background, the policy objectives according to the Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines (2006:13) of the Nigerian government include:

- i. Expand the electricity generating capacity to meet economic and social development goals;
- ii. Encourage the diversification of sources of electricity supply through renewable energy, and as such improve the energy security of the country;
- iii. Increase access to electricity services nationwide, especially in rural areas;
- iv. Stimulate growth in employment generation through an expanded renewable electricity industry;
- v. Enhance technological development through increased domestic manufacturing of renewable electricity components;
- vi. Stimulate competition in the delivery of renewable electricity;
- vii. Promote rapid expansion of renewable-based electricity market through cost-reducing supply side and demand side incentives;
- viii. Develop regulatory procedures that are sensitive to the peculiarities of renewable energy based power supply;
- ix. Create stable and predictable investment climate in renewable electricity market;
- x. Provide effective protection of electricity consumers through effective regulation; and
- xi. Reduce household and outdoor air pollution as well as contribute to the abatement of greenhouse gas emissions, and thus contribute to improved health and overall social development.

The Nigerian government acknowledges that renewable electricity plays a significant role in the strategy of widening electricity power access by the people. Investment and proper development in the renewable sources is expected to enhance power generation sources, facilitate rural electrification, and induce socio-economic development through employment generation and social upliftment.

In the context of the study, effective policy development in the electric power sub-sector is imperative to address electrification backlogs caused by the insensitivity of the previous governments, both elected and unelected. Effective policy-making in the sub-sector is a corollary to achieving the electrification goals of 'increased access to quality and cheaper electricity by the people'. To achieve this, the Nigerian government is expected to:

- i. Provide overall direction for policy development in the electricity power sub-sector;
- ii. Ensure the integration of the electricity power policy of the country with the overall development agenda; and
- iii. Enact promptly the necessary laws, regulations and other measures required to sustain electricity power policy.

4.4.2 Electricity Power Policy in South Africa

In South Africa, under the apartheid government which prevailed until 1994, development progressed along racial lines, and this pattern pervaded the electric power sub-sector (Ogundele & Mwakasonda 2004:11). The policy then was to provide electricity services to industrial installations, mining, white farms, minority households and some coloured settlements and few black settlements to the exclusion of the majority of the population. Bekker et al (2000: 3125) write that the electricity policy was partly the general apartheid policy of racial differentiation in infrastructure provision in South Africa. The majority of South Africans, especially the blacks were denied access to quality electricity. According to Davidson & Mwakasonda (2004:32), only 36% of the South Africa population had access to grid electricity in 1993. The situation created a lop-sided development in the electricity sub-sector in South Africa, thereby, affecting the socio-economic development of the country.

Anderson (2008: 87) writes that 'to achieve agenda status, a public problem must be converted into an issue or a matter requiring government attention. An issue then, arises when a public with a problem seeks or demands governmental action and there is public disagreement over the best solution to the problem. Cloete & Meyer (2006: 111-112) also note that policy is about power and that policy-making

is equally about structuring the agenda of social and political life. The forces in society that accumulates power determine the direction of the policy agenda. Ideologies also influence whether issues appear on the political agenda or not, and public policies develop out of a given socio-political context.

In South Africa, as was earlier pointed out, the reforms in the electricity power sub-sector over the years have taken place within a context of radical transformations of the political, economic and social institutions in the country (Eberhard 2004: 227). The first ANC led government adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), an integrated policy platform that set out a marshal plan-like programme for social and economic advancement, centered on the development of infrastructure for poor communities. This resulted in the identification of electrification as a ‘public problem’ and its proper placing in the public policy agenda of the ANC government for effective policy-making. The outcome of this, is the ‘Integrated National Electrification Programme’ designed to address the backlog created by the erstwhile apartheid government, through the provision of electricity to the poor in both the urban and rural areas, rural schools, clinics, etc.

Above-all, the electricity sub-sector inherited from the apartheid government is in many ways typical of present day South African economic infrastructure. It has highly sophisticated production and distribution capacities, developed under circumstances of economic isolation to meet the needs of the industrial sector and a privileged white minority. The energy needs of the majority, the possibilities of regional integration, and the challenges of global competition, have only recently to be addressed (White Paper on Energy policy 1998: 40). The ANC government is therefore, challenged to address the imbalance created by the apartheid policy of ‘separateness’ in electricity development. The ANC government not only identifies electricity as a ‘public issue’ but also a means of achieving social upliftment and poverty alleviation. According to the White paper on Energy Policy (1998: 41-42) government has identified the following list of primary challenges that will have to be addressed through the normal electrification policy process:

- i. Approximately 40% of all homes in South Africa, and tens of thousands of schools and clinics, are without ready access to an electricity ;
- ii. The distribution sector of the industry is highly fragmented with more than 400 distributors, resulting in low efficiency, high costs, wide disparities in tariffs etc;

- iii. The electricity distribution industry continues to experience a high level of nonpayment and electricity theft, resulting in increasing arrears and payment defaults;
- iv. Apart from a few notable exceptions, the electrification programmes of most municipal distributors are limited by difficulties in accessing affordable finance;
- v. Municipal electricity departments are expected to make a contribution towards the funding of other municipal services, particularly in the major urban areas, but are also faced with the burdens of non-payment and the need for significant expenditure on electrification;
- vi. Coal-based electricity generation results in significant polluting emissions, with potential long term effects on the environment;
- vii. In some cases, electricity is used inefficiently, perhaps because of a consumer perception that electricity is cheap, thus wasting scarce energy and capital resources;
- viii. Although growth in electricity demand is only projected to exceed generation capacity by approximately the year 2007, long capacity expansion lead times require strategies to be in place in the mid-term in order to meet the needs of the growing economy; and
- ix. Whilst a number of the challenges presented above could place inflationary pressure on prices, South Africa has to maintain the competitive advantage of low, stable and cost-reflective electricity prices.

The White Paper on Energy Policy (1998:42) which is a follow up to the 'Reconstruction and Development Programme' provisions in the context of national electrification in South Africa advises that the electricity supply sub-sector objectives must:

- i. Improve social equity by specifically addressing the energy requirements of the poor;
- ii. Enhance efficiency and competition in the economy by providing cheap and high quality energy inputs to all sectors;
- iii. Achieve environmental sustainability in both short and long term usage of natural resources; and
- iv. Governments to consider overtime various developments such as allowing customers the right to choose suppliers, introducing competition in the industry, especially, the generation sector, permitting non-discriminatory access to the transmission system and encouraging private participation in the industry.

The policy provisions and objectives in the electricity sub-sector at the inception of a democratic and popular government in South Africa is driven by social equity, economic efficiency, and environmental sustainability.

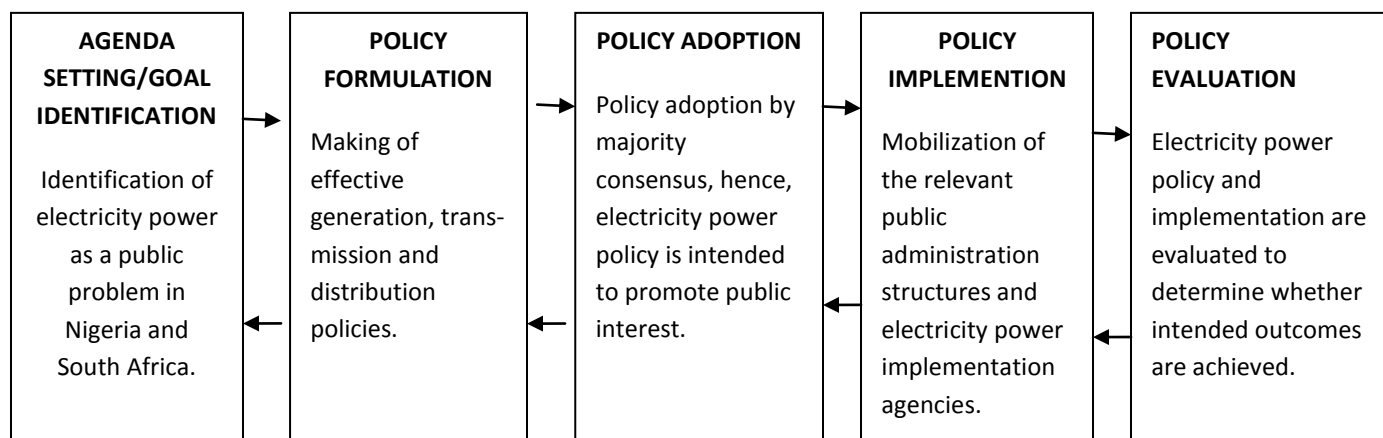
The 'Electricity Basic Services Support Tariff 2003' was developed to address affordability issues in the electrified households. According to the (EBSST Policy 2003:6) 'the provision of free basic services is primarily, a social welfare function, and is the responsibility of the government. Furthermore,, government intention, to introduce 'free basic electricity services' is according to the EBSST (2003:8) , to 'alleviate the negative impacts of poverty on communities'. The programme is also to be funded through the nationally collected revenue, and by means of cross-subsidy from high electricity consumers. Policy-making in the electricity sub-sector in South Africa in the post apartheid era is radical and characterized by a fundamental change in focus. This is due to the strict acknowledgement by the government that electricity constitutes a serious policy issue and a policy challenge driven by the need to achieve poverty alleviation and social upliftment, economic efficiency, environmental sustainability.

The public policy process is a continuous one. Hanekom (1987:45) writes that 'the policy-making process is a dynamic process involving various participants and implying continuous interaction from the legislature and from the executive public institutions. In the context of the study, electrification as a policy challenge in Nigeria and South Africa is structured into the normal public policy-making process and phases. According to Dunn (1994: 15) these phases represent ongoing activities that occur through time and are interdependent. They include:

- i. Agenda setting/Goal identification. Elected and appointed officials place problems on the public agenda. Policy agenda setting, according to Cloete & Meyer (2006: 103) refers to a deliberate planning process through which policy issues are identified, problems defined and prioritized, support mobilized and decision makers lobbied to take appropriate actions. Gerston (2010:48) writes that 'public agenda changes with slightly public priorities and values. In Nigeria, policy development in the electricity sub-sector emanates from the need to address electrification issues, since; the poor performance of the sub-sector undermines socio-economic development. In South Africa, the proper identification and definition of electrification as a policy problem emanates from the public resentment of the previous arrangement that separated the majority black population from the infrastructural development of the country.

- ii. Policy formulation. Officials formulate alternative policies to deal with a problem.
- iii. Policy adoption. A policy alternative is adopted with the support of a legislative majority, consensus among agency directors, or a court decision.
- iv. Policy implementation. An adopted policy is carried out by administrative units which mobilize financial and human resources to comply with the policy. Hanekom (1986:29) writes that the execution of an adopted policy is done by the executive institutions (government departments, public corporations etc) within the parameters laid down in legislation.
- v. Policy assessment/evaluation: Auditing and accounting units in government determine whether executive agencies, legislature and courts comply with the statutory requirements of a policy and achieve its impacts/outcomes. An evaluation or analysis of the results of policy is necessary to determine the appropriateness of policy adopted, of the executive measures taken and whether adaptation is necessary or not (Hanekom 1986: 29).

Figure 4.1 Contextual representation of Electric Power Policy- making process in Nigeria and South Africa.



Adapted from (Dunn 1994:15), Public Policy Analysis. An Introduction

Electrification as a policy challenge in Nigeria and South Africa, is also induced by external concerns, as indicated earlier. The external concern recognizes the challenges imposed by international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank etc on national governments to formulate

and implement effective electrification policies. This is in recognition of the fact that reliable and affordable electricity plays a vital role in supporting socio-economic development. Access to suitable, affordable reliable electricity is vital to addressing many of today's global development challenges, including poverty alleviation, gender inequality, climate change, food security, health and education (Bazilian & Nussbaumer 2010:1). Although, electricity power and other energy services are not an explicit part of the Millennium Development Goals, their provision is recognized as a critical foundation for sustainable development ((Bazilian & Nussbaumer 2010:1). Access to cheap and quality electricity and other energy services enables the poorest of the poor to escape poverty (AGECC 2010:2). In April, 2010, the UN Secretary Generals' Advisory Group on Energy and Climatic Change in its recommendations challenged national governments on the adoption of a target to achieve universal access to modern energy services by 2030 (AGECC 2010:9). In the context of the study, policy development in the electricity sub-sectors of Nigeria and South Africa are driven by these concerns. Bazilian & Nussbaumer (2010: 1) write that local communities must be deeply involved in the planning, execution and end use of electricity and other energy services (public interest consultation) and that access interventions for electricity and other energy must be guided by an awareness of local communities, unique situations and needs. This is in consonance with Dror's (2003:xvii) view that 'a lot of grassroots initiative and localization can and often should be accommodated and encouraged by high quality policy- making, this is because of values and utilitarian reasons, including beneficial efforts by central policy-making itself, such as alternative innovation, overload reduction, and support. In the context of the study, grassroot participation is vital for effective policy development in the electricity sub-sectors of Nigeria and South Africa.

The policy process of electrification is a dynamic and continuous one. Electrification as a policy challenge in Nigeria and South Africa arises from its nature as a public policy problem/issue that is tackled through the public policy-making process. The proper identification of electricity generation, transmission and distribution problems, the role of public interest and grassroot initiatives becomes imperative. Nigeria and South Africa are, under policy-challenges, induced by both internal and external factors to effectively formulate, implement and continuously evaluate electrification policies. The next section discusses electrification as a function of public administration.

4.5 ELECTRIFICATION AS A FUNCTION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

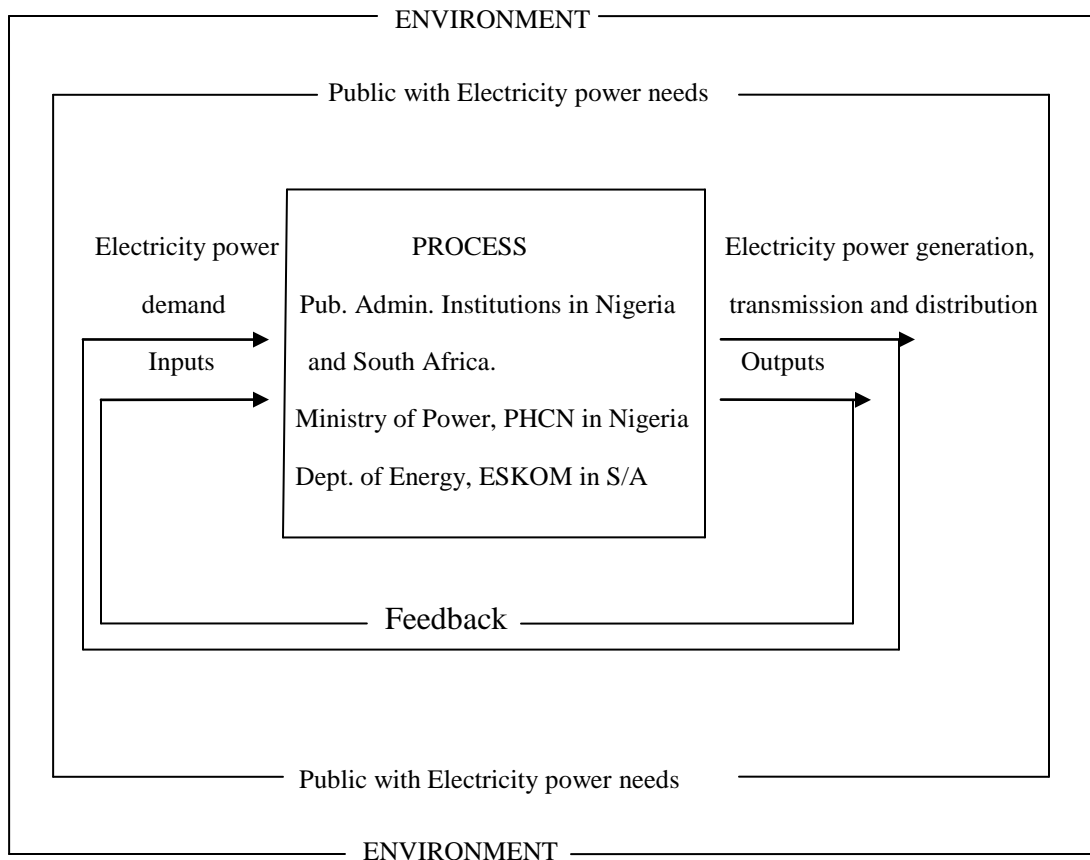
Public administration suffers from a surfeit of meanings. In the context of discussing electrification as a function of public administration (the role of public administration in electricity generation, transmission and distribution), the views of Schwella (1991:2) serve as a useful guide. Public administration 'is that system of structures and processes, operating within a particular society as environment, with the objective of facilitating the formulation of appropriate governmental policy, and the efficient execution of the formulated policy'. In the context of the study, to explore the functions of public administration in electrification, in Nigeria and South Africa, public administration is viewed as a system (Fox & Meyer 1995:3) and an activity (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1999:8).

4.5.1 Public Administration as a system.

Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (1999:42) views administration as a system resulting in products and services. Administration takes place in both 'institution' and 'organisation' and that the main purpose of a government institution or organization is to improve the general welfare of the society. Every institution and organization is a system in its own right and their inputs result in products and services. Shafritz, et al (2007:248) write that a systems theory views an organization as a complex set of dynamically inter-twined and interconnected elements, including inputs, processes, outputs, feedback loops, and the environment in which it continuously interacts. Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (1999:42) further state that 'a system is a cohesive whole consisting of various interactive phenomena and, because of this interaction, certain results are produced; these results are the advantages or disadvantages for society'.

Government institutions and organizations exist to provide services to the needy public and electricity is one of the public needs in Nigeria and South Africa. Due to the nature of electricity as a 'public need' and a 'public good', its provision (within the limits imposed by resources), historical and institutional factors also make it a policy problem in Nigeria and South Africa. In lieu of this, electricity generation, transmission and distribution falls within the service (essential) domain of designated government institutions, thereby, positioning electrification as a function of public administration in Nigeria and South Africa, respectively.

Figure 4.2 Administration as a System.



Adapted from Du Toit & Van Der Waldd (1994:43) and Norbert Wiener's model of organization as an adaptive system as cited in Shafritz et al, (2007: 249).

In the context of the study, the diagram above shows that:

- i. Public administration is a system in Nigeria and South Africa;
- ii. Public administration takes place within an electrification environment (political, economic, geographical, institutional, cultural, historical, etc) in Nigeria and South Africa, respectively;
- iii. The environment creates electricity power needs in people (the public);
- iv. Public administration is induced into action by the environment and the electricity needs, it creates in the public;
- v. People make inputs into administration in the form of electricity service as demands;

- vi. Public administration converts the inputs from the environment into outputs (this explains comparatively, the functions/responsibilities of electricity institutions/organizations in Nigeria and South Africa);
- vii. The electricity institutions/organizations function to provide electricity generation, transmission and distribution to the two , publics;
- viii. The output to the environment (electricity services) is the outcome of public administration activities/functions;
- ix. The outputs (electricity services) are received, used and, in time, processed by the environment and, depending on prevailing circumstances, in Nigeria and South Africa, are fed back into the administrative system (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1999:44).

4.5.2 Public Administration as an Activity

Government institutions exist to provide certain products and services (public goods) to members of the society. This is because individuals cannot meet their own needs in specific situations (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1999:8). The government institutions are thus, established to promote the general welfare of members of the society by implementing national policies in respect of public issues. Public administration as an activity therefore, refers to the work done by officials within the total spectrum of government institutions to enable different government institutions to achieve their objectives (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1999: 9-10).

In the context of the study, the activity nature of public administration derives from the administrative processes involved in electricity generation, transmission and distribution. These processes refer to the generic processes of public administration as they, comparatively, concern electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.

- i. Policy making: Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (1999:14) write that this is the umbrella process in terms of which a series of functions are carried out to decide on a plan of action to achieve objectives. These functions include; problem identification, investigation, information gathering and decision making. Cloete (1994:96) comments that when the policy of the government and the political implementation policy have been made known, the next level is administrative executive policy which is primarily concerned with the practical steps to give effect to the political implementation policy. Cloete (1994:96) further writes that ‘usually, it is left to the

officials to formulate the administrative executive policy'. Electricity generation, transmission and distribution are very practical and technical issues in Nigeria and South Africa, and require administrative competence and commitment. This enables the proper identification of the necessary elements of policy-making, relevant issues that either hinder or support the electrification processes (environmental, historical, institutional, cultural, etc), investigation of cause and effect relationships and the collation of relevant data. Cloete (1994:97) also writes that at this operational level, policy guidelines are developed and these policy directives are confined to specific areas. In this context, such decisions relate to 'routine activities' in electricity generation, transmission and distribution.

ii. Organising: Shafritz, et al (2007:240) define organizing 'as the establishment of the formal structure of authority through which work sub-divisions are arranged, defined, and coordinated for the defined objective'. Cloete (1994:124) writes that organizing consists of classifying and grouping functions as well as allocating the groups of functions to institutions and workers in an orderly pattern so that everything the workers do will be aimed at achieving predetermined objectives. In the context of the study, organizing is vital in achieving the goals of electrification. Organising, as part of the generic process of public administration in respect of electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, is vital. It involves establishing relevant structures and assigning functions to them in a bid to achieve the institutional/organizational objectives of electrification. It also involves sub-dividing functions into relevant units. Cloete (1994:125) writes that organizing involves much more than arranging individuals and groups in a specific order to achieve positive action in realizing a particular objective; it also requires the mutual relations of workers, which relies on proper co-ordination and delegation of responsibilities. Gildenhuis (2004:198) identifies the following organizing principles:

- The provision of 'joint management' by management teams at all levels of the organizational hierarchy: This involves democratic decision taking at all levels of the organization.
- The hierarchical structure of the organization must provide for the optimum span of control. When the span of control is very wide, it results in a loss of control by the chief executive, and when it is narrowed, the control line becomes choking on the supervisors at the lower level.

- The organizational structure must provide for both formal and informal horizontal and vertical communication lines. This is necessary for coordination and free flow of information at the down-ward and up-ward levels of the organization.
- The organizational structure must provide for clear definitions of goals, objectives, targets and functions and service activities.
- Each position in the hierarchical structure requires proper job specifications and job analysis. This is necessary for determining the qualifications, skills, knowledge and experience of personnel in executing specific functions.

The electricity sub-sector comprises many departments and units and sub-units. Efficient and effective coordination of functions and structures is imperative for proper organizing.

- iii. **Financing:** The availability of finance is the most important requirement for any government institution to operate. Without money, no personnel can be hired, no information or data can be collected, stored and processed, no accommodation can be acquired and no stock and equipment (inventory) can be bought. The availability of money forms not only the basis of all government activities, but determines also, to a great extent, the successful operation of a government institution/organization (Gildenhuis 2004:244). Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (1999:14) state that ‘it is the umbrella process which administers government finances; it entails, among other things, obtaining, allocating, spending, and controlling public finances.

The electricity sub-sector is a capital intensive one. It requires huge financial commitment on the part of government to achieve the electrification goals in Nigeria and South Africa. There is a lot of capital investment in the electricity power generating, transmitting and distributing facilities, and this involves procurement, installations, maintenance and the hiring of personnel, etc. Consequently, the electrification programmes in the two countries require huge funds. The funds are usually raised through direct government allocations, cross-subsidies, loans and grants from either internal or external sources or both, individual/private sources, etc. Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (1999:15) write that financing in this circumstance, entails estimating the amounts needed to continue activities, spending voted amounts and controlling how the money is spent.

- iv. **Staffing:** Staffing according to (Shafritz et al 2007: 240) is the whole personnel function of bringing in and training the staff and maintaining favourable conditions of work. Du Toit & Van Der Waldt (1995:15) suggest that this activity in an individual department entails recruiting,

selecting, placing and using personnel meaningfully. With regards to staffing or personnel provision, the electricity sub-sector requires for the achievement of objectives, well trained and experienced administrative and technical personnel and the adequate placing of such personnel to achieve administrative and technical efficiency.

v. Procedure: This involves drafting specific instructions to be followed to carry out certain actions, and these instructions are found in legislation and regulations arising from such legislation (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt 1999: 15). Co-operation is needed by hired personnel to achieve stated policy objectives, and to ensure that this is achieved, it is imperative for specific work procedures to be adopted. Cloete (1994: 194-195) argues for a 'rationalization' of work procedures for the following reasons.

- To prevent a multiplicity of work procedures since different individuals may have different ways of doing a particular task;
- To ensure that officials respond directly to set objectives to avoid differences in opinion on what to do;
- To ensure that clear work assignments are given to individuals or officials in-charge of different units or sections;
- To bring about quality performance and allow for the exercise of control to enable quality supply of products and services;
- To explain the policy and objectives to workers for them to understand the interrelationship between their work and that of their colleagues in other departments or units;
- To ensure uniform and integrated action in matters where more than one institution (department, branch, division, etc) is involved;
- To make workers aware of new work procedures in an orderly manner, and without proper codified instructions it will be difficult to make new procedures known,
- To provide authoritative literature to ensure that all workers receive appropriate training. This is to ensure that correct views are passed on to subordinates,
- To ensure continuous examination and review and revision of work procedures in an orderly manner,
- To provide authoritative codes/manuals to regional and local and other work places so as to follow uniform work procedures,
- To provide specific instructions on how to exercise delegated powers,

- To provide adequate information to members of the public about how to make the best use of the services and products being provided by the public institutions.

The electricity sub-sector in Nigeria and South Africa requires proper work procedures for the reasons outlined above. The essential nature of electric power in achieving socio-economic development in Nigeria and South Africa requires a lot of administrative and technical competence, and the adoption of formal and proper work procedures.

- vi. Control: Gildenhuys (2004: 211) defines control as the process of monitoring activities to determine whether individual units and the organization itself are obtaining and utilizing their resources efficiently and effectively in order to accomplish their targets and objectives, and, where these are not being achieved, implementing corrective action in time before too much damage is done. Control therefore, involves the assessment or appraisal of both past and current activities of an institution/organization so as to adjust to changing trends and also correct previous errors or omissions. Gildenhuys (2004: 211) also writes that control can be internal, when it involves regular internal supervision by superiors and external when it involves an outside agency, such as government auditors. The purpose of control is not only to ensure that programme objectives and targets are attained, but that they are attained efficiently and effectively. Cloete (1994: 205) writes that the exercise of control in the public sector has the major objective of ensuring that public institutions/organizations are fully accountable to members of the public so that people can assess if their performance is in line with the public interest.

Gildenhuys (2004: 213) identifies the following control process in an institution:

- i. Monitoring and feedback of result: This involves checking the progress of work done. It could be done in an informal or formal way through written reports, as it concerns work progress. Feedback results should be undertaken at intervals to effectively monitor government programmes. In the execution of electrification policies and programmes in Nigeria and South Africa, proper monitoring and feedback of result is imperative to assess the success of such programmes.

- ii. Measuring and comparing performance: This control process ‘measures performance by comparing the result with predetermined operational standards serving as controlling criteria’.

The control criteria are:

Quantity: Fox (1991: 120) writes that the easiest type of control devices is those that assess measurable outputs. For instance, in South Africa, it predisposes one to the number of rural households, schools, clinics, etc that have been electrified between 1994 to date, through the ‘reconstruction and development programme’ of the ANC government. On this ground, one can, for instance, assess the extent of electricity power coverage in the rural South Africa.

Quality: Gildenhuis (2004: 214) writes that quality standards are often difficult to measure in the public sector. However, in the context of the study, one can measure quality standard of electric power in terms of ‘power reliability’. It is one thing to have electrification infrastructure and another for the public to be provided with quality electricity services.

Cost: Organizational inputs and outputs, whether human or physical, can be translated into monetary terms (Fox 1991: 121). In the case of electrification, costs are recorded in terms of procurement of equipment, cost of installations and maintenance of facilities, output generation costs, personnel costs, loss of equipment due to theft and other damage, loss in the process of transmission and distribution etc. Gildenhuis (2004: 214) maintains that programme budgets are frequently used as input cost control instrument, because the budget already contains the calculated inputs costs.

Time: Time is very vital in the discharge of public administration functions. It is a goal standard for measuring efficiency. Electrification programmes of governments in Nigeria in comparison to South Africa have designated completion time frames. For instance, in South Africa, the Integrated National Electrification Programme (electrification programme) launched in 2003, seeks to address the electrification backlog by 2012.

Public Satisfaction: Public satisfaction with outputs in terms of quantity, quality, cost, and time standards is important. Gildenhuis (2004: 213) writes that if public goods and services do not comply with the quantity, quality, cost and time standard, one can be sure that the public will not be satisfied with such sub-standard goods and services. In the context of the study, public satisfaction in relation to electrification involves the provision of quality and cheap electricity power services to the people, and for governments in Nigeria and South Africa, to ensure access by all.

The proper exercise of control as a function of public administration is essential for realizing the electrification objectives of governments in Nigeria and South Africa. Electrification is a public need, and ipso facto, a public issue in Nigeria and South Africa. Its essential service nature places it at the centre of socio-economic development in the two countries. In lieu of this, effective control is required at both the internal and external levels in the electric power providing institutions to ensure that efficient service delivery is achieved and to ensure that public interest is fully protected and promoted.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Public administration serves to manage the affairs of the public in the interest of the public. Public administration developed out of the need for people to seek a collective solution to their collective needs. This is in terms of providing common needs that cannot ordinarily be provided individually. Under this arrangement, people surrender their individual rights to the government that commands the right and resources to provide these common needs as services to the people, and also the need for better distribution of these services.

Electricity has been identified as one of such common needs of the people, that is being provided by the government through the service functions of public administration in both Nigeria and South Africa. Electricity has also been identified as one of the fundamental needs of people in modern society. Electricity plays very supportive roles in socio-economic development. Electricity is significant in every segment of the society-household, industrial, agricultural, service sectors, etc. On another plain, electricity also plays a supportive role in achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. It is therefore, the pervasive relevance of electricity, the nature of electricity as a common need and the need for better distribution of services, which defines electricity as a public good in Nigeria and South Africa. In the context of the study, a public good is a commodity or service provided without profit to all members of the society, either by government, a private individual or an organization; and it is provided for the benefit of the wellbeing of every member of the society. However, to achieve efficiency and balanced distribution, government undertakes the provision of electricity in Nigeria and South Africa.

Public administration thrives on the threshold of good governance. Good governance, in the context of the study, simply means the creation of an effective institutional structure by the governments (Nigeria

and South Africa governments) to ensure the efficient and effective delivery of electricity services to the people in Nigeria and South Africa. Good governance is identified as a need to counter-react the hitherto existing forces of inefficiency and unbalanced delivery of electricity services in Nigeria and South Africa. Jreisat (2004: 1004) likens good governance to the ‘good performance of administration’ and writes that ‘good performance is inescapably related to satisfaction of criteria such as the participation of citizens in decisions affecting them, the capacity to aggregate and co-ordinate various interests in order to bring about consensus on policies and the managing of institutions and regime structures with efficiency, accountability, and transparency’. In the context of the study, good governance in relation to electrification goes *pari-passu* with public interest. Public interest means the commonly accepted good as against parochial or primordial interests. Thus, (Shafritz 2007: 10) writes that ‘public interest is commonly taken to mean public good’.

Electrification as a policy challenge in Nigeria and South Africa is inextricable from the nature of electricity as a public policy issue (public problem). Electrification objectives in Nigeria and South Africa can therefore, be achieved through an efficient transparent and people oriented public policy-making process. Through this means, government and public administration institutions in Nigeria and South Africa would be poised to effectively and efficiently respond to the internal and external induced factors of electrification challenges. In the context of the study, electrification is a vital function of the service nature of public administration. This is made manifest in the nature of public administration ‘as a system’ and ‘an activity’. As a system, public administration takes place within an environment, the environment creates the electricity needs and government through institutions of public administration responds and provides the electrification needs of the people. Besides, as an activity, the generic functions of public administration are employed to achieve efficient and effective realization of the electricity power policy objectives of the governments of Nigeria and South Africa.

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CHAPTER FIVE

STUDY FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with the findings and analysis of the comparative study of the electricity policy in Nigeria from 1960 – 2011 and South Africa from 1994 – 2011. Firstly, it discusses the electric power policy in Nigeria from 1960 – 2011 and South Africa from 1994 – 2011. Secondly, it discusses the findings which include the similarities and differences in the electric power policy of the two countries. Thirdly, it compares the policy issues and their imp in achieving the goals of electrification in the two respective, countries.

In Nigeria, the study discusses the following electricity power policy documents:

- i. National Electric Power Policy 2001.
- ii. National Energy Policy 2003.
- iii. Electricity Power Sector Reform Act 2005.
- iv. Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006.
- v. Roadmap for Power Sector Reform 2010.

In South Africa, the study discusses the following electricity power policy documents:

- i. White Paper on Reconstruction and Development 1994.
- ii. White Paper on the Energy Policy 1998.
- iii. Electricity Basic Services Support Tariff, 2003.
- iv. Electricity Regulation Act 4, 2006.
- v. Electricity Pricing Policy 2008.

The study discusses these documents, and identifies the policy issues and their impacts in achieving the electricity power policy goals in the two respective, countries.

5.2 ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN NIGERIA (1960 – 2011)

It is important to state that electricity power policy issues in Nigeria did not receive much attention in the years before 2000. This is due to political instability and the inability of the erstwhile civilian and military governments to place electrification on the national public agenda. Moreover, few policy decisions on electrification during the period are unavailable at the federal ministry of power. The electricity policy in the present democratic dispensation is therefore, part of the election promises of the ruling party.

National Electric Power policy 2001: The policy acknowledges a massive supply and demand imbalance in the electric power sector with a generation level of about 1, 500 MW and estimated demand of 4, 500 MW (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 222). The estimated percentage of Nigerians who have access to electricity from NEPA (National utility Power company) is only 36% and the estimated demand for power in 2005 and 2010 are put at 9,780 MW and 20, 000 MW respectively (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 222-223). The government also acknowledges that the power sector is very capital intensive and that government with its numerous responsibilities cannot fund the sector's development. The need to reform the sector therefore arises so as to:

- i. attract and encourage private sector participation;
- ii. attract capital to fund the sector; and
- iii. ensure a level playing ground for all investors (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 223).

Policy Objectives.

According to the (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 225) the overwhelming policy objective of the Electric Power Policy statement is to ensure that Nigeria has an ESI (electricity supply industry) that can meet the needs of its citizens in the 21st century. The priority is to create efficient market structures, within clear regulatory frameworks, that encourage more competitive markets for electricity generation, transmission and distribution, which, at the same time, are able to attract private investors and ensure economically sound development into short-to-medium term (3 – 5) and the long-term (to commence beyond 5 years) (National Electric Policy 2001: 225-227).

The short-to-medium term objectives are:

- i. To ensure a system of generation, transmission and distribution and marketing that is efficient, safe, affordable and cost-effective throughout the country.
- ii. To ensure that the power sector attracts private investors both from Nigeria and overseas.
- iii. To develop a transparent and effective regulatory framework for the power sector.
- iv. To develop and enhance indigenous capacity in electric power sector technology.
- v. To participate effectively in international power sector activities in order to promote electric development in Nigeria, meet the country's international obligations and derive maximum benefits from international cooperation in these areas.
- vi. To ensure that the government divests its interests in the state-owned entities and entrenches the key principles of restructuring and privatization in the electric power sector.
- vii. To promote competition to meet growing demand through the full liberalization of the electricity market.
- viii. To renew and update electricity laws in conformity with the need to introduce private sector operation and competition into the sector.

These short-term objectives are intended to be achieved through private sector-led activities in the sub-sector, and are designed to stimulate the realization of the overall policy goal.

The Long-term Objectives are:

- i. To provide a new regulatory environment that is sufficiently flexible to take into account new technological developments and the international trends in the power sector.
- ii. To ensure that electricity supply is made more reliable, economically efficient and equitable so as to effectively support the socio-economic development of the country.
- iii. To provide universal access to electricity, although not necessarily through the grid.
- iv. To encourage domestic production of electrical equipment in Nigeria, and the development of related software and services.
- v. To establish and meet aggressive target for the rural electrification programme.
- vi. To protect the integrity, and ensure the security of the state and its citizens.
- vii. To encourage Nigerian electric power sector operating companies to become global lease in the industry.
- viii. To ensure minimum adverse environmental impacts.

- ix. To create the enabling environment, including the provision of incentives that will attract investors and resources to achieve the objectives earlier stated.
- x. To ensure a leadership role for Nigeria in the development of the proposed West African power pool.
- xi. To maximize government guarantees for privately funded investment, and
- xii. To ensure that subsidies are efficiently targeted.

The short and long term objectives developed out of the immediate need to address the massive demand and supply imbalance in the sub-sector. The policy commitment derives from the need to achieve sustained stability in the sub-sector, characterized by widened access to affordable service.

Policy and Regulatory Institutions

According to the (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 228-232) Nigeria's Power Sector shall consist of the following major components, amongst others:

- i Federal Government: The federal government will:
 - provide overall direction for the development of the electric power sub-sector in Nigeria;
 - ensure the general consistency of electric power policy with all other policies and specifically with other aspects of the energy policy;
 - enact promptly the necessary laws, regulations and other measures required to support the federal policy on electricity (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 229).
- ii Ministry of power and Steel: The specific functions of the ministry include:
 - proposing policy options and recommendations to government concerning legislation, policy investment, etc;
 - monitoring and evaluating the implementation and performance of government policy in the industry;
 - establishing, monitoring and evaluating the performance of policies for increasing access to electricity, particularly in rural and semi-urban areas, as set out in the policy paper. (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 229).

- iii State Governments. The state governments will carry out their responsibilities for the development of off-grid electrification and their joint responsibilities with federal government on the establishment of power stations as set out in the 1999 constitution, and regulation of off-grid non-centrally dispatched electricity operations, which are wholly limited within the state boundaries (National Electric Policy 2001: 30).
- iv Nigeria Electricity Regulatory commission. The independent regulatory agency for electricity shall be established based on the following regulatory arrangements:
- it will be an independent federal agency and electricity regulator for grid-connected services;
 - it will have decision making powers on the key aspects of technical and economic regulation;
 - it will be properly established with its power, duties, constitutions etc, laid down in a new electricity act;
 - it will have the main responsibility for issuing licenses to the companies operating in the Nigeria electricity Supply Industry (ESI);
 - it will have all the necessary regulatory functions for electricity;
 - it will be responsible for ensuring that all major investments in generation capacity expansion are carried out by competitive tender, and agreeing on the rules for supervising such competitive tenders;
 - it will also act as an appeals agency over regulatory decisions taken at state level (National Electric Power Policy: 2001: 230 -232).

The policy and regulatory institutions are designed to function in a co-ordinate pattern towards achieving the policy goals. These institutions are expected to play inter-related and specific roles in the electrification policy process. Electrification appears on the concurrent legislative list, which requires the national and subordinate levels of government to participate in the policy process, and function with other institutions created by legislation towards achieving the policy goals.

Structure of the electric power sub-sector

The main objective of the reform is to ensure that in future, Nigeria will enjoy an efficient and competitive electricity industry, which provides a continuous supply of electricity at defined quality standards to consumers in all areas of Nigeria at the lowest price. This objective will be met by the

introduction of competition and the appropriate regulatory framework (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 232). The policy further states that, in order to introduce competition, the segmentation of NEPA (the utility company) is vital and this requires:

- i. The separation of transmission and distribution from generation.
- ii. The establishment of a transmission company.
- iii. The establishment of a number of competing privately owned generation companies from existing NEPA generation facilities.
- iv. The opening up of generation to new market entrants.
- v. The establishment of a number of distribution and sales (marketing) companies which will be privatized. (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 133).

The split of functions into generation, transmission and distribution is designed to introduce privately owned companies into the sub-sector, and to stimulate competition amongst the companies.

Restructuring and Privatization

The central issues in the proposed reform are the unbundling of NEPA into:

- i. a number of privatized distribution and retail sales (marketing) companies and;
- ii. a company responsible for transmission and dispatch (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 243). Government strategy for unbundling NEPA also includes:
 - creation of 100% state-owned holding company and subsidiary generation and distribution companies within it;
 - incorporation of subsidiary companies vested with their assets and liabilities by 2002;
 - privatization of the subsidiary companies leaving a transmission and dispatch company plus a residual of 100% state-owned holding company by 2003;
 - development of trading arrangements among these companies which will evolve into a bulk power markets;
 - employing the Rehabilitate Operate with transfer going back to the Bureau for Public Enterprises and not NEPA;

- commissioning of a restructuring study to provide the details of the transition from the current structure to be privatized of the subsidiary companies (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 243-244).

The reform strategies and the unbundling of functions into generation, transmission and distribution, is designed to incorporate the private firms into the privatized sub-sector.

Rural Electrification

According to the (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 251) the primary objective of the Nigerian rural electrification policy is to expand access as rapidly as can be afforded in a cost effective manner. The rural electrification policy shall:

- include a menu of rural electrification option-grids and off-grid, mini-grid, non thermal, renewable etc;
- ensure close co-ordination of rural electrification expansion with economic development objectives to develop and contribute financially to rural electrification.

The strategies for achieving the rural electrification objectives are through the establishment of an independent rural electrification fund operated by a rural electrification agency. The fund:

- will develop both grid-connected and off-grid rural electrification;
- will operate with funding from an electricity levy on consumers and federal subventions, supplements by funding from states, private companies, community contributions, etc;
- will be open to bids from a wide range of organizations;
- will invite bids for funding of connections to supply (grid and off-grid) but not for consumption, and
- will only supply some proportion of the total funding so that other parties (distribution companies, local communities, business groups, etc) would have to provide the rest (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 252-253).

The government intends to achieve widened access to electricity across the country where most people live through the on grid, mini-grid, and off- grid sources. Rural electrification is, therefore, intended to sensitize grass roots socio-economic development through electrification, which requires the co-ordinate efforts of the various levels of government. Government therefore, intends to achieve the rural

electrification objectives through the establishment of a rural electrification agency (a body that coordinates and manages the rural electrification funds and activities).

The National Electric Power Policy 2001 is the fundamental reform document in the Nigerian electric power sub-sector. The policy document provides the rationalization regarding the introduction of privatization and competition in the sub-sector. The massive demand-supply gap in the sub-sector is identified as stifling socio-economic development in the country. The policy therefore, serves as the intention of the government to address the issues in the sub-sector through private-sector led activities.

National Energy Policy 2003 The energy policy acknowledges that availability of electricity remains a major factor in the location of industries and a strong instrument of social development, however, its supply is still inadequate in the country (National Energy Policy 2003: 35). According to the National Energy Policy (2003: 35-36), the annual consumption of electricity has been increasing very rapidly over the last three decades. It increased from 1,273 Gwh in 1970 to 13,700 Gwh in 2001, representing a suppressed demand caused by the inaccessibility of the national grid and inadequacies of the electricity supply. The effect is that consumers (industries and households) seek alternative suppliers in the form of installed generators whose total capacity is estimated to be at least 50% of the installed capacity of the national grid. The continuing demands for electricity in the country therefore, necessitates the need to attract investment funds to the sub-sector and increase substantially the available installed capacity and also decrease transmission and distribution losses.

According to the National Energy Policy (2003: 36) the following policies apply:

- i. The nation shall make steady and reliable electric power available at all times, at economic rates, for economic, industrial and social activities of the country.
- ii. The nation shall continue to engage intensively in the development of electric power with a view to making reliable electricity available to 75% of the population by the year 2020.
- iii. The nation shall promote private sector participation in the electricity sub-sector, while ensuring broad-based participation of Nigerians.

The policies are in recognition of the role of electrification in the socio-economic development of the country, and the appropriate designs to accelerate the pace of development in the sub-sector.

According to the National Energy Policy (2003: 36-37), the following objectives also apply:

- i. To provide electricity to all state capitals, local government headquarters as well as other major towns by the year 2010.
- ii. To stimulate industrialization in the rural areas in order to minimize rural-urban migration.
- iii. To provide a reliable and stable power supply to consumers, especially to industries.
- iv. To ensure the removal of bottlenecks militating against the utilization of full capacity of existing electric power plants.
- v. To broaden the energy options of generating electricity.
- vi. To attract adequate investment in capital, both foreign and domestic, for the development of the electricity industry.
- vii. To maximize access by Nigerians to the investment opportunities in the electricity industry.

The objectives are identified to guide the achievement of the policy goal of providing affordable quality electricity to all categories of Nigerians.

The strategies according to the National Energy Policy (2003: 37) include:

- i. Rehabilitating existing power plants in order to derive optimum power from the installed capacity.
- ii. Completing on-going projects designed to enable the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) satisfy the national demand.
- iii. Reinforcing the transmission and distribution networks necessary to allow consumers to enjoy steady and reliable supply of electricity.
- iv. Establishing basic engineering infrastructure for the local manufacture of electrical equipment, devices and materials.
- v. Encouraging research and development in the generation, transmission and distribution of electricity.
- vi. Reducing high import duties paid in generation, transmission and distribution materials.
- vii. Setting up a National Electricity Supply training Institute and zonal training centers where the core of the middle level manpower and artisans, various cadres of professional and technical officers, operators, linesmen, and cable joiners are to be trained and groomed in

- the art of operation and maintenance of equipment for generation, transmission and distribution of electricity.
- viii. Ensuring the participation and involvement of indigenous engineers and applied research groups in the execution of on-going and future projects right from feasibility studies, with the objective of establishing local capacity in the long term.
 - ix. Developing and implementing a programme for the participation of the private sector in the various sectors of the electricity industry.
 - x. Developing other potential sites for hydropower, gas and coal-fired power plants for electricity generation.
 - xi. Intensifying the national effort in training, research and development with a view to generating electricity using nuclear, solar, wind and other renewable resources in order to conserve our fossil fuels.
 - xii. Taking effective measures to ensure the security of electrical installations.
 - xiii. Providing appropriate incentives to entrepreneurs to ensure adequate returns on investment.
 - xiv. Providing appropriate financing facilities to support indigenous investments in the electricity industry.
 - xv. Encouraging off-grid generation and supply of power in remote or isolated areas.
 - xvi. Establishing a Rural Electrification Fund to facilitate electrification in the rural areas.
 - xvii. Establishing a reduced tariff regime for very low income and especially handicapped electricity consumers and a mechanism for funding a subsidy (National Energy Policy 2003: 37-38).

The national energy policy of 2003 represents a broad outline of government's intentions to address the demand-supply imbalance in the sub-sector through accelerated government activities. This deals with developing different avenues of improving the sub-sector performance, through the mobilization of resources in both the public and private sectors.

Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005 The power sub-sector reform act represents the mainstream reform programme aimed at introducing liberalization, privatization and competition in the Nigerian electric power sub-sector. It is categorized into the identification of sub-sector objectives, the development of a competitive sub-sector, the establishment of a regulatory commission, the

establishment of a consumer assistance fund, and a rural electrification agency. The objectives of the Power Sector Reform Act 2005 include:

- i. The liberalization of the power sector utility company (NEPA).
- ii. The encouragement of private enterprise participation in the industry.
- iii. The introduction of competition in the industry.
- iv. Provision of rural electrification through the establishment of the Rural Electrification Agency (REA), and stipulations for consumer protection.
- v. Setting of performance standards.
- vi. Fixing of tariffs etc (Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: A81)

According to the Electric Power Sector Reform Act (2005: A81-A90), the electric power reform process involves: the formation of initial and successor companies and the transfer of assets and liabilities of the National Electric Power Authority. These include: the formation of the initial holding company cap C20 LFN 2004, shareholding in the initiated holding company, transfer of assets and liabilities of the Authority to the initial holding company, exemption from stamp duty cap. 58 LFN 2004, transfer of employees to the initial holding company and to the commission etc., direction to the Authority, licensing of the initial holding company, formation of successor company, shareholding in the successor companies, transfer of assets and liabilities of the initial holding company to the successor companies (Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: A81-A84).

The development of a competitive electricity market (Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: A90 - A94) involves:

- i. Competition during the pre-privatization stage which includes:
 - issuing of trading licenses to the successor company;
 - the successor company to engage in electricity transmission in accordance with the license;
 - successor generation companies in accordance with their licenses to sell electrical power to the licensed trading companies;
 - independent power producers shall in accordance with their licenses, sell electrical power to either trading licenses or distribution companies and eligible consumers (Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: A90).

- ii. Competition during the post privatization stage involves:
- the trading license to enter into further contracts for the purchase of electrical power or ancillary service;
 - successor generation companies shall in accordance with their licenses sell electrical power distribution companies to eligible customers.
 - successor generation companies shall in accordance with their licenses sell ancillary services either to the successor company or independent system operator.
 - independent power producers shall in accordance with their licenses sell electric power to either trading licensee or to distribution companies and eligible consumers under the terms of any contracts formed with such distribution companies and eligible customers.
 - the successor company shall in accordance with its licenses purchase ancillary services in pursuance of the terms it entered into with successor companies.
 - distribution licenses shall purchase electrical power in accordance with their obligations to purchase.
 - eligible customers shall purchase power in accordance with their obligations to purchase (Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: A91 – A92).

The establishment, functions and powers of the Nigerian Electricity Regulation Commission (Electric Power Reform Act 2005: A94 – A92). The established commission is to be known as the Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission. The commission shall have the following principal objectives:

- i. to create, promote and preserve an efficient industry and preserve efficient industry and market structures, and to ensure the optimal utilization of resources for the provision of electricity services,
- ii. to maximize access to electricity services by promoting and facilitating consumer connections to distribution systems in both rural and urban areas.
- iii. to ensure that an adequate supply of electricity is available to consumers.
- iv. to ensure that the prices charged by licensees are fair to consumers and are sufficient to allow the licensees to finance their activities and to allow for reasonable earnings from efficient operation.

- v. to ensure the safety, security, reliability, and quality of service in the production and delivery of electricity to consumers.
- vi. to ensure that regulation is fair and balanced for licensees, consumers, investors, and other stakeholders, and
- vii. to present quarterly reports to the President and National Assembly on its activities (Electric Power Reform Act 2005: A94).

The commission also performs the following additional functions:

- i. promote competition and private sector participation, when and where feasible;
- ii. establish or, as the case may be, approve appropriate operating codes and safety, security, reliability and quality standards;
- iii. establish appropriate consumer rights and obligations regarding the provision and use of electricity services;
- iv. license and regulate persons engaged in the generation, transmission, system operation, distribution and trading of electricity;
- v. approve amendments to the market rules;
- vi. monitor the operation of the electricity market; and
- vii. undertake such other activities which are necessary or convenient for the better carrying out of or giving effects to the objects of the commission (Electric Power Reform Act 2005: A94 – A95).

The Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission performs the ‘strategic’ functions of co-ordinating activities in the sub-sector. The commission is designed to play a key role in the privatization programme.

The Power sub-sector reform Act also provides for a Power Consumer Assistance Fund (Electric Power Reform Act 2005: A118).

- i. The commission shall set up and administer a fund under the name ‘Power Consumer Assistance Fund’.
- ii. The Power Consumer Assistance Fund shall be used to subsidize underprivileged power consumers as specified by the Minister.

- iii. The Power Consumer Assistance Fund shall consist of capital and assets in the form of contributions from all consumers and eligible customers, and any subsidies received from the Federal Government of Nigeria as appropriated by the National Assembly (Electric Power sector Reform Act 2005: A118).

The Power Consumer Assistance Fund is to be operated in the interest of the 'less privileged' consumers. This is deemed to encourage access to power by the less privileged members of the society.

The Rural Electrification Programme is also an integral part of sub-sector reform (Electric Power Reform Act 2005: A119 – A121). The policy states that:

- i. there is to be established an Agency known as the Rural Electrification Agency which shall be a body corporate.
- ii. The Rural Electrification Agency shall set up and administer a fund under the name Rural Electrification Fund.

The principal purpose of the fund shall be to promote, support and provide rural electrification programmes through public and private sector participation in order to:

- Achieve a more equitable regional access to electricity;
- maximize the economic, social and environmental benefits of rural electrification subsidies;
- promote expansion of the grid and development of off-grid electrification;
- stimulate innovative approaches to rural electrification, provided that no part of the Rural Electrification Fund shall be used as subsidies for consumption (Electric Power Reform Act 2005: A120).

iii. The Rural Electrification fund shall consist of the following capital and assets:

- any surplus determined by auditors on the commission's fund;
- any fines obtained by the commission;
- any donations, gifts or loans made by international agencies, state governments, the federal government, local communities, business or any other entity;
- the contributions from licensees, and interest and other benefits accrued to the Rural Electrification Fund, monies appropriated by the National Assembly, and

- such percentage of the annual turnover of the licensees as may be determined by the commission (Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: A120).

In summary, this policy seeks to provide for the formation of companies to take over the functions, assets, liabilities and staff of the National Electric Power Authority, develop competitive electricity markets, establish the Nigeria Electricity Regulatory Commission, provide for the licensing and regulation of the generation, transmission and distribution and supply of electricity, enforce such matters as performance standards, consumer rights and obligations and to provide for the determination of tariff (Electric Power Reform Act 2005). The policy is thus, designed to fully streamline the government's effort at privatizing the Nigerian electricity power sub-sector.

Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006 The Policy Guidelines on Renewable Electricity is the Federal Government of Nigeria's overarching policy on all electricity derived from renewable energy sources. (Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006: 3). The Policy Guidelines set out the Federal Government's vision, policies and objectives for promoting renewable energy in the power sector. Renewable electricity refers to electric power obtained from energy sources whose utilization does not result in the depletion of the earth's resources. It also includes energy sources and technologies that have minimal environmental impact. It includes hydropower, biomass co-generation, solar PV and wind energy for electricity production (Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006: 8).

The federal Government acknowledges that 'access to electricity services is critical to achieving economic and social development targets outlined in the NEEDS and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The federal Government of Nigeria is therefore, committed to reaching these sustainable development targets through the full mobilization of the electricity sector. The federal Government seeks the implementation of the policy on renewable electricity in collaboration with other levels of governments, communities and the private sector for the following reasons (Policy Guidelines 2006: 3-4).

- i. Renewable energy represents an important tool in the Government's overall effort to expand access to electricity services nationwide. Improving access to electricity is consistent with NEEDS and MDG targets in stimulating economic growth, employment creation and poverty reduction.

- ii. Rural electricity access in Nigeria is less than 20%. Renewable electricity technologies are generally modular and are ideal means of improving rural electricity access situations in the country.
- iii. The renewable policy guideline provides a common framework to integrate renewable into the energy technology mix in meeting national electricity supply.
- iv. Renewable electricity provides more diversity and improves the reliability of electricity supply through the grid.
- v. Renewable energy is environmentally friendly being mostly carbon neutral. This reduces pollution and carbon emissions that cause health hazards and global warming (Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006: 3 – 4).

The overall objective of this Policy Guideline is to expand the role of renewable electricity in sustainable development through effective promotional and regulatory instruments (Policy Guidelines 2006: 13). The policy guideline seeks to achieve the following specific objectives:

- i. expand electricity generating capacity to meet national economic and social development goals;
- ii. encourage the diversification of sources of electricity supply through renewable energy and as such improve the energy security of the country;
- iii. increase access to electricity services nationwide, especially in rural areas;
- iv. stimulate growth in employment generation through an expanded renewable electricity industry;
- v. enhance technological development through increased domestic manufacturing of renewable components;
- vi. stimulate competition in the delivery of renewable electricity.
- vii. promote the rapid expansion of a renewable-based electricity market through cost-reducing supply side and demand side incentives;
- viii. develop regulatory procedures that are sensitive to the peculiarities of renewable energy based power supply;
- ix. create a stable and predictable investment climate in the renewable electricity market.
- x. provide effective protection of electricity consumers through effective regulations; and

- x. reduce household and outdoor air pollution as well as contribute to the abatement of greenhouse gas emissions, and thus contribute to improved health and overall social development (Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006: 13).

Renewable Electricity Promotion and regulatory policies (Policy Guidelines 200: 14 – 20)

Policy.1. The Federal Government of Nigeria shall expand the market for renewable electricity to at least five percent of the total electricity generating capacity and a minimum of 5Twh of electric power production, excluding large hydropower by 2016. This policy target should be achieved through the following market expansion strategies:

- i. revision and simplification of the licensing and fees schedule and additional incentives to renewable energy investments.
- ii. tax exemptions of not less than 5 years period for local manufacturer and assembly of renewable electricity components.
- iii. Granting of subsidies to consumers.
- iv. ensuring the development of technical standards and certification procedures for technical personnel participating in renewable electricity projects.
- v. raising of public awareness regarding benefits and opportunities of renewable electricity.

Policy2. The Federal Government shall establish stable and long-term favourable pricing mechanisms and ensure unhindered access to the grid. Grid operators must guarantee the purchase and transmission of all available electricity from renewable electricity producers. While renewable electricity plant owners bear the cost of connection, grid operators must ensure the necessary system upgrade. All upgrade costs must be declared to ensure the necessary transparency (Policy Guidelines 2006: 15). The following strategies will support grid-connected operations:

- i. the federal government introduces feed-in tariffs.
- ii. the government to promote the generation of electricity through renewable source by providing suitable commercial and technical measures for connectivity to the grid and sale of electricity to any person.
- iii. the government to develop an appropriate standard or model for Power Purchase Agreements.

- iv. the government to specify the terms and conditions for the determination of tariffs (Policy Guidelines 200: 15).

Policy 3. The federal Government is to support the construction of independent renewable electricity systems in areas not covered by the electricity grid to provide power services for local economic activities and sustainable living (Policy Guidelines 2006: 15). Off-grid renewable electricity operations shall be expanded through the following strategies:

- i. developing mini-grid concessions, and this is to be done by selecting a company to serve geographical locations with the obligation to serve all customers that request services;
- ii. stand – alone systems standards to be developed as well as a process of certification for technical personnel. (Policy Guidelines 2006: 15-16).

Policy 4. The Federal Government will develop innovative, cost effective and practical measures to accelerate access to services in rural areas through renewable sources (Policy Guidelines 2006:15).

To achieve this, the Federal Government shall:

- i. promote the role of the private sector in the delivery of rural electrification through renewable sources; and
- ii. ensure that all new grid extension proposals include information about on-site renewable energy technology options and a cost/effective analysis comparing proposed grid extension and decentralized renewable electricity (Policy Guidelines 2006:16)

Policy 5. There shall be a Renewable Electricity Trust Fund. The purpose of the Renewable Electricity Trust Fund (RETF) shall be to promote, support and provide renewable electricity through private and public sector participation (Policy Guidelines 2006:17).

Policy 6. The Federal Government is committed to a multi-stakeholder partnership in the delivery of renewable electricity to meet national development goals. This involves the co-ordinate stakeholder partnership among the Federal Executive Council (FEC), Federal Ministry of Power and Steel, Nigeria Electricity Regulatory Commission, Rural Electrification Agency and Energy commission of Nigeria (ECN). These agencies shall be consulted in the implementation of the policy. Other relevant Federal Government agencies are: State Rural Electrification Boards and relevant State ministries, Organized

Private Sector, and Non Governmental Organisations and Community Based Organisations (Policy Guidelines 2006:20-22).

Policy 7. Nigeria is committed to broadening international co-operation in expanding the role of renewable electricity in meeting national development goals as well as contributing to global efforts in addressing climate change (Policy Guidelines 2006:23). This policy will be met through the following instruments:

- i. deepening domestic economic reforms to encourage international investment in electricity services.
- ii. clean development mechanism which provides opportunities for increased international investment in renewable energy and energy efficiency.
- iii. working in partnership with other countries towards the establishment of an International Renewable Energy Agency.
- iv. knowledge –based networks which involve NGO’s and International Organisations (Policy Guidelines 2006:23).

In summary, the Policy Guidelines sets out the Federal Government vision and policies for promoting renewable electricity power sources in the country. In a strong effort to address the increasing electricity needs of the country, the government’s supplementary notion of renewable sources in electricity power generation becomes vital. The government intends to achieve the development of the renewable sources by mobilizing resources in both public and private sectors and commitment to multi-stakeholder partnership.

Roadmap for Power Sector Reform 2010 The Roadmap is not a policy in itself but was developed based on the adopted National Electric Power Policy 2001 and Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005. The reform act states that ‘to meet our vision 2020 target of 40,000MW, we will require investments in power generating capacity alone of at least US\$ 3.5 billion per annum for the next 10years and large investments will also have to be made in other parts of the supply chain-transmission and distribution networks (Roadmap 2010:4). It is further acknowledged that the development strategies in the electricity power sector can only be achieved through private sector participation as it is assumed too much for the government. The Roadmap therefore, outlines the government’s plan to accelerate the pace of activity with respect to reforms already mandated under the EPSR act, at the same time and in

support of this, a renewed drive to improve on short term service delivery (Roadmap 2010:4). The Federal Government will fast track these structural reforms by:

- i. removing obstacles to private sector investment;
- ii. clarifying the government's strategy on the divestiture of PHCN successor companies; and
- iii. reforming the fuel to power sector (Roadmap 2010:5). The reform timetable also involves the supplementary tasks that will be taken to accelerate the reform process.

These include:

- i. the corporatization of PHCN successor companies and the institution of proper business planning and performance contracts through which the successor companies will be held responsible and accountable;
- ii. the finalization and execution of vesting contracts between power generating companies and the distribution companies;
- iii. operationalising the market rules and the concomitant resourcing of the system and market operators;
- iv. the establishment of eligibility parameters for the declaration of eligible customers by the Ministry of Power;
- v. the engagement of transaction advisers and the development of transaction options and successor companies valuation reports;
- vi. critical pre-transaction documentation/corporate actions e.g asset/staff transfer orders, board resolutions for the appointment of directors, employment contracts, technical boundary delineation etc; and
- vii. the complete wind-down and liquidation of PHCN.

The Roadmap for Power Sector Reform (2010) was developed on the basis of previous electricity power policies (National Electric Power Policy 2001 and Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005). This is in view of the government's plan to accelerate the pace of activity in respect of the reformation exercise in the electricity power sub-sector. This is in acknowledgement of the fact that low access to electricity power has hampered socio-economic development in the country both at the grass roots and secondary levels.

Electric power policy in Nigeria from 1960-2011 depicts the overall effort of the government to address the massive demand-supply imbalance that has persisted in the sub-sector for many years. Government intends to achieve the policy goal of providing affordable quality electricity power to all categories of Nigerians through market oriented sub-sector reforms. This involves the introduction of liberalization, privatization and competition in the sub-sector. Other relevant policies that concern the government's intention to scale up electricity power access in the country, such as the 'renewable electricity policy' also concerns developing alternative off-grid options to enhance generation sources. The policy focus is therefore, to achieve the electrification goal of 'universal access' to electricity power in Nigeria.

5.3 ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA (1994-2011)

This section presents electricity power policy in South Africa from 1994-2011. The various policies are discussed with a view to understanding their contents.

White Paper on Reconstruction and Development 1994 The government (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development 1994) provides the background for the post apartheid electricity power policy in South Africa. The RDP is based on the notion that reconstruction and development are parts of an integrated process. The RDP integrates growth, development, reconstruction, redistribution and reconciliation into a unified programme. The key to this link is an infrastructural programme that will provide access to modern services such as electricity...'(White Paper on RDP 1994:8). It is upon this principle that the integrated electrification programme was developed. The RDP had a proposed electrification target of 2.5 million households by the end of the decade. Through the National Integrated Electrification Programme, government intends to address the electricity backlog created by several decades of apartheid regime in the country.

White Paper on the Energy Policy of the Republic of South Africa, 1998 According to the Energy White Paper (1998:40), the electricity supply industry inherited from the apartheid government is in many ways typical of present day South African economic infrastructure. It has highly sophisticated production and distribution capabilities, developed under circumstances of economic isolation to meet the needs of the industrial sector and a privileged white minority. The energy needs of the majority, the possibilities of regional integration, and the challenges of global competition, have only recently begun to be addressed (Energy White Paper 1998:40). Policy issues in the sub-sector during the several

decades of apartheid were restricted to the needs of a minority whites and the industrial sector to the exclusion of the majority black and coloured population. This therefore, precipitated the backlog issues that constitute the challenges in the sub-sector intended to be addressed by the post apartheid electricity power policy. The policy challenges include:

- i. a high percentage of households in South Africa, and tens of thousands of schools and clinics are without access to electricity supply;
- ii. the distribution sector of the industry is highly fragmented, with more than 400 distributors, resulting in low efficiencies, high costs, wide disparities in tariffs, and financial viability problems in many distributors;
- iii. the electricity distribution industry continues to experience high levels of nonpayment and electricity theft, resulting in increasing arrears and payment defaults;
- iv. apart from a few notable exceptions, the electrification programmes of most municipal distributors are limited by difficulties in accessing affordable finance;
- v. municipal electricity departments are expected to make a contribution towards the funding of other municipal services, particularly in the urban areas, but are also faced with the burdens of non-payment and the need for significant expenditure on electrification;
- vi. Coal-based electricity generation results in significant polluting emissions, with potential long term effects on the environment;
- vii. In some cases electricity is used inefficiently, perhaps, because of a consumer perception that electricity is cheap, thus wasting scarce energy and capital resources.
- viii. although growth in electricity demand is only projected to exceed generation capacity by approximately the year 2007, long capacity-expansion lead times require strategies to be in place in the mid-term, in order to meet the needs of the growing economy; and
- ix. while a number of the challenges presented above could place inflationary pressures on prices, South Africa has to maintain the competitive advantage of low, stable and cost-reflective electricity prices (White Paper on Energy policy 1998:41-42).

The immediate post apartheid energy policy identified these challenges in the electricity power sub-sector. The challenges are outcomes of previous government's principles and practices in the sub-sector. To address these challenges, the policy identifies the following three cardinal objectives:

- i. to improve social equity by specifically addressing the energy requirements of the poor;

- ii. to enhance the efficiency and competitiveness of the South African economy by providing low-cost and high quality energy inputs to industrial, mining and other sectors; and
- iii. to achieve environmental sustainability in both the short and long-term usage of natural resources (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:42).

These policy objectives are central to the government's commitment to addressing the imbalance in the sub-sector. The objectives are anchored on improving the welfare of the majority poor through electrification. To ensure the success of the electricity power sub-sector development as a whole, the government will have to consider the following developments:

- i. giving customers the right to choose their electricity suppliers;
- ii. introducing competition into the industry, especially the generation sector;
- iii. permitting open, non-discriminatory access to the transmission system; and
- iv. encouraging private sector participation in the industry (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:42).

In view of these, government considers pertinent restructuring objectives. Government believes that electric power sub-sector restructuring should be undertaken in order to:

- i. ensure agreed-to-electrification targets are met;
- ii. provide low cost electricity;
- iii. facilitate better price equality;
- iv. improve quality of service and supply;
- v. foster proper co-ordination of operations and investment capital; and
- vi. attract and retain competent employees (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:43-44).

The re-structuring objectives are rooted in the government's intention to basically ensure that the electrification targets are met, and the services are affordable to all categories of consumers.

The government equally believes that electrification is a central component of the RDP's infrastructural programme. This is in line with the proposed target of electrifying 2.5 million households by the end of the decade as contained in the RDP document. The programme is estimated to require capital investment of about 2.5 million per annum in the early years; and government intends to co-ordinate the electrification programme through setting of realistic electrification targets, determination of

allocation criteria and priority areas of electrification, ensuring allocation and management of funds, financing and subsidization of electrification projects, and determination of appropriate mix between grid and off grid technologies (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 47-48).

In achieving the goal of universal access, government also recognizes that household access to adequate electric power for cooking, heating, lighting and communication is a basic need. On this ground, government is committed to implementing reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources, to progressively achieve universal household access to electricity power in the country. Also, the electrification target is established on a five year plan (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:48).

On ‘National Electrification Funding’, government intends to establish a ‘National Electrification Fund’ to provide for electrification subsidies. The Fund will derive income from a combination of allocation from the electricity power industry; fiscal allocations; grants; and any other appropriate sources (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:49).

In terms of monitoring and evaluation of the policy, the progress of the national electrification programme may be monitored by a number of agencies, such as:

- i. The National Electricity Regulator (NER)
- ii. Department of Minerals and Energy;
- iii. Department of Constitutional Development; or
- iv. Other agencies concerned with development within South Africa (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:49-50).

Also, in line with electrification monitoring and evaluation, the Department of Minerals and Energy will ensure that a national electrification database is established and maintained to assist with the monitoring of progress and the establishment of electrification targets (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:49).

The policy seeks to achieve an appropriate balance between meeting social equity, economic growth and environmental goals. This is in lieu of the lop-sided electrification policy which was implemented along racial considerations of electrifying the white minority population and denying access to the majority black and coloured population. The policy further pursued economic growth policies through

electrification to the neglect of social and environmental considerations of eliminating energy poverty, and achieving grass roots socio-economic development among the majority poor. The (Energy Policy 1998) therefore, aims to address the imbalance and also take a comprehensive approach in tackling other deficiencies in the sub-sector. The policy also sets the stone rolling in achieving the electrification goal of ‘universal access’ in the country.

Electricity Basic Services Support Tariff (Free Basic Electricity Policy) 2003 According to the EBSST Policy (2003:6) ‘the Government recognizes that the provision of electricity is primarily a social welfare function’. This is why government intends to address the affordability issues of the newly connected poor households through a level of free basic electricity allocation. The policy provides for the allocation of 50kwh per month to be provided to all poor households connected to the national electricity grid (EBSST 2003:6). The important considerations in respect of the free basic electricity allocation include:

- i. free basic electricity provision will be phased in, with preference being given to the poor at all times;
- ii. grid connected households will be provided with 50kwh of free basic electricity funded mainly through relevant intergovernmental transfers, subject to the contractual obligations between the service provider and the consumer being met, any consumption in excess of the set limit (50kwh) will be payable by the consumer;
- iii. in respect of grid-based electricity consumers, free basic electricity provision is intended to facilitate the provision of lighting, media access, limited ironing and water heating as basic electricity services;
- iv. where funding is received from the fiscus, through inter-governmental transfers, the provisions of basic electricity may be made to all qualifying households on a self-targeting basis by relevant service authorities in their respective municipal areas;
- v. the provision of free basic electricity services shall be limited to existing qualifying consumers, legally connected to both grid and non grid electricity systems, and those electrified through the National Electrification Programme;
- vi. consumers connected to non-grid systems, installed through the National Electrification Programme will receive a subsidy of up to 80% (or R48.00 per month connection) of the

monthly service fee to provide access to non-grid systems, subject to the contractual obligations between the service provider and the consumer being met;

vii. in respect of non-grid electricity, the free basic electricity provision is intended to facilitate the provision of basic lighting and basic media access;

Vii where consumers are converted from non-grid systems to grid systems, conditions pertaining to the provision of free basic electricity in respect of the grid systems will apply. The service provider will be responsible for the transactional processes (technical, financial, administrative) (EBSST 2003:9-12).

These considerations are central to the implementation of the Free Basic Electricity policy. The provision of 50kwh electricity enables the newly connected poor households' access to quality services at a certain level. This is because these considerations contribute to improved living conditions in the poor households.

On the funding of the Free Basic electricity allocation, the government offers two practical funding options. These include, paying for the EBSST from nationally collected revenue (fiscus), through transfers to Local Government, or paying for the EBSST by means of a cross-subsidy from high electricity consumers (EBSST 2003:17).

- i. National Funding. It is recognized that the EBSST is a national policy and thus places the final responsibility for funding and implementation on the national government. Funding as a national responsibility entails the following:
 - enables the national government to implement a uniform approach to the EBSST country wide;
 - enables the national government to evaluate the EBSST against other national priorities, particularly other national re-distributive programmes;
 - enables the national government to manage the costs of the programme (particularly decisions of increase of allocations) in the light of macroeconomic conditions and national fiscal considerations;
 - enables the government to manage directly any fiscal risk associated with policy;
 - enables the government to match the allocation of funds directly to the cost of implementation (EBSST 2003:17-18).

National funding of the EBSST is therefore strategic in terms of harmonizing resources in implementing a uniform policy across the country. Since the aim is to address affordability issues in the newly electrified households, it was recommended for the Provincial and Local Governments to be responsible for the funding through the Equitable Share allocation or any such fiscus grants to service authorities for all targeted consumers in their supply areas (EBSST 2008:18). This also widens the commitment of the Provincial and Local Authorities across the country in effective implementation of the 'Free Basic Electricity policy'.

ii. Application of cross-subsidie:. This involves the enhanced financial role of the Municipal governments and the co-ordinate role of the Department of Local Government. The arrangement stipulates the following:

- Municipalities with adequate resources, especially category A municipalities, will be in a position to cross-subsidize free basic electricity customers within their customer bases and across other services and customer categories.
- Existing Municipal initiatives already underway will be integrated with the national EBSST implementation programme to the extent that they target the same self-targeting poor households.
- The Department of Local Government shall request a free basic electricity recurrent budget through the MTEF process from the national treasury to fund the free basic electricity allocation, pending a resolution to fund free basic services, otherwise,
- The Department of Local Government shall develop administrative systems and procedures to disburse on an equitable basis, the free basic electricity budget in line with prevailing legislation (EBSST 2003:18-19).

Funding the EBSST through cross-subsidies from financial more viable municipalities is also expedient in realizing the policy goals. It enables the municipalities in this category to finance the EBSST through their resources. It also enables for the streamlining of the EBSST implementation along other services.

The Free basic electricity is designed to be implemented through the existing service delivery channel (EBSST 2003:22-23). This includes:

- The Department of Minerals and Energy in consultation with the Department of Provincial and Local Government and the National Treasury will determine the extent of provision of free basic electricity, which can be funded through inter-governmental transfer on an annual basis.
- The cost of providing free basic electricity shall be included in the MTEF budget allocation of the Department of Provincial and Local Government. Where Service Authorities have been allocated with intergovernmental grants to provide for operating costs in respect of basic services, such municipalities shall pass on the benefits of such grants to targeted households in respect of providing free basic electricity allocations as contemplated in this policy document, for the corresponding financial year.
- Notwithstanding other provisions contained in this documents, nothing in this policy prevents service providers from creating and offering lower tariffs for special customers categories within the broader NER approval tariff structures (EBSST 2003: 22-23).

The Free Basic Electricity policy was specifically designed to address affordability issues in the electricity sub-sector. The provision of 50kwh electricity to the poor connected households demonstrates the government's intention to address the electricity needs of the majority poor South Africans.

Electricity Regulation Act 4 of 2006 .The act is intended as follow up to the previous electricity power policies. It concerns establishing appropriate regulatory frameworks for the electricity sub-sector. It is intended to address identifiable obstacles in achieving the policy goals of universal access in the country.

According to the Electricity Regulation Act 4 (2005: 1), government effort in this direction involves the following:

- i. To establish a national regulatory framework for the electricity supply industry.
- ii. To make the National Energy Regulator of South Africa the custodian and enforcer of the national electricity regulatory framework.
- iii. To provide for licenses and registration as the manner in which generation, transmission, distribution, reticulation, trading and the import and export of electricity are regulated.
- iv. To regulate the reticulation of electricity by municipalities.
- v. To provide for matters connected therewith.

According to Electricity Regulation Act 4 (2006: 3-4) the main objectives are as follows:

- i. To achieve the efficient, effective, sustainable and orderly development and operation of electricity supply infrastructure in South Africa.
- ii. To ensure that the interests and needs of present and future electricity customers and end users are safeguarded and met, having regard to the governance, efficiency, effectiveness and long-term sustainability of the electricity supply industry within the broader context of economic energy regulation in the country.
- iii. To facilitate universal access to electricity.
- iv. To promote the use of diverse energy sources.
- v. To promote competitiveness and customer and end user choice.
- vi. To facilitate a fair balance between the interests of customers and end users, licenses, investors in the electricity supply industry and the public.

The Act is therefore, designed to address some identifiable deficiencies in the sub-sector, and facilitate the government's intention to achieve the electrification goal of universal access in the country.

Electricity Pricing Policy 2008: According to the Electricity Pricing Policy (2008: 8), to place the Electricity Pricing policy (EPP) documents into perspective, it is necessary to summarize the electricity sector objectives as detailed in the White Paper (WP) of 1998. The objectives include:

- i. Improved social equity by addressing the requirements of the low income.
- ii. Enhanced efficiency and competitiveness to provide low cost and high quality inputs to all sectors.
- iii. Environmentally sustainable short and long-term usage of our natural resources.
- iv. The right of choice of electricity supplier.
- v. Competition in especially the generation sector
- vi. Open non-discriminatory access to the transmission and
- vii. Private sector participation in the industry (EPP 2008: 8)

The specific objectives also include: the provision of low-cost electricity, better price quality, financial viability, improved quality of service and supply (including security of supply), proper co-ordination of operation and investments and the attraction and retention of a competent work force (EPP, 2008: 8)

In view of this, the state seeks to achieve an appropriate balance between meeting social equity, economic growth and environmental goals. The policy documents seek to obtain a balance between several competing objectives of affordable electricity tariffs for the low income consumers and cost reflective electricity tariffs for all the consumers. In this regard, electricity prices should reflect efficient market signals, accurate cost of supply and concomitant price levels in its entirety (EPP, 2008: 11). The policy is further designed to achieve the goal of electrification universal access by introducing an appropriate price regime in the sub-sector.

Electricity power policy in South Africa clearly depicts the post- apartheid government's intention to address the imbalance created in the sub-sector due to the previous apartheid government's policy of 'racial differentiation in infrastructural provision.' This resulted in the provision of electricity power to the minority few whites and the industrial and commercial sectors to the exclusion of the majority black population. The post apartheid electricity power policy from 1994-2011 identifies that electricity power is a means of 'achieving social equity'. The overall policy goal is therefore, predicated on achieving universal access to electricity in the country.

5.4 FINDINGS ON ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN NIGERIA

The electricity policy in Nigeria from 1960 – 2011 depicts the various intentions of the government designed to deal with the electricity generation, transmission and distribution challenges. A study of the electricity policy documents in Nigeria, during the stipulated period portrays government's intentions in a bid to achieve the electrification goal of 'access to cheaper and quality' electricity power for all categories of consumers in Nigeria.

It is hereby acknowledged that previous administrations before the year 2000 paid little attention to electricity power policy issues. Moreover, policy documents on electric power between 1960 – 1999 are unavailable at the Federal ministry of Power in Nigeria. This is due to the political instabilities characterized by a series of military interventions in Nigerian politics and the insensitivity of such military governments to policy issues in the electricity sub-sector.

The electricity sub-sector is profiled by a massive supply and demand imbalance. The study shows that as at the year 2000, the imbalance basically represents a generation level of 1, 500 MW which is far

below the estimated percentage, and the percentage of Nigerians who have access to electricity power from the ‘National Utility company (NEPA) was only 36% (national Electric Power Policy 2001: 222 – 223). The situation negatively affects the socio-economic development of the country. It has ‘crippled the growth and expectation of production and commercial activities, stifled job creation, and has ‘engendered a deep and bitter sense of frustration which is felt across the country (Roadmap, 2010; 4).

5.4.1 Need for Reform in the sub-sector.

In view of the situation, the need for the reform according to the (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 223) is predicated on the followings:

- i. To attract and encourage private sector participation;
- ii. To attract capital to fund the sector, and
- iii. To ensure a level playing ground for all investors. The electric power policy statement therefore ‘is to ensure that Nigeria has an Electricity Supply Industry (ESI) that can meet the needs of its citizens in the 21st century’. (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 223).

Also, the (National Energy Policy 2001: 36) provides the policy justification for the reform as:

- i. The nation shall make steady and reliable electric power available at all times, at economic rates, for economic, industrial and social activities of the country.
- ii. The nation shall continue to engage intensively in the development of electric power with a view to making reliable electricity available to 75% of the population by the year 2020.
- iii. The nation shall promote private sector participation in the electricity sub-sector while ensuring broad-based participation of Nigerians.

Furthermore,, government, in a bid to expand access to electricity power services so as to achieve the economic and social development targets outlined in the ‘millennium Development Goals (MDGS), embarks on policy reforms on ‘Renewable electricity’. The policy guideline seeks to achieve specific objectives (Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006: 13). Some of these objectives include:

- i. To expand the electricity generating capacity to meet national economic and social development goals.
- ii. To encourage the diversification of sources of electricity supply through renewable energy, and as such improve the energy security of the country.

- iii. To increase access to electricity services nationwide, especially in the rural areas, etc.

In view of the foregoing, the apparent need for reforms in the electricity power sub-sector becomes imperative due to the challenges created by the wide supply and demand imbalances. Government intention to scale up electricity generation, transmission and distribution becomes vital through ‘market-oriented power sector’ reforms. These reforms are embarked on in the form of electricity power sub-sector restructuring and include liberalization of the sub-sector and the unbundling of the National Utility Power Company (NEPA) as well as privatization which is intended to introduce competition, attract funds and boost productivity in the bid to ensure that ‘Nigerians have access to cheaper and quality electricity (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 243). ‘These sums cannot and will not be funded and directed by the federal Government’; rather, central to the development of the sub-sector will be the need to provide incentives to the private sector to partner with the government in this endeavour’ (Roadmap 2010: 4). The government intends to achieve the electricity power sub-sector objectives mainly through private sector participation. As such, critical to the reform agenda, is restructuring based on liberalization, privatization and promotion of competition.

5.4.2 The Reform Process

The government’s policy focus is to establish a liberalized and privatized electricity power sub-sector. The electricity generation, transmission and distribution functions have been the exclusive preserve of the National utility power company (NEPA) which is a vertically integrated public company. However, over the years, the public utility company has proved grossly incapable of addressing the significant demand-supply imbalance in the sub-sector.

The reform process involves the introduction of competition, through privatized companies to achieve the desired services standard and also to achieve maximum access through better prices. To achieve this, it becomes imperative to segment the functions of the National Utility Power Company and this requires:

- i. The separation of transmission and dispatch from generation.
- ii. The establishment of a transmission company.
- iii. The establishment of a number of competing privately owned generation companies from existing “NEPA’ facilities.
- iv. The opening up of generation to new market entrants, and

- v. The establishment of a number of privatized distribution and marketing companies (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 233). Also the ‘Electric Power Sector Reform Act was enacted in 2005 with the major aim of pursuing the market oriented power sub-sector reforms.

The reform process is predicated on policy liberalization and the promotion of competition through privatization. The major features of the Act according to the (Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: 1) include:

- i. The dissolution of the vertically integrated national utility company (NEPA).
- ii. The establishment of successor companies to continue the functions of NEPA
- iii. The introduction of competition in the electricity power sub-sector.
- iv. The establishment of a national agency for regulating electric power generation, transmission and distribution, and the agency to be known as the ‘Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission’.
- v. The establishment of a ‘Rural Electrification Agency’ for the provision of rural electrification, and
- vi. Provision for consumer protection, setting of performance standards etc (Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: 1).

To achieve the reform aim which is a full realization of the generation, transmission and distribution goals within a market oriented context, the Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005, stipulates the implementation of the reform into four stages. These stages are:

- i. The pre-privatization stage which operates with the vertically integrated service structure.
- ii. The privatization stage which features the unbundling of functions and the introduction of private competing companies.
- iii. Medium term stage of limited competition and removal of all obstacles in the privatization process.
- iv. Long term stage of achieving a privatized and competitive electricity power sub-sector (Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: A90 – A94).

These stages therefore, depict the reform spheres of developing a competitive electricity power sub-sector, designed to address the electricity power needs of the country in an efficient and cost effective manner.

It is also important to note that ‘The Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005 provides for the unbundling of the function of the national utility company (NEPA) renamed (PHCN – Power Holding Company of Nigeria) into 18 separate successor companies. These are:

- i. 6 generation companies.
- ii. 1 transmission company, and
- iii. 11 distribution companies (Electric Power Reform Act 2005).

In addition, through the privatization process, the Government transfers the ownership and management of the ‘unbundled’ companies to the private sector. Private sector participation is intended to induce competition, and positively affect service standard. According to the National Electric Power Policy (2001: 245), ‘it is the intention of the government that management and ownership control in unbundled generation and distribution companies be transferred to the private sector with substantial participation by strategic investors with experience and resources in the electricity industry’.

The establishment of an independent regulatory agency is also vital in achieving these reforms (National Electric Power Policy 2001; Roadmap 2010). ‘A privatized electricity industry, with competition over monopoly in transmission and distribution grids, requires an effective regulatory agency that is independent of both government and of all companies operating in the industry (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 230). The agency which is known as the ‘Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission’ is a body corporate and performs all regulatory functions within the context of the reform process.

5.4.3 Rural Electrification

The basic objective of the rural electrification policy is to widen access to a greater number of Nigerians living across the country in a ‘cost effective manner’. It involves the use of both grid and off grid methods to achieve expanded access to electricity power, especially in semi-urban and rural areas (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 252; Electric Power sector Reform Act 2005: A120, Renewable

Electricity Policy Guide lines 2006: 16). The rural electrification policy according to the National Electric Power Policy (2001: 252) shall:

- i. Include a full menu of rural electrification options, which include grid off-grid, and mini grid etc.
- ii. Ensure close coordination of rural electrification expansion with economic development objectives, and
- iii. Encourage states, local communities and businesses to develop and contribute financially to rural electrification.

The Renewable Electricity policy Guidelines (2006: 16) further states that ‘the federal Government will develop innovative, cost effective and practical measures to accelerate access to electricity services in rural areas through renewable sources’. It implies the policy commitment of the federal government to accelerate electrification in the rural areas through expanded generation sources. Expanded generation sources therefore, prove vital for wider and more cost effective access to electricity in the rural areas where most Nigerians live.

Rural electrification programmes are to be achieved through private and public sector participation. (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 251; Electric Power Reform Act 2005: A120). Also the proposed way of achieving these rural electrification objectives ‘is to establish an independent Rural Electrification Fund’ operated by a ‘Rural Electrification Agency’ (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 252). The purpose of the Rural Electrification fund shall be to promote, support and provide rural electrification programmes through public and private sector participation. The policy is intended to:

- i. Achieve more equitable regional access to electricity.
- ii. Maximize the economic, social and environmental benefits of rural electrification subsidies,
- iii. Promote expansion of the grid and development of off-grid electrification, and
- iv. Stimulate innovative approaches to rural electrification (Electric Power Policy Reform Act 2005: A120).

The rural electrification policy therefore, seeks to facilitate increased electricity power access, especially in the rural areas where majority of the people live. The federal Government intends to achieve this through intensified promotion of grid and off-grid generation sources, the establishment of a rural electrification agency, and the setting up of a rural electrification fund.

5.4.4 Funding

The liberalization and privatization policy in the electricity power sub-sector is to be implemented through private sector participation (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 258; Renewable Electricity policy Guidelines 2006: 17; Roadmap 2010: 4). The ‘tariff structure’ is to be implemented in a ‘market driven’ and competitive arrangements to enable investors recover their investments and make profit. On the other hand’ ‘there shall be a renewable electricity trust fund which shall be set up under the Rural Electrification fund; Sources of the funds in the “Trust Fund’ include: monies appropriated by the National Assembly, donations, grants etc (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 258; Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: A120, Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006: 258).

In summation, the development of the electricity policy in Nigeria is strengthened by the massive demand-supply imbalance in the electricity power sub-sector. The need for reform is therefore, predicated on achieving widened access and a level of service efficiency through private sector participation and the encouragement of competition.

The policy hinges on the adoption of ‘market oriented’ power sector reform which involves liberalization, the unbundling of functions and the introduction of privatization and competition in the sub-sector. Other reform provisions of ‘Rural Electrification’ and ‘Renewable Electricity are intended to facilitate increased access through off-grid measures. The focus of the government in achieving these objectives is mainly through ‘private sector led activities’. In other words, the government relies on funding mainly through the private sector.

5.5 FINDINGS ON ELECTRICITY POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The electricity power policy in South Africa from 1994 – 2010 concerns the intention of the post apartheid ANC government to address the electricity power needs of South Africans. Prior to the independence of South Africa, and the demise of apartheid structures in 1994, the electricity power policy was crafted along the lines of ‘racial exclusiveness in infrastructural development’. Through the arrangement, electricity power was provided to ‘meet the needs of the industrial sector and a privileged white minority ‘to the exclusion of the majority under-privileged black population (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 40). As such the barriers to widened access to electricity power before the

inception of the democratic dispensation in 1994 was institutional and political (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 40). The dismantling of the apartheid regime and the institution of a democratically elected government of National Unity in 1994 opened vistas for a 'paradigm shift' in the electricity power policy of South Africa.

5.5.1 Public Problem

The post apartheid electricity power policy in South Africa is fundamentally concerned with addressing the electrification backlog created by several decades of denials, abuses and suppression. The Reconstruction and Development agenda of the post apartheid ANC government amongst other issues was developed in the context of re-distributing resources through the provision of basic needs' such as electricity to the previously disadvantaged. In the principle of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, 'Nation-building links reconstruction and development, and the key to this link is an infrastructural programme that will provide access to modern services such as electricity....'. This programme will both meet basic needs and open up previously suppressed economic and human potentials in urban and rural areas (white Paper on RDP 1994: 8). The National electrification programme thus, emanates from the policy issues of reconstruction, development and re-distribution in the new dispensation. Government is therefore, challenged by the fact that the majority of households and tens of thousands of schools and clinics do not have access to electricity (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 41). The 'integrated National Electrification Programme was built into the 'Reconstruction and Development Programme to basically address the imbalance in electrification created by previous apartheid regimes.

In view of the foregoing, the electricity policy is designed to address the electrification backlog which confronts the government. Most importantly, the electricity power policy objectives are predicated on the following:

- i. Improve social equity by specifically addressing the electric power requirements of the poor;
- ii. Enhance the efficiency and competitiveness of the South African economy by providing low-cost and high quality energy inputs to industrial, mining and other sectors; and
- iii. Achieve environmental sustainability in both the short and long-term usage of the natural resources (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 43).

As addressing the policy issues of imbalance in electrification and improving social equity by addressing the electricity power requirements of the poor becomes imperative, government also considers the following developments to ensure the success of the electric power sub-sector. These are:

- i. giving customers the right to choose their electricity supplier;
- ii. introducing competition into the industry, especially in the generating sector;
- iii. permitting open, non discriminatory access to the transmission system;
- iv. encouraging private sector participation;
- v. facilitating universal access to electric power;
- vi. protecting the interests and needs of customers and end users;
- vii. achieving efficient, effective and sustainable development in the operation of the sub-sector (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 43; Electricity Regulation Act 4, 2006: 3; Electricity Pricing Policy 2008: 8).

The electric Power Policy in South Africa therefore, emanates from both short and long-term challenges and policy issues. These are:

- i. Addressing the electrification backlog created by previous apartheid regimes.
- ii. Improving social equity via re-distribution which is designed to achieve socio-economic advancement of the poor.
- iii. Poverty alleviation through expanded access to infrastructural and economic opportunities.
- iv. The need for improved efficiency, especially in the distribution unit in the interest of poor consumers and other categories of consumers.

5.5.2 Access and Affordability

The policy focus on electrification in the post apartheid era centers mainly on the issues of increased ‘access and affordability’. Government also focuses on maximizing the potential of the sub-sector to ensure efficiency, reliability and low electricity cost, with the central objective of ‘achieving a balance between meeting social equity, economic growth and environmental goals (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:41; Electricity Pricing Policy 2008:11). These issues are woven into the general objectives of the electric power sub-sector in the country from 1994 (the post-apartheid era).

Addressing the electricity imbalance in the sub-sector in post-apartheid South Africa is fundamental to the government's strategic policy of 'electricity for all'. In addressing the energy imbalance in the domestic sector, we have embarked on an aggressive integrated National Electrification Programme which seeks to address the electrification backlog by 2012' (EBSST 2003:2). The electrification for all programme is thus, rationalized in the context of achieving social equity and poverty alleviation through electrification. In view of this, the government is committed to making electricity 'accessible and affordable' especially to the majority poor. Electric power as a means of 'social equity' is part of the infrastructural re-distributive agenda of the post apartheid government, and is designed to achieve socio-economic equality between the previously disadvantaged majority and the advantaged minority South Africans. On the other hand, electricity is also viewed as a means of poverty alleviation. In the context, electricity contributes to socio-economic development of the poor/underprivileged, thereby, highlighting the link between access to electric power and poverty alleviation. Addressing the backlog issue and pursuing access for all therefore, extends basically to households, schools and clinics that lacked access to electricity power during the apartheid era. The electric power access issue is, therefore, based on:

- i. addressing the electrification backlog in the country;
- ii. improving social equity by providing electricity to the previously disadvantaged;
- iii. alleviating poverty, since electric power in the electrification context contributes to socio-economic development;
- iv. achieving the goal of universal access.

In terms of affordability, government is also obliged to address the issue as it concerns poor households. According to the EBSST (2003:2), 'while the electrification programme is progressing well, we soon realized that there is a need to address affordability issues in electrified households'. Government in this regard, identifies electric power as a basic service/public good which is to be supported by appropriate policing in respect of the poor households. The electrification policy seeks to address ways and means through which government policy can bring about relief to poor electrified households and ensure optimal socio-economic benefits from the National Electrification Programme (EBSST 2003:2). The need to address affordability issues therefore, derives from the following:

- i. the identification of electricity power as an essential public good;
- ii. achieving maximum socio-economic benefits from the National Electrification Programme.

In view of this, the ‘Electricity Basic Support Tariff (Free Basic Electricity) policy seeks to pursue government’s social responsibility to the electrified households. As such, the government recognizes that the provision of free basic services is primarily a social welfare function, which is the government’s responsibility (EBSST 2003:6). The government is therefore, obliged to fulfill this responsibility in the context of addressing affordability issues of electrification through the provision of free basic electricity to poor households. In line with the affordability issue, the ‘Free Basic Electricity Policy’ seeks to:

- i. provide free basic electricity (50kwh) to poor households, thereby, lessening the burden of payment for electricity power on the these households;
- ii. alleviate poverty through socio-economic upliftment;
- iii. achieve efficiency and uniformity in distribution to the poor households.

5.5.2 Sub –Sector Restructuring

Restructuring in the electricity power sub-sector is based on the acknowledgement of certain challenges that limit performance. The restructuring centers mainly on the distribution unit and is focused primarily on achieving the primary objectives of meeting aggressive electrification targets of ensuring world class supply quality, and continuing to provide low and equitably priced electricity to all consumers (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:43; Electricity Pricing Policy 2008:11). Restructuring in the distribution unit is also part of the general government’s intention of promoting competition in the sub-sector and giving customers the right to choose suppliers (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:42; Electricity Regulation Act 4 2006:3). The sub-sector restructuring is therefore, predicated on the following policies:

- i. Government will consolidate the electricity distribution with the maximum number of financially viable independent regional electricity distributors;
- ii. The Regional Electricity Distributors will be owned by government, and control of all distribution network assets must pass to the companies and government will determine appropriate mechanisms for achieving this;
- iii. Licensed privately owned distributors will be allowed to co-exist alongside other public and private distributors to distribute their own generate electricity, subject to approval by the National Regulator (NER);

- iv. The entire sub-sector (generation, transmission and distribution) must move to cost- reflective tariffs with separate, transparent funding electrification and other municipal services.

From the foregoing, the restructuring in the sub-sector, especially the distribution unit is intended to:

- i. ensure government ownership and control of the distribution network;
- ii. eradicate the bottlenecks and complications caused by too many distributors;
- iii. make the distribution unit more financially viable and independent;
- iv. improve quality of services and effectively monitor distribution to the grassroots (the low income consumers);
- v. ensure that consumers are fairly and equitably treated;
- vi. rationalize the prices paid by various customer segments;
- vii. achieve the general electrification goal of ‘access to quality and cheaper electricity power for all’.

5.5.3 Funding

Funding of electrification within the context of the National Electrification Programme is a basic government responsibility. The ‘Electrification Fund’ is designed to fund electrification targets (White paper on Energy Policy 1998: 49, EBSST 2003: 17). As regards the ‘Free Basic Electricity Programme’ the policy states that ‘it is recognized that the ‘Electricity Basic Services Support Tariff (EBSST) is a national policy and thus places the final responsibility for funding and implementation on the national government’ (EBSST 2003: 17). Government therefore, undertakes funding through the nationally collected revenue (ficusus) and also by means of ‘cross-subsidy from high electricity power consumers.

In view of this, Government undertakes the funding of electrification to:

- i. address the backlog of electrification in the country;
- ii. implement the electrification programme as a means of poverty alleviation;
- iii. achieve equitability of distribution and service efficiency;
- iv. implement the electrification programme as a means of social upliftment;
- v. implement a uniform electrification programme throughout the country;
- vi. facilitate the general electrification goal of access to quality and cheaper electricity power for all’.

In summation, the post-apartheid electricity power policy in South Africa is fundamentally concerned with addressing the ‘electrification backlog’ created by previous apartheid regimes. Previous governments had pursued a racially guided electrification policy of providing electricity power to the few privileged minority whites and denying access to the majority black and coloured population. Policy focus in the context, therefore, concerns addressing the basic issues of ‘access and affordability’. As regards electricity power access, the policy focuses on the implementation of ‘Integrated National Electrification Programme’. Electricity power policy in this context is ‘re-distributive’ in nature and considers electrification as a means of achieving social equity and poverty alleviation.

The ‘Free Basic Electricity’ policy is designed to address affordability issues by providing 50kwh free-electricity per month to the electrified poor households. More so, the electricity power sub-sector restructuring is mainly in the distribution unit and focuses on government ownership and control of the distribution network to achieve efficient and reliable services, especially to the poor and other categories of consumers. Government also undertakes electricity power funding through ‘nationally collected revenue and cross-subsidies from high electricity consumers. The essence is to reduce the burden on the poor, and achieve the national electrification goal of ‘access to affordable and quality electricity power for all’.

5.6 COMPARISON OF FINDINGS

This section compares the findings on electricity power policy in Nigeria from 1960 – 2011 and South Africa from 1994 – 2011. The findings are discussed in the context of policy problems, policy issues, restructuring and funding.

NIGERIA

Policy Problem

The electric power policy in Nigeria from 1960 – 2011 emanates from the intention of government to address the massive demand-supply imbalance prevalent in the electric power sub-sector (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 22). The study findings show that previous governments (both civilian and military) had failed to address the imbalance that has persisted for more than four decades. The effect is that as at the year 2000, only 36% of the population had access to electricity (National Electric Power

Policy 2001: 22). This massive imbalance affects the socio-economic development of the country by stifling the growth and expansion of the industrial and commercial sectors, and also inducing frustration amongst households across the country (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 222; Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006: 5; Roadmap 2010: 4). The electric power policy in the study context is therefore, intended to address the massive demand-supply imbalance in the sub-sector.

Policy Issues

The electricity policy in Nigeria is focused on ensuring that the country has an electricity sub-sector that can meet the electrification needs of households, industrial and commercial sectors etc. The electricity policy is therefore, premised on ‘efficiency and accessibility’ issues (National Electric Power Policy 2001:258). The following policy issues are discernible:

- i. The development of a competitive electricity market through liberalization and private sector participation.
- ii. Provision of reliable electricity for the industrial and commercial sector through the private sector.
- iii. Provision of electricity for urban and rural households through the private sector.
- iv. The development of renewable electricity to widen generation sources (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 223; Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: A119 – A121; Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006:3; Roadmap 2010: 4). These issues are central to the reform process in the electric power sub-sector.

Sub-Sector Restructuring

The restructuring of the electric Power Sub-sector in the Nigerian context involves liberalization, privatization and unbundling (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 228; Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005: A81 – A90; Roadmap 2010: 4-5). Liberalization and privatization seek to open up the sub-sector for private sector participation and competition, and unbundling of functions seeks to achieve efficiency in service delivery through competition in the unbundled units (generation, transmission and distribution) (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 242; Electric power Sector Reform Act 2005: A90 – A94). The restructuring is central to the general sub-sector reform.

Funding

To address the efficiency and accessibility and affordability issues in the electricity power sub-sector, government relies mainly on private sector funding. The liberalization and privatization policy is intended to attract private funds into the sub-sector (National Electric Power Policy 2001: 258; Roadmap 2010: 4). Public and private sector participation are only intended in the aspects of ‘Renewable electricity and Rural Electrification (Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2006: 17 -18). The policy focus is to achieve ‘efficiency and accessibility’ in the power sub-sector through a competitive market.

SOUTH AFRICA

Public Problem

The electricity Power Policy in South Africa from 1994 –2011 derives mainly from the commitment of the post apartheid ANC government to address the electrification backlog created by the previous apartheid regimes. The previous apartheid regimes that lasted for many decades had designed a policy of ‘separate development’ in electrification that created access to the minority whites and the industrial sector and denied access to the majority black and coloured population (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 41; EBSST 2003: 2). The policy of racial differentiation/separate development in electrification created a huge backlog resulting in a greater percentage of households and tens of thousands of schools and clinics that lacked access to electricity power supply (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 42). In view of this, the post apartheid ANC government felt the challenge to address the backlog problems.

Policy Issues

To address the backlog problem in the electricity sub-sector, the policy focuses on two principal issues of access and affordability (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 42; EBSST 2003: 2). In this context, the policy issues revolve around the following:

- i. electricity power as a means of improving social equity;
- ii. electricity power as a means of poverty alleviation;

- iii. provision of cheap and high quality electricity to all categories of consumers;
- iv. re-structuring in the distribution unit for efficient service delivery, especially to the poor (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 42; EBSST 2003: 8; Electricity Regulation Act 4, 2006: 3; Electricity Pricing Policy 2008: 10). These issues are fundamental to the post apartheid ANC electrification policy.

Sub-Sector Restructuring

The electricity sub-sector restructuring in South Africa centers mainly on the distribution unit. This is intended to remove certain bottlenecks that limit its ability to achieve the primary electrification objectives of meeting the electrification targets and the provision of cheap and high quality electricity power to consumers (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 43). This, therefore, involves reducing the number of distribution networks, and government ownership and control of the existing networks (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 45; Electricity Regulation Act 4, 2006: 11-12). Central to the restructuring is streamlining distribution, especially in respect of the poor households.

Funding

The electrification backlog and new household connections made under the ‘National Electrification Programme’ is funded by the government through nationally collected revenue (fiscus) and also through cross-subsidy from high electricity consumers (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998: 50; EBSST 2003:17). Government subsidizes the free basic electrification process through a capital of approximately R3, 500 per connection (Wentzel 2005: 12); and through the allocation of 50kwh per month of free electricity. This enables the government to remove the burden of payment for services on poor households, and to implement the free basic electricity policy countrywide.

The foregoing shows a comparison of findings in respect of electricity power policy in Nigeria from 1960 –2011 and South Africa from 1994 – 2011.

5.7 STUDY ANALYSIS

This section compares the policy issues that affect the electricity policy in Nigeria and South Africa, and the impact of the policy issues on achieving the electricity policy goals of ‘access to affordable and quality electricity power by all’ in the two, countries. Generally, policy issues drive public policies (Anderson 2008:87; Gerston 2010:8). In the study context, differences in these issues are found to drive the electric power policy in the two countries.

5.8 ANALYSIS OF ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN NIGERIA

The electricity policy in Nigeria is examined in the context of the reforms in the electricity sub-sector. The reforms which started during the inception of the current democratic dispensation were initiated against the backdrop of neglect and insensitivity of previous administrations to address the policy issues in the electric power sub-sector. Policy development in the sub-sector has been affected by institutional and governance failures (Iwayemi 2008:18; Agba 2011:48). Policy reforms in the sub-sector are therefore, intended to address the critical problem of massive demand-supply imbalance that has persisted for more than four decades (National Electric Power Policy 2001:22).

The reforms which are outlined in the government’s electric power policy documents (National Electric Power Policy 2001; National Energy Policy 2003; Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005; Renewable Energy Guidelines 2006) seek to promote the policy of liberalization, competition and private sector-led growth in the electric power sub-sector (Irukere & Isiekwena 2009:54). The liberalization and privatization option of the government is therefore, intended to address the massive demand-supply imbalance in the sub-sector. The option is also perceived in the context of addressing the accessibility, affordability and efficiency issues (National Electric Power Policy 2001:258) that exist within the demand-supply gap. These issues are therefore, premised on:

- i. the development of a competitive electricity market through liberalization and private sector participation;
- ii. provision of reliable electricity for household, industrial and commercial sectors through the private sector; and

- iii. the development of a renewable electricity option to widen generation sources (National Electric Power Policy 2001:223; Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005:A119-A121; Renewable Electricity Policy Guidelines 2006:3).

The principles of the reform which constitute the critical policy approach/ issues are thus, founded on the need to address accessibility, affordability and efficiency issues through the policy of liberalization, privatization and competition.

5.8.1 Policy Issues and Public Welfare

The electric power policy issues are examined in the context of public interest/public welfare. This is in lieu of the fact that the basic policy goal is to achieve ‘access to quality and affordable electricity for all Nigerians’. The public interest/public welfare agenda on electrification centers on the provision of electricity for general welfare. This further implies improving social status through facilitating the provision of basic needs such as health, education, food etc (Wamukoya 2003:1273; Dubash 2001:5). In view of this, the government’s policy of achieving the electrification goal of widened access to quality and affordable electricity power by re-organizing the sub-sector around private ownership and competition in generation, transmission and distribution is assessed in terms of achieving the public interest. This involves balancing the social, economic and environmental issues of electrification; and streamlining these issues to reflect the public interest (interest of the different segments of the society, especially the under-privileged majority).

The policy context of liberalization and privatization in Nigeria shows the priority of general economic and financial issues over specific social and environmental considerations. This is evidenced by the general intention of the government to reform the sub-sector and accelerate its contribution to the economic growth of the country and also free up government resources that are, otherwise, used to subsidize electricity power. This confirms the views of Dubash 2001:5; Wamukoya 2003:1273) that such market oriented power sector reforms are mainly designed to address economic and financial concerns of the government with insufficient considerations for social and environmental issues that affect majority of the people in the country. In the study context, the economic and financial concerns of the government are therefore, contested against the social and environmental issues of electrification in Nigeria. The financial and economic concerns result from the inability of government to finance electrification in the country; and the long-run benefits of economic growth achievable by attracting

private capital into the sub-sector from both domestic and foreign sources. The social issues concern the welfare of the people as regards social upliftment and poverty alleviation offered through the provision of electricity power for socio-economic development. This is equally aligned to the environmental concern of protecting the environment from both indoor and industrial pollution caused by different generation sources; and different household energy sources often resorted to by the majority of less privileged households.

The privatization policy implies the removal of subsidies and the increase in the price of electricity by the competing firms to cover costs and make a profit. The competing firms are interested in profit; they are not interested in social objectives (Baylis 2002:7). As such, in the context of the policy goal of access and affordability of electricity power by all, it has implications for the social considerations of electrification in the country. The electricity subsidy is a common means of assisting the poor to gain access to electric power. The majority of Nigerians are challenged by socio-economic issues of deprivations caused by poverty and unemployment. More than 70% of Nigerians live in poverty and unemployment, lacking access to basic amenities and also surviving on less than USD2 (N300) per day (Ademiluyi 2012:2; Aderounmu 2012:1).

The social structure is polarized on a minority-haves and majority-have-nots basis, resulting in massive income inequality. Matching the policy issues of electrification with critical socio-economic considerations of social equity, poverty alleviation and employment creation becomes imperative. This therefore, brings into question the extent of achieving access and affordability of electricity power for all, when a greater percentage of the population is challenged by socio-economic issues of deprivations, poverty and unemployment; in the absence of government's effort to improve the living conditions of the majority poor. Privatization in the reform context affects employment creation and affects the ability of the majority poor to have access to affordable electricity. Oboi (2003:1) confirms that government's policy to privatize the electricity sub-sector is generally anti-worker and further impoverishes the teeming masses of the country. Access and affordability in the reform context is therefore, a function of market forces; and this affects access to other basic needs such as health, food, education etc and the creation of small scale economic opportunities for individual's socio-economic advancements.

The privatization principles produces a crack, since the policy issues of the reform are contested against the existing socio-economic context of social upliftment, job creation and poverty alleviation.

Electricity power is a public good which is provided in the interest of every member of the public. Hughes (2003:78) asserts that 'public good' benefit all users whether or not they have paid the price. The basic socio-economic consideration of electrification hinges on socio-economic upliftment through the provision of basic needs for the majority poor. The policy issues of access, affordability and efficiency, becomes difficult to balance in the light of the privatization policy, given the socio-economic challenges of deprivations, poverty and unemployment in the country. The removal of electricity power subsidy which is a critical privatization principle in the country can only be in order if the government stands up to its social welfare responsibilities.

The privatization policy is thus, considered self-serving and becomes an agenda for primitive capitalist accumulation. It is part of the overall agenda of the capitalist class (Ademiluyi 2012:1). The private interests are masked behind the policy issues, and the privatization process is found to benefit the few privileged to the detriment of the majority under-privileged, whose welfare conditions the electrification policy is intended to address. The submission by Hall (2010:5) that the Nigerian government is doing the precise opposite of what is known to work best for creating universal access to electricity, by dissolving an integrated public utility company in favour of privatized interests, buttresses the crack in the policy issues.

The view is also in line with the policy discrepancy of providing a 'public good' in the nature of electric power in a country with sea of poverty, and characterized by leadership insensitivity and failure. The incidence of corruption and private interest in the reform process (Hall 2010:5; Ajaero 2012:1; Ayanruoh 2012:2) undermines public interest of electrification in the study context. The privatization policy creates private interests and corrupt practices which in the study context are drawn against the public interest of universal access to electricity power. Privatization in the Nigerian context limits access and affordability, thereby, undermining the pressing socio-economic concerns of electrification that needs to be addressed through increased access and affordability.

In summary, electricity power policy issues in Nigeria are analyzed in the context of the policy goal of widened access, affordability and efficiency of service. The policy is intended to achieve the goal of electrification through market oriented power sector reforms of liberalization and privatization. However the policy issues are found to pursue the financial and economic concerns of long-run economic growth to the neglect of the critical environmental and socio-economic considerations of promoting public welfare through electrification. Electric power is a public good and plays a

considerable role in the socio-economic development of the people especially the majority poor given the socio-economic challenges in the country. The public interest perspective assesses the policy issues in the context of the critical issues of social welfare through electrification. These issues are vital in achieving the goal of ‘universal access’ to electric power in the country.

5.8.2 Impact of the Policy Issues

The government policy on electrification is intended to achieve the goal of universal access to electric power through market oriented sub-sector reforms of liberalization, privatization and competition. The policy issues are further analyzed in terms of the impact in achieving electricity power access, affordability and efficiency of service.

Access and efficiency of service have not improved considerably in households or the industrial and commercial sectors. The effects and frustrations associated with the persistent situation are also high. All the private companies licensed since 2005, under the Electric Power Sector Reform Act of 2005, have not generated a single mega-watt of electricity (Hall 2010:5; Ademiluyi 2012:1; Ayanruoh 2012:2). The generating capacity still lies with the National Utility Power Company (PHCN) as the companies have failed to build their own independent outfits and commence generation. Despite a continuous increase in demand, the large amount of money invested in the privatization programme, and the general euphoria of increased access and reliability of electricity power through private sector participation, the situation has not improved. The peak value of power generation per year for 2011 has remained at 4,052MW (PHCN 2011) in a country of more than 160m people with large scale industrial, commercial and household activities. The electric power supply in the urban and rural areas remains inefficient. Affluent households and the industrial sectors rely on backup generators for power.

Affordability of electricity power is another issue contested in the context of the policy goal of achieving universal access to electricity power in the country. In the Nigerian context, privatization has resulted in the withdrawal of government subsidy and the determination of price by the market forces. In the present development, a new tariff rate of N18.00 per (pkwh) as against the old rate of N4.00 has been fixed by the government (Ademiluyi 2012:1). This is considered harsh given the present socio-economic realities of inequality, poverty, unemployment and underemployment suffered by majority of the people. Such an anti-poor electricity price policy is not in line with achieving the goal of universal access to electric power in the country.

The privatization policy with the implications of subsidy removal and private service delivery impacts negatively on access and affordability of electricity power in the country. Access to electricity power is a development issue in the country which is addressed in the context of public interest. The situation pre-disposes Nigerians especially the poor to developing an attitude of indifference to electric power policy issues. The policy issues do not sustain the needs and aspirations of the majority. It also affects good governance and public participation in the electric power policy process.

5.9 ANALYSIS OF ELECTRICITY POWER POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The study examines the electric power policy approach in South Africa in the context of the policy issues that affect electrification in the country. The policy issues derive from the commitment of the post apartheid ANC government to address the electricity backlog created by several decades of apartheid regimes. The apartheid electric power policy was developed on issues of racial differentiation, thereby, enabling access to the minority white population, the industrial and commercial sectors and denying such access to the majority coloured and black population.

The backlog and imbalance issues therefore, identified electrification as a public problem for the new Government of National Unity (GNU). A public problem which the government initially, sought to address through the adoption of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) an integrated policy platform which set out a marshall plan-like programme for social and economic advancement, centered on the development of infrastructure (such as electricity) for poor communities (Eberhard 2003:12). The electricity policy in this context derives from a redistributive RDP platform which is based on the understanding that electrification is a public problem; and an infrastructure of development that should be located institutionally in the same place as other forms of infrastructure development (Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt& Marquard 2008:3127). The policy goal of ‘universal access’ also derives from the policy issues of access and affordability (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:41; EBSST 2003:2). The policy issues are therefore, predicated on:

- i. addressing the electrification backlog in the country;
- ii. improving social equity by specifically addressing the electric power requirements of the poor;
- iii. poverty alleviation through expanded access to affordable and quality electricity;

- iv. achieving environmental sustainability of electrification (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:43).

In the study context, the electric power policy issues are viewed from the concerns of the post apartheid ANC government to address the backlog and imbalance created by the previous apartheid government through an integrated policy approach that balances economic issues with social and environmental considerations.

5.9.1 Policy Issues and Public Welfare

The study examines electricity power policy issues in South Africa in the context of public welfare. This is a public benefit perspective that is found central to the post apartheid electricity power policy. The concern of the government to identify the imbalance and backlog issues contextually, equates with the policy goal of achieving universal access to electricity power in the country. The policy issues are thus, identified in terms of balancing the economic issues with environmental and social considerations.

South Africa possesses an energy intensive economy, a world class electricity supply industry (Bekker, Eberhard, Gaunt & Marquard 2008:3126) that contributes magnificently to the economic development of the country. Due to previous political and institutional contexts of the country, economic issues of electrification prevailed over other considerations, which in the study context are identified as social and environmental. The social perspective recognizes the incidence of social inequality and poverty arising from the historical and social contexts of the country; and the environmental concern also recognizes the use of uniform energy sources in order to avert indoor and industrial pollutions. The post apartheid electricity power policy recognizes that these issues constitute public problem. The electricity power policy is therefore, designed to achieve social equity and poverty alleviation. The policy issues of electrification are identified in terms of balancing the potentials of higher economic growth and the social considerations of effecting improvements in the living conditions of the previously oppressed and marginalized majority poor South Africans. This electrification model of balancing economic efficiency and pertinent social considerations is unique (Van Horen & Simmonds 1998:893); and the novel model leads to the adoption of decisions different from those taken in most conventional electrification programmes in developing countries (Gaunt 2005:1309). The policy commitment of the government enshrined in the RDP principles of ‘meeting basic needs’ results in the integrated

electrification policy designed to achieve social equity and poverty alleviation. The policy is therefore, strategic in terms of aligning policy with public interest, defined within the context of public good.

In the study context, electricity power is identified as playing a considerable role in achieving the socio-economic advancement of the majority poor South Africans through the provision of basic needs such as food, health, education etc. Such provision opens vistas for employment creation at the micro level for the poor; and also controls the environmental impact arising from the use of different energy sources by the poor households. The post apartheid energy paradigm shift (Tinto & Banda 2005:26) identifies these pertinent concerns arising from the historical and social contexts of the country and aligns the issues in the public interest domain of 'electricity for all'.

The twin issues of access and affordability are premised on the policy goal of universal access to electricity in the country. Electricity is recognized as an essential public good and access to electricity by everyone constitutes another means of achieving social welfare and poverty alleviation. Adam (2010:10) justifies this as the reason that electricity power is viewed as an implied right. This implies that, as an essential public good, the government through adequate policy measures ensures that its provision is achieved; and that its provision contributes to the public interest by creating a condition for the socio-economic advancements of the majority poor. This is explained in terms of improving the condition of living and welfare of the poor by providing opportunities in small scale businesses like baking, refrigerating and selling of cold drinks, sewing etc.

Accessibility and affordability of electric power in the reform context is guaranteed by government subsidy. Government strategically uses the subsidy on electrification to achieve the policy goal of universal access. This is basically imperative in terms of the social and environmental considerations of providing affordable electricity power to majority of poor households. Wentzel (2005:12) contends that 'subsidies... are justified if they produce gains in social welfare'. The social considerations of achieving social equity and poverty alleviation through electrification is thus, sustained by the use of such government subsidies (funding through the fiscus). Government subsidy in the study context is the means of addressing the imbalance in electrification through widened access and enabling the connected poor households to afford electricity power. It is another means of fulfilling the government's social responsibilities in the interest of the majority poor.

The policy issues of access and affordability strongly sustained by the social concern of achieving social equity, poverty alleviation and clean environment through electrification enhances the public interest in the sub-sector. This creates good governance and strong public participation in the electricity power policy process. Public participation in the electric power policy process provides a strong means of balancing the policy issues with public interest.

5.9.2 Impact of the Policy Issues

In the study context, the policy issues are further analyzed in terms of their impact on the policy goal of achieving universal access to electricity power in the country. The study examines the policy goal in the context of the policy instruments of integrated national electrification programme (INEP) and the Electricity Basic Services Support Tariff (EBSST).

The Integrated National Electrification Programme was designed to address the backlog issues in the sub-sector with the specific objective of addressing the energy requirements of the poor. According to the Bua Briefs (2012:1) only 36% of the South African households had access to electricity power in 1994, leaving a backlog of over three million households, which constitutes an estimated 64% of the households (urban and rural). Moreover, 19,000 black schools (86%) and about 4,000 clinics were without electricity (D.M.E Progress Report 2010). Addressing the backlog issues was the specific task of the National Electrification Programme which commenced in 1994 and was funded through government subsidies.

Within the first ten (10 years) of the programme (1994-2004), an estimated 3,803.160 households, signifying 71% of the population was connected to electricity (D.M.E Progress Report 2010); and with about 300,000 connections per year (Bua Briefs 2012:1), an estimated 5,903.160m household connections between 1994-2011 has been achieved, also signifying 83% connections/access to electricity (Bua Briefs 2012:1). Moreover, over the period, more than 12,000 schools and about 3,000 clinics (D.M.E 2010:3) have been electrified. It is also important to note that as the electrification programme progresses, the access for all goals is continuously challenged by an increase in the number of households in the urban and rural areas.

Achieving the goal of electrification in the country does not end with connecting the households. The introduction of 50kwh of free basic electricity per month to the newly electrified poor households is a need to address the affordability issues (EBSST 2003:2). The introduction of 50kwh of free electricity

per month to the newly connected poor households is thus, assessed in terms of achieving the policy goal of universal access to electricity power in the country.

The foregoing shows an obvious impact on access and affordability in the context of public interest considerations of social equity and poverty alleviation. Addressing these issues through the Integrated National Electrification Programme and the Free Basic electricity approach has produced considerable impact on ensuring the welfare of the majority poor households. The impact is evidenced in the contributions to improved living conditions in homes through the reduction of fire incidents, indoor pollution, improvements in health care and education through the use of modern equipment (Mathee & De Wet 2001:21; Malzbender 2005:13; Mvondo 2010:89). It also contributes additional income to the households (Mvondo 2010:86). These have induced small scale economic activities for the welfare of the poor households, who engage in baking, sewing, buying of food items such as cold drinks and vegetables and refrigerating for sale etc. On a larger scale, the electrification programme contributes to job creation and skills development in the rural areas. As at December, 2009, around 32,999 jobs were created through the electricity for all programme (Niez 2010:8). Even though most of the jobs are casual or temporary, they contribute to the welfare of the poor.

The policy issues of social equity and poverty alleviation impact positively on the goal of achieving universal access to electricity power in the country. The policy instruments of Integrated National Electrification and the Electricity Basic Services Support Tariff ensures that the policy goal of access is achieved by addressing the access and affordability concerns of the government. The implementations further results in welfare benefits to the poor. Such benefits are found to contribute to the socio-economic upliftment of the poor.

5.10 COMPARISON OF ANALYSIS

This section compares the analysis of electric power policy in Nigeria from 1960-2011, and South Africa from 1994-2011. It comparatively, discusses the policy approach and their impact in achieving the goal of universal access to electric power in the two countries.

NIGERIA

To address the massive demand-supply imbalance persistent in the electricity power sub-sector for many decades, the government identifies the policy issues of liberalization, privatization and competition (National Electric Power Policy 2001; Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005). These issues are identified as the drivers of the sub-sector reform aimed at achieving the goals of widened access and affordability. Liberalization and privatization open up the electricity power sub-sector for competition and efficiency of service, thereby, taking away the provision of electricity from the National Public Utility Company.

The study examines the policy issues of electrification in Nigeria in the context of public interest. These issues are the drivers of the policy goal of universal access i.e. access to affordable and quality electricity for all (National Electric Power Policy 2001:221-222). The policy goal of achieving access to affordable and quality electricity power in the country implies sustained access to affordable and efficient services to all categories of Nigerians. The policy issues of providing electricity power through private sector arrangement are assumed in the public interest of Nigerians. However, the public interest agenda on electrification in the study context implies the provision of services for the general welfare; and this involves socio-economic upliftment through the provision of basic needs, such as food, health and education facilities etc. The policy goal of achieving universal access therefore, implies massive socio-economic considerations of guaranteeing the welfare of Nigerians, especially the majority of the economically challenged.

The liberalization and privatization policy in the sub-sector affects government subsidy (the government had used the subsidy as a means of extending access through affordable tariffs). The impact of subsidy removal is that access and affordability become functions of the market forces. However, the socio-economic contexts of the country depict massive poverty, inequality and unemployment. The removal of the subsidy in the policy context, and the determination of access and affordability by the market forces are found not to be in line with achieving the goal of universal access, given the socio-economic powerlessness that the majority of the people are trapped in. Electricity as a public good is a means of achieving socio-economic upliftment in a developing country such as Nigeria with massive grass roots socio-economic challenges.

The study shows that in 2001, an estimated 36% of the population had access to electricity power with an abysmal generation level of 1,500MW (National Electric Power Policy 2001:222). However, with the massive injection of funds into PHCN, the generation level was raised to about 4,052MW in 2005 and has remained so in 2011(PHCN 2011). Above all, the introduction of liberalization and privatization through the Electric Power Sector Act of 2005 has not made a considerable impact in the challenging issue of scaling up access to quality and affordable electricity power. The privatized generating companies have not added to what is available and new tariff rate of N18.00 pkwh as against the old rate of N4.00 affects affordability, especially for the majority less empowered Nigerians. The implication is that the majority of Nigerians are still denied access to quality and affordable electric power, and both households, the industrial and commercial sectors are using backup generators. The situation has negative a impact on access to basic needs such as food, health care, education etc; and also stifles opportunities for small scale grass roots economic activity.

The policy issues of liberalization and privatization in the study period have not recorded positive impacts on achieving the policy goal of universal access to electricity power in the country. The approach can be contested against the public interest perspective of providing access to affordable and quality electricity power in the interest of all categories of Nigerians.

SOUTH AFRICA

Electricity power policy approach in South Africa derives from the need of the post apartheid ANC government to address the electricity backlog created by several decades of apartheid government. This has enabled the identification of electricity access as a public problem, and its proper placing in the public policy agenda.

In lieu of this, the government identifies the policy issues of addressing energy poverty in the country by improving social equity, poverty alleviation and achieving environmental sustainability through electrification (White Paper on Energy Policy 1998:41; EBSST 2003:2). The study further identifies these issues in the context of public interest, since; the post apartheid electric power policy derives from meeting the 'basic needs' of the people, especially the previously marginalized. Due to the historical and social contexts of South Africa, they constitute the majority poor. The policy issues of access and affordability are found to be central in achieving the policy goal of 'universal access' in the country. Through the 'Integrated National Electrification Programme' the government undertakes to

address the backlog issues by electrifying millions of households and thousands of schools and clinics across the country. This is, specifically, in the policy principle of extending access to all households. A follow up to the integrated programme is the introduction of 'Free Basic Electricity Policy which aims to address the affordability issues by allocating 50kwh electricity to the electrified poor households. This is to bring relief to the poor households and ensure optimal socio-economic benefits from the National Electrification Programme (EBSST 200:2). These considerations are aimed at expanding access to affordable and quality electricity power to the majority poor who bear the burden of critical socio-economic challenges created, especially by previous political and institutional contexts.

The social considerations of achieving socio-economic upliftment through electrification are found suitable in the public interest, given the socio-economic challenges of poverty, unemployment and wide social disparity. The policy issues thus, consider the general welfare of the majority poor through the provision of affordable and quality electricity power. This facilitates the provision of basic needs such as food, health care, education etc, and creates avenues for individual socio-economic advancements through small scale businesses. Through the Integrated Electrification Programme, an estimated 83% of the population has access to electricity power in 2011, as against 36% in 1994; and the Free Basic electricity policy is implemented across the country to enable the poor connected households' access to quality electricity power.

The impacts are remarkable in the contributions of these issues in achieving the policy goal of universal access in the country. This is found in the contributions to improved living conditions of majority poor households, improvements in health care and education, especially in the remote areas through the use of modern equipment, and income for some households through petty economic activities. The policy concern of addressing the electricity backlog through social considerations of social equity and poverty alleviation is in line with achieving the policy goal of universal access. These issues are aligned to the public benefit agenda of grass roots socio-economic development through electrification.

5.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter has focused on comparing the electric power policy in Nigeria from 1960-2011, and South Africa from 1994-2011. The electric power policy approach adopted by the Nigerian government in response to the electrification challenges in the period have been discussed and compared with that of South Africa with a view to identifying the policy issues that affect electrification in the two countries.

In Nigeria, the study findings show that policy development in the electricity sub-sector between 1960-1999 was affected by series of military incursions into politics, and the general undemocratic and unstable nature of the society. The electricity policy from 2001-2011, is therefore, in response to the electrification challenges (which constitute part of the election promises) as intended to be addressed by government in the democratic dispensation. The policy therefore, derives from the massive demand-supply imbalance that has persisted in the sub-sector for decades. The policy focus is therefore, predicated on access to quality and affordable electric power by all categories of Nigerians. Furthermore, government intends to achieve 'universal access' through liberalization, privatization and competition in the sub-sector. Since service delivery through the public sector has not produced desirable results, private sector led activities are therefore, needed to achieve the policy goal of economic growth through electrification.

The policy issues that affect electrification are thus analyzed in the context of public welfare. This is in view of the present socio-economic realities in the country, characterized by the challenges of poverty, unemployment, etc. The electricity policy in the study context is therefore, contested against the public interest realities. The policy issues of privatization and competition are found not to be in line with achieving expanded access to quality and affordable electricity power by all categories of Nigerians. The issues are rather found to be self-serving in the interest of minority, and have not produced anticipated impact of achieving the policy goal of universal access to electricity power. These realities are also found to affect good governance and public participation in the electric power policy process.

In South Africa, the study findings show that the electricity policy depicts the intention of the post apartheid ANC government to address the electricity backlog created by several years of apartheid regime. Electricity policy during the apartheid era was implemented along lines of racial differentiation in infrastructural development. Electricity was provided to the minority white population, the industrial and commercial sectors to the exclusion of the majority black and population.

The post apartheid government of 'National Unity' identified the imbalance as a public problem and strategically placed it on the public policy agenda for policy making. Access and affordability issues became central to the electricity policy agenda. In view of this, the policy emerged out of rare social considerations of social equity and poverty alleviation, and environmental concerns. The policy aims to address the energy requirements of the poor with a view to contributing to achieving socio-economic advancements of the poor who are victims of the historical and socio-economic realities of the country. Furthermore, the electric power policy in the country is found to be in line with the public interest perspective of electrification. The provision of electricity enables access to other basic needs such as food, health care, education etc. Electricity in the policy context is therefore, part of the government's social welfare responsibility.

The policy goal of universal access to electricity power in the country is pursued through the 'Integrated National Electrification and the Electricity Basic Service Support Tariff. Through the National Electrification Programme, government has provided access to about 83% of the population between 1994 and 2011, and the Free Basic electricity policy has enabled the poor connected households to have access to quality electricity power through the offer of free 50kwh free electricity power per month from the government.

The policy issues are found to have a considerable impact on achieving the policy goal of universal access to electric power in the country. In the study context, the electricity policy in South Africa creates good governance and strong public participation in the electric power policy process.

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CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The study compared electric power generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria (1960-2011), and South Africa (1994-2011). The study focused on the policy approach, the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa, and the impact of the policy issues in achieving the goal of universal access to quality and affordable electricity power in both countries. The theoretical and methodological approach to the study enabled an in depth textual analysis based on the relevant data (electric power policy documents) generated from the two, countries. The purpose of this chapter is to present a chapter-by-chapter summary of the study, offer recommendations based on the study findings and analysis, and draw a study-relevant conclusion.

6.2 Summary

Chapter one provided the general framework of the study, and had three main components. Firstly, it provided the introduction/background of the study; the rational/motivation of the study; statement of the problem which constituted the research concern; the objectives which stated what the study wanted to achieve; the research questions which precisely related to the study's investigations; the significance of the study which provided the study's contribution to existing body of knowledge in the field of public administration; and the research relevance which related to the study concern to, investigate electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from a policy angle.

The second component concerned the methodological approach to the study. It consisted of the research design, which provided the framework for data collection; research methodology which explained ways of collecting the study data and analyzing it, and also presenting the study report. The second component concerned the ethical procedure, and was intended to show that the study adhered to the university's ethical guidelines; the study scope; and the limitations which in the study context, are the electricity power policy documents obtained in the two countries within the study period. Concepts

clarifications clearly defined the relevant technical terms of public administration, public policy, and electric power policy.

The third component was the theoretical approach to the study. It provided a framework for explaining the theoretical context of the study. The chapter also provided an outline of the study structure.

Chapter two of the study was the literature review. It provided a survey of the available published works in the study context. It was sub-divided into relevant sub-headings. Firstly, the theoretical context review of the study provided the theoretical base for a comparative study of electric power policy in Nigeria, (1960-2011) and South Africa, (1994-2011). Theory building in the study context, led to a review of scholarly works in the areas of comparative public administration, systems theory, and advocacy coalition framework. Secondly, public administration was reviewed in the context of its generic functions as it concerns a comparative study of electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Thirdly, the reviews of some scholarly public works on public policy were done in the context of the study. Fourthly, the study undertook a comprehensive review of publications on electric power in Nigeria and South Africa; and other relevant publications on the electric power policy. The reviews of scholarly works on electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa were organized around the policy issues that comparatively affect electrification, and the impact of the policy issues in achieving the goal of 'universal access to electricity power' in both countries.

Chapter Three of the study dealt with the historical and socio-political issues in Nigeria and South Africa. The different historical and socio-political issues have profound implications on electricity power policy in the two, countries. In Nigeria, the historical and socio-political issues were divided into the following sub topics: the historical context, which provided the historical background of the country; issues in the Nigerian federalism which emanates from the federal content, such as, the nature of the federating units, Nigeria fiscal federalism, politics of resource control, inter-governmental relations, sub-national aggression, and state creation.

Secondly, ethnicity and sectional consciousness generates persistent problems and challenges not only for national governance but also for policy-making on electrification. Challenges in this context, arise from the ethnic background of the country, and ethnicity and power struggle. Thirdly, the politicization of religion generates serious challenges and concerns for the corporate existence of the county and

policy-making in the study context. The historical and socio-political issues have serious implications on policy-making in the study context in Nigeria.

In South Africa, the historical and socio-political issues also have profound implications on policy-making in the electricity sub-structure. The historical issues include, the apartheid background; and apartheid regimes in the country. The socio-political issues are the ‘Reconstruction and Development Programme’ which was developed on the philosophy of massive socio-political and economic transformation of the country by the post-apartheid government. The issue of reconciliation and redress is based on the recognition of the divisions and injustices created by the past apartheid regimes. Reconciliation and redress derive from the intention to achieve national reconciliation and nation-building through forgiveness, redress and consolation. The issue of poverty and inequality also poses serious challenges in the country. Government’s effort at addressing poverty and inequality is evidenced in the adoption of different measures to empower the previously disadvantaged that constitutes the presently majority poor. The historical and socio-political issues have profound implications on policy-making in the electricity sub-sector in South Africa. Electricity power policy issues in both countries are generated within the contexts of peculiar historical and socio-political issues.

Chapter Four of the study focused on the place of the electric power policy in public administration. Firstly, the study identified electricity as ‘an essential public good’ in Nigeria and South Africa. Electricity provision is part of the social welfare responsibility of the government which is provided through the institution of public administration in both countries. Secondly, good governance and public interest in electrification in both countries concerns improving electricity power governance, and to achieve this within ‘a framework of service efficiency and social equity in line with sustainable development and public interests’. Thirdly, the study discussed electricity as a policy challenge, and identified the policy process of electrification in both countries. The challenges derive from the identification of electrification as a ‘public problem, which is hinged on its supportive roles in the socio-economic development of the two countries. The study also discussed policy-making in the electric power sub-sector as a function of public administration. This is in the context of public administration as ‘a system’ and ‘an activity’. These perspectives generally allow for the placing of electricity power policy in Nigeria and South Africa in the public administration domain.

Chapter Five discussed the findings and analysis of the study. Firstly, it discussed the electric power policy documents in Nigeria and South Africa. In Nigeria, the study findings focused on the need for reform in the sub-sector, which derives from the massive demand-supply imbalance persistent in the sub-sector for decades; the reform process focused on the government's policy to achieve universal access through the markets, and funding of electrification through the private sector. In South Africa, the study findings focused on the identification of electrification as a public problem, and its proper placing on the public policy agenda. This derives from the concern of the post apartheid government to address the backlog issues created by several years of apartheid regime in the country. Access and affordability issues emanate from the identification of electric power as an essential public good which is part of government's social welfare responsibility to the people. The electricity for all program, is thus, rationalized in the context of achieving social equity and poverty alleviation through electrification. Sub-sector restructuring is based on the primary objective of meeting the electrification target in the country; and funding in the context of 'integrated electrification programme' to achieve universal access remains a basic government responsibility.

The study analyzed the electric power policy in both countries in the context of policy issues and public welfare. The public agenda on electrification centers on the provision of electric power for general welfare, and the policy goal in both countries is to achieve 'universal access'. In Nigeria, the policy approach of liberalization, privatization and competition in the sub-sector were contested against the social considerations of providing electricity in the context of social welfare and public interest, given the socio-economic challenges confronting the majority of the population. The policy issues were found not to be in line with 'accessibility and affordability' challenges, in terms of achieving 'universal access' to quality and affordable electricity in the country. In South Africa the electric power policy issues are identified in terms of balancing economic issues with the social and environmental concerns of electrification in the country. The policy issues of achieving 'social equity' and 'poverty alleviation' through electrification was found to be in line with the public interest of improving the socio-economic conditions of the majority poor. In the policy context, electricity is an essential public good, and it is the social welfare responsibility of the government to ensure that its provision to all is achieved. The policy issues of social equity, poverty alleviation and clean environment through uniform energy sources in the households were found to impact positively in achieving the goal of 'universal access' to quality and affordable electricity in the country.

Chapter Six provides the summary, recommendations and conclusion of the study. The summary provides the main issues in the chapters. The recommendations are study-relevant, and are based on the study findings and analysis in terms of the policy issues that affect electrification in Nigeria and South Africa.

6.3 Recommendations

The policy angle to electrification in Nigeria and South Africa enables for a comparative study of electricity power policy approach in both countries. The study investigates the policy issues that affect electrification, and the impact of the policy issues on achieving the goal of universal access to quality and affordable electric power in both countries. The recommendations of the study derive from a comparative problem-solving approach which forms the central objective of the electricity policy in the two countries. The recommendations are based on the findings of the study regarding the critical issues and principles for achieving access to quality and affordable electricity power by all in Nigeria and South Africa.

Recommendation One: Promote and sustain public interest on electrification in Nigeria through good governance.

In Nigeria, the inability of the political process to provide good governance in the sub-sector creates grave concern in seeking convergence between electricity power policy issues and public interest. Public interest is generally taken to mean ‘a commonly accepted good’ which in the study context involves achieving the electric power interests of the general public in Nigeria and South Africa. This is the provision of quality and affordable electricity power by the government for public welfare. It is then the public interest perspective of social welfare that justifies electric power as ‘a public good’ in both countries, the provision of which government policy is normatively intended to achieve. Good governance on the other hand, is a product of the political process and in the study context, entails government in both countries living up to the social welfare responsibility of promoting and sustaining public interest through electrification. This involves identifying electric power as a public problem and placing it strategically on the public policy agenda for policy-making based on the identified public interest.

In South Africa, good governance has been found to promote and sustain public interest in electrification. It has enabled the identification of electrification as a public problem, and policy-making in the sub-sector in line with the public interest of balancing economic concerns with environmental and social considerations of ‘social equity’ and ‘poverty alleviation’. The South African experience shows that good governance in the sub-sector creates the right conditions for policy-making, and to achieve this ‘within a framework of service efficiency and social equity in line with sustainable development and public interest’.

In view of this, a critical issue of consideration for promoting and sustaining public interest in electrification in Nigeria is through good governance in the sub-sector. It makes for public participation in the policy process and the proper identification of policy issues. It further allows for the proper coalition of interests on the public benefit issues of electrification, and the strengthening of the role of public administration agencies in the electric power policy process. This can be achieved through the active participation of the various segments and sub-interests in the policy process. These sub-interests can be drawn from the end users/households, the industrial and commercial sectors, the bureaucracy, academic sector, professional associations and trade unions, and the elected representatives in the national assembly. The legislators in the national assembly should play crucial roles in terms of achieving a strong ‘build up’ of policy issues and profiling critical and relevant inputs from the people for policy-making. Through this, all sub-interest considerations can be factored in, and the policy process genuinely engineered.

Recommendation Two: Develop electricity power policy in the context of socio-economic challenges in Nigeria.

Electricity is found to play a vital role in supporting socio-economic development and in enabling the achievement of the millennium development goals (MDGs) by improving social status through facilitating the provision of basic needs such as health, education, food, water etc. Moreover, the electricity sub-sector is a source of employment (directly when workers are hired to work in the industry, and indirectly when the provision of electricity power induces petty grass root economic activities).

The findings of this study show that Nigeria and South Africa are confronted with similar socio-economic challenges of poverty and inequality, unemployment etc, though these challenges came

through different causes. Poverty and unemployment in Nigeria are outcomes of the inability of the political process (past and present) to address the socio-economic challenges of the country through the policy process. In South Africa, it is mainly an outcome of the past political and institutional forces of apartheid regime, implemented through socio-economic policies of ‘racial exclusion’ and ‘uneven development’. The socio-economic challenges of the post apartheid government, therefore, provide a background to an ‘integrated electricity policy’ developed and sustained by the intention to achieve social equity and poverty alleviation through electrification. The provision of electricity in the country has facilitated the creation of employment and improved social status through the provision of such basic needs such as food, health, education, water etc. These constitute the crux of government’s socio-economic concerns.

The South African experience offers policy-lessons to Nigeria for developing electricity power policy in the context of pressing socio-economic challenges in the country. Current reforms in the sub-sector, which lead to the abdication of the government’s social welfare responsibility of providing a quality and affordable service to the people, are found to be anti-poor and stifle opportunities of socio-economic development. The privatization policy, which relegates the provision of electricity power to the markets (with the effects of price increases), is found to negatively affect the growth of small scale economic activities that could enhance poverty alleviation. It also negates the provision of basic needs such as food, water, education, health etc to the impoverished population.

Drawing from the South Africa model becomes imperative in developing an electric power policy in the context of pressing socio-economic challenges that confront the majority of Nigerians. This can be achieved by streamlining the electric power policy with the short and long term economic development agenda that centers on advancing the socio-economic status of the majority of impoverished Nigerians through the provision of poverty alleviation measures by the government. Through this, electrification can effectively contribute to socio-economic development, and also facilitate the achievement of the millennium development goals (MDGs) in the country.

Recommendation Three: Achieve universal access to electricity power in Nigeria through public funding.

The study findings show that electricity is an essential public good which is provided through public administration agencies in Nigeria and South Africa. It is therefore, expected to be provided by

government to all without profit, and also provided for the well being of all (public interest). Achieving universal access to electric power in Nigeria and South Africa is therefore, a social welfare responsibility of the government.

In Nigeria, the study findings show that about 70% of the population is still without electricity. Achieving the goal of universal access through the market imposes a lot of limitations, given the pressing socio-economic challenges confronting the country. Moreover, the corrupt political process is found to produce a corrupt and distorted market incapable of providing access to quality and affordable services to the majority poor. In South Africa, the 'Integrated National Electrification Programme' which seeks to address the country's electrification backlog by providing free access to the majority poor; and the 'free basic electricity' offer from the government to address affordability issues in the electrified poor households are systematic means of achieving universal access to electricity in the country. Funding to achieve the goal of universal access is a basic government responsibility. Through the 'National electrification fund', government executes its social welfare responsibility of providing access to the majority poor. Government strategically undertakes funding through nationally collected revenue (public finance) to achieve these targets.

Learning from the South African experience where access to electricity power has been extended to 83% of the population, the Nigerian government can rather achieve universal access through public funding as against private sector investments. This can be achieved by judiciously spending a small percentage of the huge oil revenue that accrues to the country on providing electricity power to the majority needy population. Findings from other studies show that Nigeria produces about 2.4 million barrels of crude oil per day, and also earns about 282 million USD per day from oil (Madueke 2011). Drawing inferences from (Hall 2010:7) the total cost of providing the networks and the power stations for achieving universal access for all households in Nigeria is about 6.09 billion USD. The estimated oil and gas royalties Nigeria can expect over the next two decades averages over 100 billion USD per year. The strong assumption is that investment to achieve universal access in the country could be made in 10 years using 0.6% of oil revenues per year. In view of this, Nigeria could, provide universal access to quality and affordable electricity power to the entire population through public funding.

Recommendation Four. Stimulate renewable electricity power sources in Nigeria and South Africa.

Study findings show that access to electricity power is low in Nigeria, especially in the rural areas where access is less than 20%. Electricity power generation is mainly through gas and oil. In South Africa, study findings also show that access to electricity power is very high, and about 93% of generated power is through coal. In both countries, the practice of electricity power generation through renewable sources is low. Moreover, policy development in this direction is also low in both countries.

However, renewable electricity power option is found to contribute immensely in expanding generation sources. Renewable electricity (electricity generated from inexhaustible earth's sources, such as solar, wind, hydro etc) as against the exhaustible sources of fuel fossils (coal, oil, gas) can provide a strong alternative of scaling up generation to achieve electricity power targets in both countries. Electricity power generation in both countries using a mix of the renewable and non-renewable sources has a general advantage of enabling the government to achieve the economic, social and environmental goals of electrification. In Nigeria, electricity power generation through renewable sources could facilitate enormously, the government effort to scale up electricity power access. It can increase both grid and off-grid generations sources and enhance service reliability and affordability in the interest of the greater percentage of the population that live across the country. In South Africa, it could make immense contributions to large scale distribution of electricity power and reduce over dependence on coal for generation. It could equally enhance both grid and off-grid electrification, especially in the remote areas where government is under pressure to meet the targets of connecting households, schools and clinics.

In both countries, providing electricity power through renewable sources contributed to socio-economic development. It is environmentally friendly (carbon neutral), that is, the advantage of low pollution and low carbon emissions that cause health hazards and global warming. The governments in both countries, through strong will, can strategically integrate renewable options in the policy framework, and also develop and invest in renewable electricity power programmes through public funding.

6.4 SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations are made in the context of a comparative study on electric power policy in Nigeria and South Africa. Electric power policy in both countries is designed to achieve the goal of ‘universal access’ to quality and affordable electric power.

The study offers four recommendations. The first three are intended to provide policy- lessons to Nigeria, following South Africa’s policy experiences in electrification. The study findings show that in South Africa, the government identifies electric power as ‘a public problem’ and strategically places it on the public policy agenda for policy-making. The electricity policy in South African, basically, derives from a ‘social model’ that seeks to promote and sustain public interest through electrification, and to achieve this through good governance. The electricity policy based on this model is an outcome of the historical and socio-political issues, and the emergent socio-economic challenges in the country. This model of electrification further enables the government to recognize electricity provision to the people as a social welfare responsibility; and to achieve universal access through public funding.

The South African experience is intended as a policy-lesson for Nigeria in terms of achieving the goal of ‘universal access’ in the country. It recommends policy-making in the context of promoting and sustaining public interest in electrification, and to achieve this through good governance in the sub-sector. It also recommends policy-making in the context of the socio-economic challenges in the country; and the recognition of electricity provision as a social welfare responsibility, which can achieve universal access through public funding.

Recommendation four applies to both countries. It provides policy options for expanding electricity power generation through renewable sources to facilitate in achieving the goal of universal access to electricity power in both countries. Renewable sources make for a reduction in the over dependence on the non renewable sources, and also have the advantage of addressing environmental concerns, which further constitute policy challenges in the sub-sector in both countries.

These recommendations derive from the study findings regarding the policy issues that affect electrification, and their impact on achieving the goal of universal access to quality and affordable electric power in Nigeria and South Africa.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This comparative study on the electricity generation, transmission and distribution policy in Nigeria and South Africa focuses on the policy angle of electrification in both countries. The electricity policy in both countries is intended to address the challenges of expanded access and affordability of service by the people. Reliable and affordable electricity is found to play a vital role in supporting socio-economic development and in enabling the achievement of the United Nations 'Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs) in both countries.

The methodological approach enables an in depth textual analysis based on the study findings. It makes it possible to examine electricity policy documents to identify the similarities and differences; and the policy issues and their impact on achieving the goal of electrification which is 'universal access' to quality and affordable electricity in both countries. These issues are generated from the policy environment of electrification through the political system. Policy-making in the sub-sector is found to be the outcome of the two different political processes. In both countries, electricity power is identified as part of the collective need. It is an essential 'public good' which is provided through the service agencies of public administration. Its provision is found to be a basic social welfare responsibility which constitutes a policy challenge to the government in both countries.

The electricity policy in Nigeria (1960-2011) depicts government's intention to address the persistent massive demand-supply imbalance in the sub-sector. Government's policy in this direction is demonstrated in the sub-sector reforms that revolve around policy issues of liberalization, privatization and competition. The policy of liberalization and private sector-led growth in the sub-sector is intended to achieve the goals of expanded access and affordability of electricity power in the country.

Achieving the goal of universal access to electricity in the country, through the market sector, is examined in the context of public welfare. This is a social perspective that centers on the provision of electricity for general welfare. Electricity is found to be a social welfare responsibility of the government in Nigeria, and its provision further improves social status through the provision of basic needs such as food, water, health, education etc. The principles of liberalization and privatization, which implies the removal of subsidies and price increases by competing firms, are contested against the public interest considerations of social welfare. Through subsidies, the government fulfills the social welfare responsibility of assisting the majority poor to gain access to electricity. The majority of

Nigerians are challenged by socio-economic issues of poverty, inequality, unemployment etc; thereby, placing the policy issues of electrification against the public interest considerations of social upliftment, job creation and poverty alleviation. The policy of liberalization and privatization also places the majority of poor Nigerians in a tight position in terms of assessing the basic needs of livelihood such as food, water, health, education etc.

The policy issues are found to be self-serving rather than promoting and sustaining the interests of the majority poor Nigerians, whose welfare the electricity policy is intended to address. The privatization policy is found to be another tool of primitive capital accumulation in the hands of the privileged class that manipulates the policy process to their own advantage. The policies issues, rather than promote access and affordability, are found to affect the ability of the majority of impoverished Nigerians to gain access to quality and affordable electricity. The liberalization and privatization policy is found to pursue long term economic concerns to the neglect of critical /fundamental social and environmental considerations of promoting and sustaining public interest through electrification.

The recommendations for the electricity policy in Nigeria are derived from the South African experience on electrification. The South African experience shows that public interest in electrification can be promoted and sustained through good governance in the sub-sector. Good governance makes for a convergence between policy issues and public interest. It enables the identification of electrification as a 'public problem', and policy-making in the sub-sector in line with sustainable public interests. Electricity is found to play a vital role in the socio-economic development of the country. In lieu of this, policy in the sub-sector should be developed in the context of socio-economic challenges in the country. Furthermore, electricity is an essential public good which ought to be provided for the welfare of the majority poor Nigerians. Universal access to electricity should be achieved through public funding. The country is endowed with sufficient economic resources to achieve universal access to quality and affordable electricity through public funding. The study further proposes for increased attention in electricity generation through renewable sources. It can contribute immensely in expanding the generation base, thereby, facilitating efforts to scale up access across the country. It is also low in pollution and carbon emission that pose health hazards to the people.

The electricity policy in South Africa (1994-2011) emanates from the intention of the post apartheid ANC government to address the electrification backlog created by several years of apartheid regimes. The apartheid electricity policy was implemented along lines of 'racial differentiation in infrastructural

development', where electricity power was provided to meet the needs of the industrial sector and a privileged white minority to the exclusion of the majority black and coloured population. The dismantling of apartheid structures and the institution of a democratically elected government in 1994 created the right condition for 'unique' policy-making in the sub-sector.

The electricity policy in the context, fundamentally derives from a redistributive RDP platform which is based on the recognition of electrification as a public problem and its proper placing on the public policy agenda. This context further derives from the intention of the government to achieve a balance between the economic issues of electrification and the environmental and social concerns. These platforms are found to result in an integrated electricity power policy developed to achieve 'social equity' by addressing the electricity power needs of the poor; and 'poverty alleviation' through expanded access. The goal of achieving universal access to quality and affordable electricity power in the country is found to derive from the fundamental issues of improving social equity, poverty alleviation and environmental sustainability through the use of uniform energy sources in the poor households.

The government acknowledges that electricity provision is a social welfare responsibility. This is demonstrated in the intention to address access and affordability issues through 'unique' platforms characterized by public funding. Through the 'Integrated National Electrification Programme', the government has embarked on extending access to poor households and thousands of rural schools and clinics across the country. A follow up to this, is the 'free basic electricity' offer which is intended to address affordability issues by providing 50kwh of free electricity to the connected poor households.

The policy issues of electrification examined in the public interest perspective show a unique model that derives from public welfare concerns. The concerns of achieving social upliftment and poverty alleviation through electrification, underscores government's commitment to fulfill its social welfare responsibility in the interest of the majority poor, thereby, achieving a balance between the policy issues and public interest. The impact is found in expanded access to about 81% of the population between 1994 and 2011; and the socio-economic outcomes of improving social status through access to basic needs such as food, water, education, health etc. The policy issues are further found to have a positive impact in achieving the goal of 'universal access' to quality and affordable electricity in the country. Fundamental to this, is the policy process that promotes and sustains public interest in electrification through good governance. Good governance in the sub-sector has enabled the

identification of policy issues in line with sustainable public interests; and government using public administration agencies to play key roles in service delivery. It has enabled effective public participation in evolving policy issues. The development of the electric power policy in the context of socio-economic challenges; and public funding of electrification demonstrates policy commitments to achieve universal access to quality and affordable electricity power in the country. Further recommendation of stimulating renewable electricity power option in the country is intended to enhance generation and reduce over reliance on non renewable sources. It also contributes in achieving the goal of environmental sustainability in electrification which further constitutes a policy challenge in the sub-sector.

The study contributes to new knowledge in the discipline of public administration by opening up vistas on a comparative analysis of electricity policy issues in Nigeria and South Africa in the context of public interest/welfare. The public welfare perspective recognizes the provision of electricity as a social welfare responsibility of government, and the functional role of public administration agencies in achieving service efficiency and social equity in line with sustainable public interests in both countries. Analyzing the policy issues in the context of public welfare further rationalizes the theoretical context of the study, thereby; emphasizing that sustainable interest can be achieved through good governance in the sub-sector. Finally, a comparative study on electrification in Nigeria and South Africa from a policy angle further contributes to the existing knowledge base (literature) in the discipline.

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