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Nigeria Local Government: A Discourse on the Theoretical Imperatives in a Governmental System

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Abstract

The need for the creation and existence of local governments in a governmental system has, over the years, been one of the most frequently discussed issues in public administration studies. Accompanying this discussion usually is the consideration of the challenges confronting the local governments in the performance of the functions that underscore the imperative for their creation. In this work, we articulated and analyzed in detail, the theoretical imperatives for the creation of local governments in governmental system. This we did under three major schools of thought on the functional relevance of the local governments. These schools of thought are the democratic participatory school, the efficient-service school and the development school. We further explored and analyzed some of the factors that constitute fundamental challenges to the performance of the expected development roles by the local governments using the Nigerian Federal system of government as a reference point. In conclusion, we noted that local governments constitute key institutions for enhancing democracy and advancing development particularly at the local or grassroots level but constrained in the performance of these roles, by inadequate finance, poor political leadership and insufficient autonomy as exemplified in the Nigerian federal system of government.

Key words: Local Government, governmental system, development

Introduction: Globally, the dominant strategy of governance by most governmental systems at the grass root is the local government. Indeed, virtually all forms of government or regime appear to have found the concept and practice of local government as an effective strategy for ensuring development at the local level (Ani, et al 2013). Scholars too have, over the years, developed theories as heuristic devices to explain the nature, structure and operation of local government. Some of these theories include the locality theory, the elite theory, the group theory, the public choice theory and the statemarxist theory (Tony, 2011). Scholars have also developed models that underpin the existence of local government or that serve as

explanatory frameworks for the purpose and philosophy of the institution of local government. In this study, however our interest is on the models of local government rather than on the theories. This is because the models tend to capture more, the imperatives of local government in a governmental system than the theories. Indeed, the theories are, in the main, mere applications of traditional frameworks of analysis of political institutions to the study of local government (Tony, 2011).

The models of local government include:

- 1. The Democratic participatory model,
- 2. The efficient service model,
- 3. The development model.

These models, respectively and from different perspectives or view points, attempts to underscore the imperatives or need for the establishment or existence of local governments. The models are, in some cases, discussed as schools of thought that have ventured into the theoretical area of what functional responsibilities local governments are supposed to perform (see Tony, 2011; Ola, 1984; Adeyemo, 2011). In the same vein, we shall, in this work, discuss the models respectively as

- 1. Democratic participatory school
- 2. Efficient service school and;
- 3. Development school

Explication of the Major Concept

Local Government: Local government generally is conceived as a form of public administration which, in a majority of contexts, exists as the lowest tier of administration in a governmental system.

Specifically, local government is a unit of government below the central, regional or state levels established by law to exercise political authority through a representative council within a defined geographical area (Olisa, et al 1990). The concept of local government

was conceived in a more elaborate form by Blair (1977:14) as he likened it to an institution which has;

a resident population occupying a defined area that has a locally authorized organization and governing body, a separate legal entity, the power to provide certain public or governmental services and a substantial degree of autonomy having legal or actual power to raise part of its revenue

Again, local government, as contained in the Guidelines for the Reform of Local Government in Nigeria (1976:1) is elaborately conceived thus:

government at the local level --- established by law to exercise specific powers within defined area (and) to initiate and direct the provision of services and to determine and implement projects so as to complement the activities of the state and federal government in their areas, and to ensure that local initiative and response to local needs and conditions are maximized

Implicit in the foregoing definitions of local government are contain salient or central features that have been well articulated in the works of Manhood (1983), Ezeani (2012), Anikeze (2010), Maddick (1963), Stoker (1990) and others. These features include the facts that a local government:

- Operates at the local or grassroots level.
- Operates within a defined geographical area.
- Has a relative autonomy or independence.
- Has a range of constitutionally delineated functions to perform.
- Has its council composed of elected representatives.

In a federal system of government like Nigeria, local government is usually the third tier government. In a unitary system, like Britain, it

usually exists as the second order government to the national level. However, what the local government have in common, either in federal or unitary systems of government, is responsibility for the most immediate needs of their citizens without any other body between them and the individual. In other words, it is the order of government closest to the people.

Theoretical Imperatives for the Creation of Local Government: An Insight into the Various Schools of Thought

Various scholars in the field of public administration and local government studies have articulated various reasons that underscore the need for instituting local government as a governance structure in a governmental system. These imperatives or functional relevance, we shall discuss here under the following three major schools of thought as follows:

Democratic Participatory school: Central to this school of 1. thought is the concept and practice of democracy. This school holds that local governments exist to bring about democracy and to afford the citizens the opportunities for political participation, training in the art of self government and for political education and socialization (Adeyemo, 2011; Ola, 1984). Ani et al (2013) notes in this respect that the concept of local government involves a philosophical commitment to democratic participation in the politics and governing process at the grassroots level. Adeyemo (2011) points out further that there usually exists the opportunity in democracies, for politicians especially parliamentarians, to move from local politics to state or national politics. In Britain, for instance, the study carried out in 1964 by David Butler, after the year's general election, showed that 53% of labour members of parliament and 45% of defeated labour party parliamentarian's candidates had been local government politicians and political office holders. In Nigeria too, most local government based politicians, target higher political roles using the local government as spring board (Tony, 2011). In essence, local government do not only offer opportunities for political participation but constitutes a training base for state or national political participation.

Emphasizing too the importance of local government in the democratic process, John and Rupak (2008) contend that the proper practice of democracy is maximized when people at the grassroots are empowered to elect their own representatives and are able to hold them accountable to them. They further note that the degree of democratization of local government invariably affects the prospects of enhanced state or national democratic governance. Horste et al (2008) contends in this direction that democracy needs to begin at the local government level and if democratic structures and values are not established at this level, they would be missed elsewhere too.

Again, accountability, transparency and effective representation as basic attributes of democracy are realizable, in greater measures, at the local government level. Indeed, the fundamental need for the creation of local government emanates from the desire to express distinctive identities through smaller, directly accountable self political units able to give expression to the immediate local needs of people (John and Rupak, 2008). Nico (2008:20) too expresses this imperative clearly thus:

local self governance plays critical role in enhancing democracy --- it brings government closer to the people through both representative and participatory democracy and allows for the deepening of democracy by facilitating the participation of minorities and disadvantaged groups

In essence, local government allows for autonomous self governance of smaller constituent units of government directly and democratically responsible for their own electorates. Indeed, to a very large extent, the proximity of the citizens to the elected representatives as it obtains in local government makes it easier for the former to call the latter to account for their stewardship.

Equally, participatory democracy is more readily put into practice in local areas thereby allowing the community to identify more with its political institutions and fostering a sense of ownership over common resources. Oviasuyi and Dada (2010) contend in this direction that participation of the citizens in governance particularly those at the rural and grassroots areas is more readily affected within the framework of the local government. For instance, in Nigeria political activities around the local government chairmanship positions, the councillorship positions, the supervisory positions, the personal and political assistants to the chairman, the position of the secretary etc all provide and widen the spectrum of political participation for the local and grassroots people. It is noteworthy that some politicians do not have the wherewithal to participate in state or national politics and so local government offer the only opportunity for them. Again, certain sections or class of people particularly the disadvantages like women have greater chances to participate in local government politics.

Political education and mobilization of the citizens is equally better and more effectively realized at the local government level. Local governments through their various political activities and other organized social interaction fora develop the citizens' interest in politics and public affairs. Sharpe (1970:163) contends that local government serves as a political educator and as a means of socializing the citizens into politics through the medium of self government as he specifically argues thus:

it is only by participating in and learning the arts of self government at the local level that the individual had a stake in and come to appreciate the virtues of free government at the national level.

2. The Efficient-Service School: The central point by this school is that the primary purpose of the local government systems is to provide social services such as law and order, local roads, primary education, sanitation and others efficiently. William Machenzie,

(1954), the leading advocate of the efficiency service school, quoted in Adeyemo (2010) notes that service delivery to the local people is expected to pre-occupy the resources, power and time of the local government. Kafle and Karkee (2003) notes that the core argument of the efficient-service delivery school is that local government exists to help to ensure efficient-service delivery. Some scholars find this need so important that they argue that it should override other functions of the local government and contend that the need or the function of encouraging democratic participation is not as crucial as the need for efficient-service delivery. For this, the proponents of the efficient service school argue that all is well even if there is less democratic participation in the governance process as long as the local or grassroots people get efficient services from the local government. Shape (1970:168) in this respect notes thus;

whereas the value of local government as a bulwark of liberty or at least as a handmaiden of democracy has been recognized, its role as an agency for providing services has evoked no comparable enthusiasm

Generally, the argument by the efficient service school is that local government, because of its closeness to an area, can provide certain service far more efficiently than the state or central government. Actually, local government, in some instances, serves a better channel through which policies and programs from the central or state government are implemented. Usually, some functions that are cumbersome for the state or central government to perform are better and more conveniently performed by the local government. Such functions may include collection of rates, radio and television licences, registration of births, deaths and marriages etc.

Nico (2008) argues again that by the nature of local government, it brings government closer to the people, making translation of community preference into responsive policy and programs more likely. Indeed, locally based decisions and development programs are often more practical and sustainable in that they acknowledge and accommodate local diversities and historical complexities that may exist within a particular locality. In such circumstance, the provision of local public goods and services will reflect more, the local tastes and preferences. Again, in view of the fact that all problems are not central in nature, such problems that are not central in their incidence requires decision as to how to address them by the person(s) within the area where the incidence is most deeply felt. Local government is about the best framework for doing this (Laski, 1982).

Local government also forms a good base for effective mobilization of the support and resources of the people towards government projects and programs. For instance, local government can generate revenue internally and use it alongside the funds made available to it by the state and national government to improve on the lives of the people within their areas of operation.

Again, local government can use the voluntary sector, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) better than any of the higher governments to expand and improve its services to the people (Horste, et al, 2008). It is, to a large extent, the zeal and need to reposition the local government for greater and more effective service delivery that perhaps provides the impetus and imperative for the various local government reforms in most political systems. In Nigeria, for instance, there have been various local government reforms to strengthen the capacity of the local governments to deliver services effectively and efficiently to the local and grassroots people. This is why the local governments usually takes the blame where local roads are bad, where there are no market stalls, no functional motor park, no health centres, no portable water, no drugs in local dispensaries and where refuse is littered around the places.

3. The Development School: The position of this school is that local governments, particularly in the developing world, are effective

agents for improving the means of living socially, and economically (Adeyemo, 2011). As well, local governments constitute reliable basis for the local or grassroots people to get a better share in the national wealth. Specifically, the development functions of the local government include nation building, social, economic and manpower resource development. For one thing, the local government transforms centrally generated revenue allocated to them into infrastructural development. Such infrastructures will in turn assist in the mobilization of the local people to do more for themselves and for their communities. Thus, local governments serve as veritable partners with the states and national government in national development issues as units of development by which national development efforts, resources and benefits percolate to the grassroots (Olowu et al, 1991).

Again, decentralization or devolution of governmental powers to the local government affords the opportunity of participation in the development process to the local or grassroots people. With decentralization, the creative energy of the people can be harnessed. Again, decentralization offers the opportunity for innovation and experimentation to the sub national units (Nico, 2008). Innovative policies and practices in one local government may be modified and replicated in others as well as adopted by the state or national government. Nico (2008) notes that allowing space to different entities not bound by a single one-size-fit-all approach, decentralized decision making makes it possible for local government to experiment with innovative ideas. Again, the existence of local government helps in decongesting government at the centre thereby freeing national leaders from onerous details and unnecessary involvement in local issues (Ola, 1988). Maddick (1963:24) notes this need for instituting local government in his comment thus:

> local authorities provide the opportunity for local people to participate in local decisions and local schemes within the general national policies and to act above all, as local centres of initiative to development.

Indeed, the expectation is that local governments being closer to the people and, as such, being better aware of the local needs of the people are in position to initiate and execute local projects and programs and motivate people to actively participate in public affairs (Saalah, et al., 2011).

From the foregoing, the basic need for the creation of the local government is development. This is because the role of enhancing democratic participation and delivery of efficient and effective social service are ultimately development oriented (Tony, 2011). They all, indeed, are targeted at improving the social or economic lives of the grassroots or local people.

It is necessary to note that all the services by local government as discussed do not only have local importance. Indeed, almost all the services that constitute the core of local government activities are national in character. For instance, health, education, water supply and roads are nationally important. As Adeyemo (2011) notes, neglect of any of them in a part of the country will be reflected nationally in disease, ignorance and poor communication. Given this, we can posit that the development role of the local government is even appreciated in the context of overall national development efforts. For this, the functional relevance of the local government appear so compelling that if it does not exist, something else would have to be created in its place. As Blani (1977) notes, local governments are what basic tissues are to human body and without them government system would have no vitality.

Challenges for Effective Performance of the Development Functions by the Local Governments: The Case in Nigeria

In Nigeria, local government became recognized as distinct tier of the federal structure in 1976 through the 1976 Guidelines for Local Government Reforms. Presently, Nigeria is made up of 774 local governments with constitutionally assigned functions and responsibilities. Reflecting the earlier discussed imperatives for the

establishment of local government in a governmental system, the 1976 Reform (1976:1) points out the following as the primary aims of local government in Nigeria:

- To make appropriate services and development activities responsive to local wishes and initiative by developing or delegating such services to local representative bodies.
- To facilitate and bring the exercise of democratic self governance close to the local levels of our society and to encourage initiative and leadership potentials.
- To mobilize human and material resources through the involvement of members of the public in their local development and;
- To provide a two way channel of communication between local government, state and Federal or national government.

Specifically, the functions assigned to the local government, as indicated in Fourth Schedule, section 7, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 include:

- ➤ The provision and maintenance of primary, adult and vocational education.
- ➤ The development of agriculture and natural resources other than the exploitation of minerals.
- ➤ The provision and maintenance of health services.
- ➤ Such other functions as may be conferred on a local government council by the House of the Assembly of the state.

In summary, Local Governments as the third tier of government in Nigeria, is expected to promote the democratic ideals of the society and to co-ordinate other socio-economic development programs at the local level in line with the overall national development plan (Onah and Amujiri, 2011; ALGON, 2012). Indeed, the reconstitution of Nigeria into 301, 449, 589 and 774 local government areas in 1984, 1989, 1991 and 1996 respectively was ostensibly meant to bring government closer to the people, speed up grassroots development and to enhance over all national development (Adeyemo, 2005, Ezeani, 2012).

Over the years, however, most studies and research findings on local government in Nigeria point to the fact that local governments have not been significantly performing the development roles or functions that underscore their institutionalization in Nigeria. This, no doubt, casts a doubt on its practical relevance in Nigerian governmental system. Several factors have too been identified to account for the poor performance of the local government in respect of performing the expected developmental roles. Some of these factors include:

1. Financial Constraints: The effective performance of the assigned functions of the local government requires the availability of fund. For this, adequate funding of the local government becomes critical and imperative. Unfortunately, and as has been found out in the study of local government in Nigeria by scholars like Ezeani (2012), Ugwu (2010), Ade (2012), Ani et al (2013), the financial resources of most local governments in the country, when compared to their expenditure responsibilities, is grossly insufficient. This situation has remained as such over the years even though the local governments have several sources of income that basically include statutory allocations from the federation account, share from state generated revenue and revenue internally generated. Basic explanations for this include the fact that allocations from the federation account are ,most times and in reasonable measures, siphoned by the state governments and so do not constitute a reliable

and adequate source of fund to the local governments (Ezeani, 2012; Onah, 2004). The siphoning is done through the instrumentality of the State Local Government Joint Account into which allocation from the federation account is paid (Odo, 2003; ALGON, 1999). Secondly, the internally generated revenue by the local governments has been very low due partly to lack of creativity by the local governments to identify and explore new and reliable sources of revenue and partly to high incidence of tax evasion and avoidance by the citizens (Ofoeze, 2002; Okolie and Eze, 2006). These factors account reasonably for the inadequacy of fund in the local government and their consequent inability to initiate and execute major development projects and programs (Azelama, 2008; Ezeani, 2006; Aghayere, 1997).

2. Corruption: Beyond the problem of inadequate finance, is the critical issue of corruption, particularly at the leadership levels in the administrative hierarchy of the local government (Halidu, 2012; Anikeze, 2012). Accounting for this pervasive corruption in the local government, Ogbuene (2011:67) notes thus;

local governments in Nigeria exist within the socioeconomic and moral milieu of Nigeria where the preponderant attitude of Nigerians towards public office is that of personal aggrandizement, indiscriminate materialism, nepotism and decadence. Local governments as products of this environment equally manifest traits akin to this as they are not divorced from the larger society.

The high level of corruption in the local government makes it difficult for them to channel even the available scarce resources towards development projects and programs. In Nigeria, indeed, the interest of the local government leadership primarily revolves around trivialities or at best around those schemes from which the leaders can derive immediate personal gains. Specifically, corruption in the local government system in Nigeria, manifests, for instance, in the award of inflated and fictitious contracts, inflation of staff salary, fraudulent

sale of government property, outright embezzlement of local government fund and payment of huge sums of money to political godfathers. The overall effect of the corrupt practices is the apparent inability of the local governments to embark on any meaningful development project and general stagnation in the development process of the grassroots people and their environment (Amujiri, 2012; Bello, 2012).

3. Inadequate/Unfavourable Constitutional Provisions: The basic concerns, in respect of the ability of local governments to perform development functions, particularly in federal systems like Nigeria revolves around the nature of the relationship between the federal, state and local government as to enable them operate as true units of self (autonomous) government (John and Rupak, 2008). Usually, the problem in this respect revolves around the extent to which the local governments are regarded truly as the third order of the political structure or as mere parts of the state governments and the nature of distribution of powers and resources among the three tiers of government. In Nigeria, the relevant constitutional provisions in respect of these relationships appear inadequate and unfavourable to the local government. For instance, the 1999 constitution of Nigeria did not adequately provide for the financial autonomy of the local governments as it subordinates them to the states through the provision, in section 162, paragraph 6, for the establishment and operation of State Local Government Joint Account. This provision does not allow for the direct funding of the local government from the federation account and various research findings have shown that state governments manipulate this constitutional provision to keep the local governments as their appendages and, in large measures, siphone the funds meant for them (Onah, 2004; Ezeani, 2012; Azelama, 2008). This interference in the local government financial autonomy reasonably accounts for their inability to initiate and execute development programs or projects. This is understandable in view of the fact that the local governments in Nigeria rely on the statutory allocation from the federation account for between 90 - 95 percent of their financial expenditures every year (Halidu and Bello, 2012).

Again, the constitution did not provide adequately for the political autonomy of the local governments in Nigeria. For instance, it did not provide specifically for the constitution of the local government council to be solely through democratic elections, for the specific tenure of the local government political office holders, for the local governments to derive their full existence directly from the constitution of the federal constitution and for the specific powers and functions of the local government. The resultant effects of these lapses or inadequacies are that the state governments have the discretion to determine the nature, content and direction of local government elections and political activities. In the exercise of this discretion, the state government decide when elections would be held, who wins in elections, when to dissolve elected council, and the alternative framework to administer the affairs of the local governments. Sometimes following the extreme control of the political process in the local government system in Nigeria, local government development policies are often dictated by state governments. And where the local governments, as argued by Nico (2008), cannot determine the contours of their development goals and their performance targets, the very purpose of a democratic local government is undermined rendering them mere appendages of the state. Nico (2008:23) further specifically notes in this respect thus;

> where there is little scope for local initiative and where local decisions are overridden by higher orders of government, the interest in local politics and participation in local elections inevitably declines

So we can posit here that in the context of the pervasive control of the political/administrative activities and electoral processes in the local government, the objective of the local governments serving as an avenue for deepening democracy and decentralizing governmental power through greater citizen participation and leadership training for higher political positions cannot be realized.

Repositioning the Local Government for Enhanced Performance of Development Roles: The Imperative Actions:

Realizing an enhancement in the fulfilment of the objectives for establishing local government could be achieved through the following recommendations made on the basis of the following two broad dimensions:

1. Enhancing the autonomy of the local government:

In this direction, we recommend constitutional reforms to ensure:

- i. That the local government has direct and unfettered access to the statutory allocations from the Federation account and their share of the internally generated revenue.
- ii. That elections at specific internals is conducted into the local government council and with outright prohibition of any other alternative arrangement to administer the local governments.
- iii. That the provision for the State Local Government Joint Account is expunged from the constitution.
- iv. That the statutory allocation from the federation account is increased from the present 20 to 30 percent.

2. Controlling Corruption in the Local Government System: Beyond the recommended constitutional reforms, we recommend that the judiciary and the anti-corrupt agencies like the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFFCC) should, more than ever before, intensify their efforts at tackling the problem of pervasive corruption in the local government system. Government could further assist in this direction by introducing more effective anti-corruption clauses and fraud detecting mechanisms as well as ensuring the conduct of free and fair elections through which people could only get into power on the basis of their perceived honesty and ability to deliver democracy dividends to the rural and grassroot people.

Conclusion

The foregoing analysis on the theoretical imperatives of the local government and as discussed under the various schools of thought clearly shows that local government is ostensibly meant to serve as institutional framework for effective service delivery and enhanced democratic participation at the grassroots. Indeed, the expediency for the creation of local government in a governmental system anywhere in the world stems from the need to facilitate grassroots or local development and by extension national development. However, in the specific case of Nigeria, certain factors, notably corruption, inadequate finance and undue control of the political activities and electoral processes in the local government areas systematically erode the capacity of the local governments to operate effectively and to perform the development functions that necessitate their creation. Repositioning them to perform the development roles optimally and hence contribute more meaningfully to local and national development requires putting in place the recommended measures for controlling corruption and enhancing both the financial and political autonomy of the local governments.

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