



# **Travail of Viable Reforms in Local Government Administration in Nigeria**

<sup>1</sup>Ejeh Adoyi Williams & <sup>2</sup>Orokpo, Ogbole Francis. E, PhD

<sup>1</sup>Department of Public Administration  
Federal Polytechnic Kaura-Namoda, Zamfara State, Nigeria  
willieejeh@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup>Department of Public Administration  
Federal Polytechnic Idah, Kogi State, Nigeria  
orokpogbole@yahoo.com

## **ABSTRACT**

The place of local government in any federating nation cannot be overemphasized. In a bid to reposition local government in Nigeria to effectively carry out its constitutional functions of providing governance at the grassroots level, successive governments since independence had undertaken one reforms or the other. Despite most of these laudable reforms, the local governments system has continued to be plagued with the problems of funding, undue interference from the state government and as well inadequacy in the provision of social and economic development functions thus, providing the basis for the several reforms. It is against this backdrop that this paper x-rays the trajectory of local government administration reforms in Nigeria over the years and understanding some of the shortcomings of these reforms and proffering suggestions on repositioning the local government for effective grassroots development. The paper concludes that that local government in the country have consistently and shamelessly failed to live up to their expectation in Nigeria over the years despite the laudable reforms that have been undertaken by both the military and civilian administration and thus need a reform that promotes policies that will entrench democratic ethos, good governance, financial autonomy and accountability in order to make it more effective, efficient, responsible and responsive to the people at the grassroots. The paper recommends among others that any reform of the local government must take into cognizance the system of local government administration by democratically elected local government councils as guaranteed by section 7(i) of the Nigerian constitution and that state governments should be prohibited from setting up caretaker committees or appointing sole administrators to run the affairs of local government as obtainable in most states of the federation; and also measures should be taken to make local government elections much more transparent and credible in order to forestall the “complete sham” being conducted by State Independent Electoral Commissions in the country in the guise of local government elections, thus allowing INEC to conduct local government elections.

**Keywords:** Local Government, Reforms, democracy, Constitution.

## **INTRODUCTION**

The United Nations Office for Public Administration in Ola (1984) posits that local government is a political subdivision of a nation (in a federal system) or state, which is constituted by law and has substantial control of local affairs including the powers to impose taxes or to exact labour for a prescribed purpose. Local government reforms in Nigeria are changes deliberately made to local government system by relevant authorities in order to make the local government administration more effective, efficient and responsive in its structure and functions. It is instructive to note that the history of local government

administration in Nigeria comprises sequence of reforms put in place by the colonialists, civilian administrations and military regimes to improve the institution of local government in the country.

The current reform came in the wake of the return to democratic rule in 1999. The 1999 Constitution at Section 7(1) placed the local government councils firmly under the States control. Therefore, the various state governments have adopted the presidential system of administration in their states. This entails the establishment of two arms at the local level i.e. the executive and the legislative arms with their different functions. This system has been on for the past 19 years, but it would appear that like the previous reforms, the new system is due for a thorough review in view of its many inadequacies.

From all indications, it would appear that the problems with the various reforms have to do more with the operators of the systems and not the system per se. suffice it to say that local government in Nigeria have indeed undergone plethora of reforms aimed at repositioning it but unfortunately, the more the reforms, the more the plight of local government in Nigeria. Thus, this paper x-ray the travail of local government reforms and proffers the way forward for the betterment of local government administration in Nigeria.

### **LOCAL GOVERNMENT: A CONCEPTUALIZATION**

The strategic nature of local government the world over has made it to attract the attention of scholars as well as world governance institutions. It is known all over the world to be the government closest to the people at the grassroots and as such people at the grassroots are meant to have the local government as the vehicle through which they feel the impact of government at the higher levels. The local government is expected to inculcate in the people at the grass root a feeling of sense of belonging as far as governance is concerned. This would engender in the people a spirit of active participation in the process of governance.

The 1976 guidelines for local government reforms in Nigeria in a similar vein views local government as;  
“Government at a local level exercised through representative council, established by law to exercise specific powers within defined areas. These powers should give the council substantial control over local affairs as well as the provision of services, and to determine and implement projects of state and federal governments in their areas and ensure through devolution of functions to these councils through active participation of the people and their traditional institutions, that local initiatives and response to needs and conditions are maximized”.

This definition reveals clearly the fact that local government is an agent for rural development in the sense that it exposes the responsibilities of the local government to the people within its area of jurisdiction. Any local government worth its name cannot afford to abandon its responsibilities. Local governments are created for certain purposes and they exist to achieve the purposes for which they were created. It is in line with this that Obadan (1973) states that, local Government is widely acknowledged as a viable instrument for rural transformation and for delivery of social service to the people. Local Government may be seen as “a segment of a constituent state or region of a nation state, established by law to provide public service and regulate public affairs within its area of its jurisdiction (Ikelegbe, 2005). It can be deduce from the foregoing that that it is the closest level to the people with powers to perform functions and mandate over its finances and manpower.

### **REFORMS: A CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING**

Reform suggests improvement, reorganization or restructuring of something by making changes to it. Thus, according to Olaleye (2001), reforms is an attempt to reconstruct administrative structure and revamp operational machinery and techniques capable of improving organizational effectiveness and efficiency. This definition shows that reforms may occur for the purpose of addressing problems arising in operation, structure and organization of an institution (Enyi, 2014). Thus, Enyi (2014) sees administrative reforms as a to purposeful change introduced to improve the capacity of a given organization to respond to changing demands. In his submission, Adewumi (1988) asserts that administrative reforms are usually embarked upon on the assumption that “it is possible and feasible to reach the optimal level in the working of a given organization if the administrative process is fully equipped to provide such support”. Administrative reforms should be purposeful or goal oriented changes

which are designed to improve the skills as well as the preparedness of members to satisfy the organizational set goals or objectives. In his submission, Akaakuma, as quoted in (Enyi, 2014) opines that reform involves identifying an existing problem and attempting to solve it. It has to do with policies formulated and aimed at restructuring and transforming an organization from a bad condition to a better one. We can rightly situate all these within the context of the discourse on local government reforms.

The decision to reform local government in Nigeria is predicated on the need to improve performance that can usher in the desired development, because the tier government in Nigeria has failed greatly in relations to citizens' developmental expectations. Nigeria has a formal provision that allocates fixed proportion of national revenue to local governments to perform responsibilities spelt out in the national constitutions and this to a large extent affects the spending discretion of local authorities. From a contemporary analysis, it is a fact that funds available to local governments are grossly inadequate; but to compound this problem, the little that is available is hardly used to better the lot of the people at the grassroots.

The local government tier has experienced great reforms however, the nature and process of administrative reforms at the local government level in Nigeria are still inadequate in repositioning the local government for effective grassroots development etc.

### **AN OVERVIEW OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORMS IN NIGERIA**

Within this period 1967-1999, local governments witnessed fundamental changes in their structures, functions, revenue allocations, and democratic activities. For the purpose of this study, emphasis shall be based on the reforms of the structure and functions of the local government and its impact on democracy in Nigeria. The emergence of military rule in Nigerian politics on 15th January, 1967 via the coup d'état led by Major Chukuma Nzeogwu brought General Johnson Thomas Unonakwo Aguiy-Ironsi as the first military Head of State.

Obi (2010) posits that on assumption of office, the military government dissolved the existing local government councils and replaced them with care-taker committees to run the affairs of the councils in the country. Egurube (1991) adds that the local government political actors were answerable to the state military governors, and not the rural people. The implication is that local government councils lost their democratic structures and functions, thereby leading to deprivation of democracy in the local government administration. The local people were deprived of democratic activities, as they had no say on who rules them and how they were ruled. Authority flows from the military governor and the local people were forced to comply.

#### ***The 1976 Local Government Reform***

In 1976, the General Obasanjo led military government embarked on a more significant local government reforms in Nigeria. The reforms were based on the observation of the federal military government that the local governments had over the years suffered severe deprivation of its democratic powers by other governments (FRN, 1976). Upon the above, on 19th August, 1976, the federal military government instituted the local government reforms committee, under the headship of Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki. After the tour of the country for due consultation, the committee submitted her report tagged "Guidelines for Local Government Reforms, 1976". The guidelines were approved by the federal military government. The reforms had several objectives aimed at repositioning local government for effective service delivery and participatory democracy in the local areas.

The objectives of the reform were outlined as follows:

- To make appropriate services and development activities responsive to local wishes and initiatives by devolving or delegating them to local representative bodies.
- To facilitate the exercise of democratic self-government close to the grass roots of our society and to encourage initiative and leadership potential.
- Mobilization of human 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 communities and government (both State and Federal).

For the first time in the history of local government in Nigeria, a uniform system was developed for the whole country. According to the then Chief of staff Brigadier Shehu M. Yar Adu'a in his forward to the Guidelines for Local Government Reform (1976):

In embarking on these reforms, the Federal Military Government was essentially motivated by the necessity to stabilize and rationalize Government at the local level. This must of necessity entail the decentralization of some significant functions of state governments to local levels in order to harness local resources for rapid development.

Unlike previous reform measures, which were highly restricted in scope and range, the 1976 reforms conceptualized local government as the third tier of government operating within a common institutional framework with defined functions and responsibilities. As the third tier of government, the local government gets statutory grants from Federal and state governments, and is expected to serve as agent of development especially in rural areas.

Significantly, the 1976 local government reforms made some provisions and impact on local government democratic governance in Nigeria as stated below:

1. The introduction of widely accepted definition of local government in Nigeria as stated by FRN (1976:1) as follows:

“Government at the local level exercised through representative Council established by law to exercise specific powers within defined areas. These powers should give the council substantial control over local affairs; as well as the staff and institutional and financial powers 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 through devolution of these functions to these council and through active participation of the people and their traditional institutions, that local initiative and response to local needs and conditions are maximized”.

By this definition, local government became recognized as a third tier government at the local level in Nigeria. It marks the end of provinces, districts, native authority and administration, and the beginning of democratic government at the local level in Nigeria.

2. The reform brought for the first time in the history of Nigeria a unified local government system with defined functions and structure to achieve democratic governance irrespective of the state in Nigeria.

3. The reform resulted in the creation of 301 local governments for the first time in Nigeria to exercise democratic activities at the local level.

4. The provision for elections of the political actors of the local government through secret ballot system on a non-party basis gave hope for participatory democracy of the local people in politics of Nigeria. The local people are to participate and determine who rules them at what point, with the actors to be answerable to the people.

5. The reforms provided for 5% federation allocation to the local government to enhance local government financial independence and viability for democratic activities in Nigeria.

6. The reform resulted in the introduction of nationwide election guidelines for the conduct of both direct and indirect elections in the councils. The effect was that by January, 1977 councils were constituted based on the secret ballot elections, which was manifestation of the local people participating in the election of their leaders.

Structurally, Wapmuk (2005:243) opines that the reform provided for the political control of the local government to be vested on the council, and exercised through the councillors known as the supervisory councillors. This is a step towards political development and democratic growth of the local government in Nigeria. However, there was a contradiction to democratic development and stability in the reforms, by providing for local government as a third tier of government in one hand, and providing for local government service commission (LGSC) as an agent of the state to regulate local government personnel services on the other hand. The challenge is that the local government staff, who are charged with the responsibilities of enforcing the local government policies could be manipulated or frustrated by the

LGSC on event of policy disagreement between the state and local governments, thereby depriving the local government the opportunity of achieving effective implementation of democratic policies in the area.

Remarkably, the reform created an opportunity for discussion of local government democracy and development in the 1977-78 Constituent Assembly, and further enshrined in the 1979 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria. Obike and Nwaodu (2010: 60) posits that this is the very first time local government appeared in Nigerian Constitution, with defined status and functions as a third tier government, as contained in Section 7 (1) of the 1979 Constitution as:

*“The system of democratically elected local government councils is under this constitution guaranteed and accordingly, the government of every state shall ensure their existence under law, which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and function of such councils.”*

Unfortunately, despite the reforms and constitutional powers of the local government, the Alhaji Shehu Shagari led government of 1979-84 destabilized the democratic activities in the councils. The second republic abused the constitutional provisions for local government democracy. State governments created more local governments, but such local governments were not recognized by the federal government, thereby exposing the local government system to more democratic and constitutional insecurity in Nigeria. Secondly, the regime could not conduct democratic election in any council in Nigeria throughout their tenure. Councils were operated by either appointed sole administrators or care-taker committees, thereby depriving the local people the opportunity of participating in choosing their leaders.

Basically, the 1976 Local Government Reform which was adopted by the 1979 Constitution had some anomalies which made the reform not to survive for a long time before amendments were made. Some of these defects are as follows according to Enyi, (2014):

1. Uniformity and standardization: The population of the local government should range between 150,000 to 8,000. This did not make for efficiency and effectiveness of the councils.
2. The objective of bringing government closer to the people was largely defeated by the large size of some LGAs e.g Epe Local Government Area covered about half of the size of the whole of Lagos State, yet it was then one local government.
3. Because the Federal Government set the limit to the number of council wards and councillors that could be elected within an LGA, some of the wards in the LGAs were excessively large and therefore out of touch with the electorates.
4. Some of the States Local Government Edicts grouped together communities with little or nothing in common both in out-look, culture and other requirements with the result that such areas witnessed incessant disagreements and instability.
5. Grouping of unidentical villages or communities with a view to getting the required minimum population of 150,000 per LGA. Similarly, some towns and villages which were geographically contiguous and therefore, similar in their outlook and ways of life were split between two LGAs because of their large size and population stipulation of 800,000.

#### ***The 1989 Reforms***

The 1989 reform was another important milestone in Local Government reforms in Nigeria in what came to be called the Babangida Reforms. The reforms became the first to be codified into law as Local Government (Basic Constitutional and Transitional Provisions) Decree No. 32 of 1989. Apart from the fact that the Decree is now law pursuant to Section 6(6)d of the 1999 Constitution, its content virtually formed the content of Section 7 of the 1999 Constitution. The reforms were actually a fall out of the report of the Political Bureau, which was set up in 1985 by the Babangida Military Administration. The reforms recognised, like its preceding ones, that the best philosophy of governance is the ‘localist and development visions of Local Government as the power base of national democracy’ (OST Review, 2010).

The local government in Nigeria witnessed what can be classified as the “golden era” during the Babangida administration (1985-1993). He introduced measures to enhance the economic viability of the local governments and also ensured more constitutional autonomy for them. Highlights of the local reforms are:

- a. The direct remittance of local government funds from the Federation Accounts as well as at source deductions of states 10% internal revenue direct to the local government councils.
- b. Increase in the local government share of the Federal Account from 10-15 percent in 1991 and from 15-20% in 1992.
- c. The 1989 Constitution made local governments truly autonomous; hence the Ministries for Local Government throughout the country were abolished on 1st October 1991.
- d. Presidential system was introduced at the local government level in 1991.

The chairmen and his appointed supervisors formed the executive arm while the elected councillors constituted the legislative arm. This brought about incessant conflicts between the two arms of government and general instability in the local government.

The 1989 Constitution gave the local government councils the status of a third tier system with considerable autonomy. The intension of the framers of this constitution was to erode all past anomalies associated with the subordinate existence of local government councils to the State Government. On 1st October 1991, General Ibrahim Babangida in his budget speech announced the abolition of the Ministries of Local Government throughout the country because of the suffocating control, which the states exercised over Local Governments. The 1989 Constitution recognized 449 Local Governments with the provision for creating more and adjusting the boundaries of the existing ones. Section 7(1) of 1989 Constitution provided for democratically elected Local Government Council, but at the same time, the States were charged with the responsibility for bringing them into being, thus, subordinating the Local Governments to the State Governments.

As OST Review (2010:8) pointed out, the reforms was overdue because, it had become apparent that people were becoming substantially disquieted against big, complex and distant government, whose policies and decisions they can do very little or nothing to influence. Recognizing the pivotal role of Local Government in the development of the nation, the reforms focused essentially on managerial efficiency of Local Government, high degree of specialization, workable job motivation strategies, highly structured Civil Service based on clear line and hierarchy of duty, among others. However, the most important contribution of the reforms, which towered above every other, is the guarantee of the system of Local Government by democratically elected Local Government Councils and the creation of development Areas within a state, having regards for such factors as common historical, primordial and long-established connections, geographical contiguity, and administrative contingency.

### ***1999 Constitution and Local Government Reforms in Nigeria***

The local government experienced another reform during the era of General Abdulsalami Abubakar government (1998 – 1999). The military government reversed the parliamentary system to presidential system in the local government, and conducted successful elections in all the local government councils in December, 1998. The government further recognized and included local government for the second time in Nigerian Constitution of 1999, as contained in the section 7 of the constitution. The above had impact on local government democracy in Nigeria in the areas of increasing local participation in democracy through presidential system, and the successful elections, which gave local people the opportunity to elect their leaders in the councils. The provision of the local government in the 1999 constitution empowers the local government to function as a third tier government with specific constitutional schedules for democratic development. On the contrary, the 1999 gave a lot of powers to the state governments to control the local governments within their domain.

1999 – 2012 was another an era of another civil rule known as the Third – Six Republic in Nigeria and operated based on the provisions of the 1999 Constitution. On that note, our analysis in this section shall focus on the provisions of 1999 constitution and aftermaths on local government democratic governance

in Nigeria. The 1999 Constitution recognized local government as the third tier of government with defined powers and mandate to develop the rural areas and encourage rural participation in democratic activities of the state. On the contrary, these republics witnessed a contradiction on exercise of local government democratic powers in the state. Onor (2005) holds that the 1999 constitution brought local government into another inter-governmental dispute that undermined the democratic functions and activities of the local government in Nigeria. The local governments suffered constitutional tussle and power conflict between the Federal and State Governments over “who controls what and how” in the local government. Consequently, our study noted the following as the vital areas of conflict and abuse on local government system, resulting to democratic decay in the local government governance in Nigeria.

### **THE CHALLENGE OF VIABLE REFORMS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA**

Despite all these far reaching reforms at the local government, development at the local government in Nigeria have being been a mirage and local government lacking autonomy making most of these reforms hopelessly impracticable. Firstly, the creation of more local governments means creation of more opportunities of bringing government closer to the rural people for participation in democratic activities in the area based on the reforms. Regrettably, the quest for creation of local governments by the state governments based on the provisions of the 1999 constitution resulted to the abuse of local government powers as a democratic institution. Several state governments acted on the provisions of Section 8 (3) of the 1999 constitution, which deals with the powers to create local governments, and created as many as they so desire. However, their immediate intension was to attract more revenue from the federation allocation through the newly created local governments, and not to enhance democratic participation in the area.

This contradiction of intension resulted to conflict of supremacy between the state and federal governments on local government creation. Among the state governments were Bayelsa, Ebonyi, Enugu, Lagos etc. The conflict resulted in Supreme Court case between Federal and Lagos State Governments on local government creation, and the court ruling on the matter. Iwilade (2012) holds that till date, despite the conflicting opinions on the Supreme Court ruling on the matter, the Supreme Court ruling still stands as follows: “Unless the National Assembly enacts a consequential Amendment Act to list the additional 37 Lagos Local Council Development Areas (LCDAs) as Local Government Areas under the 1999 constitution, Lagosians cannot validate the new Local government Areas they have lawfully created” The implication on democracy is that Lagos and other state governments involved in the creation of local governments within the period reduced the newly created local government councils to mere Development Centres/Councils without democratic powers. The local people were deprived of the closer government and participatory democracy.

Secondly, the determination of tenure of office of political actors of local government councils became an issue of dispute between the state and local governments as against the spirit of the reforms. Local government as a tier of government has been hampered by the instrument of the state in determination of the tenure of their political officers. In several occasions, most state governors terminated the tenure of the democratically elected councils and replace them with members of their ruling political party in their states, as care-taker committees. In most cases, the state government even resolves not to conduct elections into the councils, as in the case of Anambra state for over six years. This is inimical to democracy and development of the local government system in Nigeria. The choice of leadership in the council is no longer the decision of the local people, but the decision of the political party in power through the State House of Assembly.

Furthermore, the issue of who controls the local government funds has been a great concern to the local government autonomy and democracy. Various state governments take advantage of the provisions of the 1999 constitution to abuse local government funds through the establishment of Joint Account and Allocation Committee (JAAC) headed by a state government representative. The JAAC deprives the local government the powers to control their funds. In most cases, through the instrument of the JAAC, the local government is starved of fund for her democratic activities. The effect is that the local government is

now dependent on the state government command, and this affects local government democratic activities and autonomy.

Also at today, the Local Government Service Commission (LGSC) controls the local government personnel services, while the LGSC is the appointee of the state government. The state governments in Nigeria uses the commission to regulate local government policies, and sometimes frustrate local government policies including democratic activities by deploying the incompetent calibre of staff to a particular local government, resulting to poor implementation of the democratic policies of the councils. Sometimes, the LGSC even take over the political control of the councils following the expiration of the tenure of the elected councils in some States. The effect is that democracy in local government is crucified on the altar of the LGSC and State House of Assemblies in most States of the federation in Nigeria. This results to democratic deprivation of the local people in the nation which is in contrast to the aims of the reforms.

Another thorny issue is the conduct of Local government elections which were and is still conducted by the States Independent Electoral Commission (SEC). The state governments appoint and control SIEC. The impact is that in most cases, the local government elections are conducted based on the dictates of the party in power in the state, and not to satisfy the democratic will of the local people. The political party in power uses the state power to select the local government political actors through the use of rigging and abuse of electoral processes, thereby depriving the local people the opportunity of achieving the democratic representation in the government. Once endorsed by the ruling party in the state as the preferred candidates for Chairmen and Counsellors, a charade called elections is conducted to just justify the wish of the ruling party.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

It will not be too sarcastic to posit that local government in the country have consistently and shamelessly failed to live up to their expectation in Nigeria over the years despite the laudable reforms that have been undertaken by both the military and civilian administration. Mabogunje (1999:34) commenting on the performance of local government in the country observed that the system “has not served the purpose for which it was established” furthermore, he observed that the system the system was not made for efficient service delivery nor it has it operated in a transparent and accountable manner, and that it has not enhanced participatory democracy at the grassroots level nor has it been able to substantially raise the level of revenue such that it can provide the services needed by its citizens. These and many more are some of the travail of local government despite all reforms.

It is instructive to note that what is needed is a reform that promotes policies that will entrench democratic ethos, good governance, financial autonomy and accountability thus there is urgent need to still reform the local government system in Nigeria in order to make it more effective, efficient, responsible and responsive to the people at the grassroots. Hence the need to amend the constitution so as to prevent the governors from setting up caretaker committees or sole administrators and clearly specifying the constitutional tenure of elected chairmen and also empower the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) with the responsibility of conducting local government elections and ensure a review of the State Joint Local Government Account provided for by section 162(6) of the 1999 constitution, as amended, to deliver the local government from the whims and caprices of the state governments. The need for local government councils to get their statutory allocation directly from the Federation Account should be vigorously pursued. There is a need to also thinker on the parliamentary system of government at the local government level in order to plummet the cost of governance at the local government in Nigeria. Any viable reform in local government in Nigeria should take all this into cognizance in order to have a local government that will fulfil its mandate to the people at the grassroots level.

## REFERENCES

- Adamolekun, L. (2002). Governance Context and Reorientation of Government. In Public Administration in Africa: Main Issues and Selected Country *Studies*,3–16, ed. Ladipo Adamolekun. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Amadi, I. R. (2000). Evolution of Local Government in Eastern Nigeria, 1900 - 1990. *Calabar Historical Journal*.Vol. 4, No.1
- Egurabe, J. O. (1991). “The Evolution of Local Government in Nigeria, A Systematic Perspective” in Nzeribe, C. G. O. (ed) *Current Issues in Public Administration*. Enugu: Forth Dimension Publisher.
- Enyi, J. E. (2014.) Native Authorities and Local Government Reforms in Nigeria Since 1914. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. Vol 19, Issue 3, PP 113-127.
- Igbuzor, O. (2009) Local Government Reforms and Constitutional Review in Nigeria. Centre for Democracy and Development. [www.gmail.com.NEWS2676.htm](http://www.gmail.com.NEWS2676.htm)
- Inah, K. E. (2000) “Evolution of Local Government Administration” in Uya, O. E and Okoro, J. (eds.) *Local Government and Grassroots Administration in Nigeria*. Calabar: University of Calabar Press.
- Iwilade, A. (2012) “Lagos LCDAs: Constitutional Federalism on Trial”. Punch Newspaper, 20<sup>th</sup> February, January.
- Ikelegbe, A.O. (2005). The Local Government System and Grassroots. Development in Nigeria: Issues, Problems and Challenges. In Onokerhoraye, Andrew G. and Omuta, Gideon, E.D. Perspectives on development: A book in honour of Pius Oghenerakohwo Sada. Benin City: Centre for Population and Environmental Development. pp: 37-63.
- King, M.C. (1988). *Localism and Nation Building*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.
- Meredith, M. (2005) *The Fate of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence*. New York: Public Affairs Publishing.
- Mabogunje, A. (1999). “Local Government and Social Capital in Africa” in Olowu, D et al (ed), *Governance and Democratisation in West Africa*. CODESRIA.
- Obi, E. A. (2010) “Local Government Administration in Nigeria” in Obi, E. A. *Comparative Local Government: An Ecological Approach*. Onitsha: Bookpoint Educational LTD.
- Obikeze, O. S. A. & Nwade, N. (2010) “The 1999 Constitution and Local Government Autonomy in Nigeria: A Critical Appraisal” in Obi, E. A. *Comparative Local Government: An Ecological Approach*. Onitsha: Bookpoint Educational LTD.
- Otoghile, A & Edigin, L. U (2011). Local Government Administration and Development: A Survey of Oredo Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria. *African Research Review*. Vol. 5(3), Serial No. 20.