

46th INAUGURAL LECTURE

**WHEN THE STATE GOES TO SLEEP: OF CITIZEN AND STATE
RELATIONSHIP**

BY

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Preamble

This inaugural lecture which is dedicated to the memory of my dad, Phillip Olagunju Fajonyomi (1926-2011) who cannot witness this occasion that he so much labored for, is the third in the

Faculty of Management Sciences and second in the Public Administration unit of the Department of Industrial Relations and Public Administration.

I stand before you today as a testimony to how God can be good to the lowly to stand before kings to deliver this inaugural. I am really excited to be here since this lecture is a demonstration of what I have been able to contribute to my field as a Professor of Public Administration. I was fortunate in my formative years to have shared the experiences of public administration in other continents. It will interest you to know Mr Vice Chancellor sir that I was among the very few scholars from three Nigerian universities, University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University), Ahmadu Bello University and University of Nigeria, Nsukka, to receive French government scholarship to the Institute d'Etudes Politiques, Bordeaux France, to study French administration in 1987. In addition, I was also privileged twice in 1996 and 1999 through two fellowships from Institute of Developing Economies (IDE) and Japan Foundation respectively to conduct researches on Japanese bureaucracy and its influence on economic development both in Japan and in Asia in general. These experiences Mr Vice Chancellor sir, Distinguished ladies and gentlemen have tremendously influenced my thinking on the role of the state in development. Moreover, they have sharpened my research orientation to reveal that the duties of the state cover twenty four hours, three sixty five days and twelve months. When a vacuum exists in the operation of the state at any point in the times stated above, it has serious consequences not only for the citizens for which reasons the state exist but also for the state that will need to dispense more efforts and resources to cover the absence created in the period it could not be found.

The relationships between citizens and the state have experienced unparalleled challenges as citizens become disillusioned with the attitude of government and its institutions over what ordinarily could be considered as their rights within the political system. Political participation, which is the most touted form of citizen involvement in governance, appears insufficient in modern times. Periodic voting, citizen empowerment, and even the right to present one for election that are characteristics of political participation have become unpopular as unprecedented apathy typifies political behaviour of many citizens in both developed and developing countries. The other rights like legal, social, civil and economic rights have not been well defined to the understanding of many citizens to enable them challenge the attitudes of the state towards their realization. In

fact citizen education is also weak thereby putting many citizens in ignorance of what they should expect from the state and how to seek redress when such expectations are doused.

Many times we hear of various decrees, reforms, visions, reports at the federal, state and local government levels highlighting societal problems and recommending ways out. In fact it is not unusual for opening ceremonies to be conducted for public hearing, for foundation laying ceremony to be organized or for committees to be inaugurated or even bills signed into laws. Unfortunately, no sooner than all these efforts are expended that silence follows and nothing again is heard and nobody asks any question as to the reason why there is an implementation lag.

It is for this reason that I have titled my inaugural lecture “*When the State Goes to Sleep: Of Citizen and State Relationship*”

Scope of the Lecture

In this lecture Mr Vice Chancellor sir, I intend to look at the relationship between the State and its citizens from a public administrationist's point of view placing much emphasis on the failure of the state to meet up with its responsibilities towards its citizens. I will start by clarifying the concepts used in the lecture. Then I will discuss the relationship between the State and its citizens and its evolution highlighting the gap between expected and actual. The third section will highlight some of my contributions to knowledge in these areas. I will conclude by making recommendations on how citizens can be better served in a democratic dispensation.

I - OPERATIONALIZATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

One of the challenges of presenting an inaugural lecture is how to do it in mundane terms and language that will carry everybody along irrespective of their social, economic and professional background. Though I had my foundation in the field of political science, my love for public administration made me to distance my thoughts from the core theory of political science to a more understandable field of public administration. This is not to say that the two disciplines are not related. In fact as a field of study public administration evolves from political science. In reality however a thin line divides the two. This is well described by Khor (2005, p. 270) when he contends that:

Political science is a specialized social science dealing with the political life of human, which is part social life. Its unit of study might be the state, or any other related unit as a matter of fact. Generally speaking, the field of study is interested in a particular portion of society viewed as an organized political unit. Political science is thus a narrower and more specialized study than that of sociology, for example. To the latter, it contributes facts concerning the organization and activities of the state as a part of the general social structure. They (political science and public administration) spent a good part of their existence in the university together, with political science initially the dominant partner. The roots of public administration sprouted from within the political science departments through its aspiration to become a “legitimate” field of study, whereas political science was often nurtured by its connection to public administration through its involvement with the “applied” side of the machinery of government.

Over time, powerful paradigm shifts, accompanied by socially related forces both within academe and outside, have led to the alienation of public administration from its previous “niche” in the political science academic world. This was mainly evident during the third quarter of the Twentieth Century.”

It is the alienation referred to above that gave birth to new theories, paradigms, approaches that define the field that we call public administration today.

What then is Public Administration?

Public administration also has various definitions. Some see it as a "field of inquiry with a diverse scope (whose) fundamental goal... is to advance management and policies so that government can function." (Rabin, 1989, p.iii) Others see it as the "translation of politics into the reality that citizens see every day" (Donald and Fessler, 2009). As for McKinney and Howard (1989, p. 62) public administration is "the study of government decision making, the analysis of the policies themselves, the various inputs that have produced them, and the inputs necessary to produce alternative policies.” For the purpose of this lecture, we will adopt the definition by Olojede (2009) who sees public administration as “the vehicle by which governmental goals are achieved”. Public

administration can be broadly defined as the development, implementation and study of branches of government policy. The ultimate end of public administration is to promote public good by enhancing civil society and social justice.”

State: Definition, Origin of State (theories) and The State today

What we refer to as the state here is of general usage, despite the fact that there is no consensus as to what it means. This problem of conceptualization is well expressed by Anifowoshe (1999, p.85) when he argued that:

There is no clear, all-inclusive definition of the state. Some writers define the state as essentially a class-structure, that is a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and the poor in subjection. Others regard it as the one organization that transcends class and stands for the whole community. Some conceive it as a power-system, others as a welfare-system while others view it as a legal construction, that is, a community organised for action under legal rules. Some identify the state with the nation, others regard it as no more than a mutual insurance society.

Yet Anifowoshe provides a comprehensive definition which can be sufficient for this lecture. He sees the state as

The most inclusive organization, which has formal institutions for regulating the most significant external relationships of the men within its scope. It is the basic political unit, a grouping of individuals who are organised in a defined territory for the pursuit of secular common welfare, the maintenance of law and order and the carrying out of external relations with other groups similarly organized (Anifowoshe, 1999, p.85), .

Origin of the State

Just as there is no consensus as to the definition of a state, so also there is no single acceptable theory of the origin of the state. However, the essence of the state can only be justified in its historical origin. A cursory look at the most commonly cited of these theories shows that each of them is relevant and carries different assumptions for the type of relationship that exists between

the citizens and the State. The most common explanations are Organic or Natural theory, Force or Might is Right theory, Divine right theory, and Social Contract theory.

The Organic Theory of the State is also known as the natural theory of the state because it views the state in more naturalistic terms. It asserts that the state, just like the family, evolves spontaneously to meet certain needs of the community. Aristotle, for example, saw the state as a natural and moral institution which gradually developed out of lesser human collectivities such as the nuclear family, the extended family and villages. The family according to Aristotle is an embryonic state because it provides for the needs of its members. The extended family existed to cater for those needs that the nuclear family could not meet. The inability of the extended family to meet some other needs prompted its members to have the village. Thus, the state was a natural development brought into being by the union of the various independent parts like the nuclear family, the extended family and the village. According to him, each of these components could only be happy by remaining in a larger unit which is the state.

The force or conquest theory of the state argues that the state developed from conquests. It started when a group of people well organized and well equipped militarily captured other groups who are less organized and less equipped. According to those theorists, all states originate in conflict and the major ingredient in the formation and sustenance of the state is military power. The use of force in this theory may not necessarily be regarded as evil. Force is required both to create the state and to protect it against any outside invasion.

The Divine Right Theory of the State which is considered a supernatural theory, traced the origin of the state to some divinities, deities and gods. Most civilizations linked the origin of their state to God or the gods, and this has been a source of legitimacy for political leaders. This theory has resulted in theocracy and has been used to explain the divine rights of kings to rule. Robert Filmer in his *Patriarcha or the Natural Power of Kings*, argued that a king's authority was invested in him by God, that such authority was absolute and therefore that the basis of political obligation lay in

our obligation to obey God absolutely. Under this theory members of the society have no right to deny allegiance to an abusive state as such would be viewed as an affront against God.

One other view concerning the origin of the state is tagged 'the social contract theory or theories' as there are many versions of the theory. The social contract theorists like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau believe that the state originated from some sort of agreement often called a "social contract" for the welfare of man and for the interest of all the members of the society. A government according to these theorists holds power by the consent of the governed alone and its legitimacy continues as long as the consent subsists. When that consent is withdrawn there is no longer a justification for that government to remain.

But each of the social contract theorists differs in his conception of the state of nature, the nature of the social contract and the rights of man in the civil society. Hobbes argues that men in the mythical state of nature are born free and equal by nature. As such they share the same passion to attain happiness which is endless. The continual search for happiness put man in continual war with "every man, against everyman." In such a state, man's life is not only insecure, but the quality of life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." That is why Hobbes found it necessary for men to reach an agreement where one, every man will renounce the rights they had against each other in the state of nature and two, transfer such rights to one person or assembly of persons with the authority and power to enforce the earlier contract. The Sovereign (*Leviathan*) so created will be empowered with the right to punish any breach of the agreement without hindrance because he will have absolute authority. Hobbes was quick to point out that the excesses of the Sovereign are nowhere comparable to the dangers in the state of nature which rational men had agreed to escape from.

John Locke's view of the state of nature is quite different from that of Hobbes and this has influenced his own type of social contract and the relationship that citizens can have with the state. Locke argues that the state of nature represents the natural condition of man, where the law of nature governs. According to him, man was happy in the state of nature because he was governed by reason and tolerance. All men in the natural state were equal and independent and had the

freedom to pursue those matters that are considered as inalienable rights like life, health, liberty, or possessions. According to Locke the men have right and responsibility in the state of nature, and are determined to defend themselves against any threat to these rights. Attempts to ward off these threats could lead to a “temporary” state of nature unlike in the Hobbesian state of nature where war is permanent. This war is not created as a result of man’s insatiable appetite for power as stated by Hobbes, but as a result of man’s limited judgment. This uncertainty in judgment made men to leave the state of nature and create a state with representatives to which they entrust legislative and executive powers. In Locke’s view, a just and equitable society cannot exist without the state to adjudicate in case of conflict over the rights of men.

Rousseau, the last of the social contract theorists under review, differs from the previous two on the reasons for the existence of the state. The inequalities in the state of nature according to him are not enough reasons to impose one person or a group of persons over others. He believed that man in the state of nature was free. This is expressed in his popular axiom that: “Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains”. The chains that bind man in the state of nature was as a result of man being subjected to injustice and oppression from his fellow men as a result of economic and social inequalities. For man to be free from his chains and live together without succumbing to the oppression of others, Rousseau argues that the citizens of the state submit their individual and particular wills to the collective or general will that arises from the agreement with other free and equal persons. The general will so formed will be diverted towards the common goods as agreed upon by the whole society.

One thing that makes the social contract theories more pertinent to this lecture is its notion of popular sovereignty, that is, power emanating from the people. The state exists because it has agreed to take charge of certain responsibilities on behalf of the citizens. This is what is referred to as ‘social contract’ in which both parties have rights, responsibilities and obligations in the contract. ***Political power is thus given in trust, and when the trustee breaches this fiduciary arrangement, his power to rule is also forfeited.***

It is the inability of the state to fulfill its responsibilities towards its citizens that encourage a plethora of terms to qualify it over the years. We will examine some of these.

Soft State

The concept of ***soft state*** was first used by Myrdal to describe:

... all the various types of social indiscipline which manifest themselves by deficiencies in legislation and, in particular, law observance and enforcement, a widespread disobedience by public officials and, often, their collusion with powerful persons and groups ... whose conduct they should regulate. Within the concept of the soft states belongs also corruption (Myrdal, 1970, p 208).

The indiscipline referred to above manifests itself in the non implementation of decisions and non respect for laws; rules and directives made by the authority not being obeyed and the tendency by every group in the population to resist control by public authority (Medard, 1982). Forrest (1988) described it as the informal but crucial linkage between government functionaries and powerful individuals in the society.

Weak State

The USAID, OECD, US Commission on Weak States, and the National Security Council in the US, for instance, broadly define weak states as those that are unable to assert effective control over their territory or legitimacy over the means of coercion; unable or unwilling to provide basic public services to their citizens; and are characterized by ongoing violent conflict, or the likelihood of its occurrence (cited in Huria, 2008:2).

On his part, Rotberg (2012, p.4) summarizes weak states to:

“include a broad continuum of states that are: inherently weak because of geographical, physical, or fundamental economic constraints; basically strong, but temporarily or situationally weak because of internal antagonisms, management flaws, greed, despotism, or external attacks; and a mixture of the two. Weak states typically harbor ethnic, religious, linguistic, or other inter communal tensions that have not yet, or not yet thoroughly, become overtly violent. Urban crime rates tend to be higher and increasing. In weak states,

the ability to provide adequate measures of other political goods is diminished or diminishing. Physical infrastructural networks have deteriorated. Schools and hospitals show signs of neglect, particularly outside the main cities. GDP per capita and other critical economic indicators have fallen or are falling, sometimes dramatically; levels of venal corruption are embarrassingly high and escalating. Weak states usually honor rule of law precepts in the breach. They harass civil society. Weak states are often ruled by despots, elected or not”.

Fragile State

OECD (2008) defined a ***fragile state*** as simply one that is unable to meet its population's expectations or manage changes in expectations and capacity through the political process. Fragility thus arises from substantial disequilibrium in state-society relations. It has multiple underlying causes, both chronic and acute, and it can produce multiple consequences, most worryingly vulnerability to internal conflict, inability to cope with humanitarian disaster and high risk of state collapse.

Wikipedia (2012) defined a fragile state as significantly susceptible to crisis in one or more of its sub-systems. It is a state that is particularly vulnerable to internal and external shocks and domestic and international conflicts. In a fragile state, institutional arrangements embody and perhaps preserve the conditions of crisis: in economic terms, this could be institutions (importantly, property rights) that reinforce stagnation or low growth rates, or embody extreme inequality (in wealth, in access to land, in access to the means to make a living); in social terms institutions may embody extreme inequality or lack of access altogether to health or education; in political terms, institutions may entrench exclusionary coalitions in power (in ethnic, religious, or perhaps regional terms), or extreme factionalism or significantly fragmented security organizations. In fragile states, statutory institutional arrangements are vulnerable to challenges by rival institutional systems be they derived from traditional authorities, devised by communities under conditions of stress that see little of the state (in terms of security, development or welfare), or be they derived from warlords, or other non-state power brokers

Failed State

The term **failed state** is often used by political commentators to describe a state perceived as having failed at some of the basic conditions and responsibilities of a responsible and sovereign government. Helman and Ratner (1993) described a ***failed State*** as “utterly incapable of sustaining itself as a member of the international community”. According to Woodward, “state failure is an inability to make collective decisions and to enforce them, if necessary.” As the clearest signs of impending failure she lists: credible challenge to monopoly over the legitimate use of force or its outright loss of that monopoly; state’s inability (or unwillingness) to use force when it is necessary; and, third, the premature resort to force because the state lacks other instruments (financial, economic, social, cultural, political, legal, moral in the sense of legitimacy) of enforcement that in functioning states normally preclude the resort to force and naked power.

The *Fund for Peace* (2007) describes a failed state as a state that has:

- loss of physical control of its territory,
- the monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force therein,
- erosion of legitimate authority to make collective decisions,
- an inability to provide reasonable public services, and
- an inability to interact with other states as a full member of the international community.

Other indicators of a failing state are:

Social indicators

Demographic pressures

Massive movement of refugees and internally displaced peoples

Legacy of vengeance-seeking group grievance

Chronic and sustained human flight

Economic indicators

Uneven economic development along group lines

Sharp and/or severe economic decline

Political indicators

Criminalization and/or de-legitimization of the state

Progressive deterioration of public services

Widespread violation of human rights
Security apparatus as ‘state within a state’
Rise of factionalized elites
Intervention of other states or external factors

Sleep

Sleep according to the *free dictionary* is “A natural periodic state of rest for the mind and body, in which the eyes usually close and consciousness is completely or partially lost, so that there is a decrease in bodily movement and responsiveness to external stimuli. During sleep the brain in humans and other mammals undergoes a characteristic cycle of brain-wave activity that includes intervals of dreaming.

From the above definition certain characteristics of sleep are noticeable. These include:

- Closed eyes
- Complete or partial loss of consciousness
- Decrease in bodily movement and
- Decrease in responsiveness to external stimuli

Put in a different language a period of sleep is a period of inactivity when one cannot put up any defense even in the face of imminent threats. The Bible describes this succinctly when it states in *Matthew 13: 25* that ‘***But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat and went his way***’. No matter how powerful a person is, when sleep comes he loses his grips. This explains the proverb in Yoruba that “***Oorun l’ongba t’owo omode***” Translated literarily it means “***sleep disarms a child***”. The same applies to even an adult or to the State for that matter. The concept of sleep as used here is to reflect periods of inaction by the State even when faced by daunting challenges.

Citizen and Citizenship

A citizen, in its most general sense, connotes an individual member of a given political society or state; by extension, one who owes allegiance to and may lawfully demand protection from the

government of that state. Such a person is conferred with what we refer to as citizenship. Citizenship has been defined as the right to have rights. In fact, Marshall (1963) viewed citizenship as ‘‘a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community.’’ By this definition, it means that some people are not entitled to those rights set aside for ‘citizens’. China until 1949, never considered its citizens as equal stakeholders because the tradition regarded them as subjects of government and not participants in a political system. Under the Nigerian Constitution, citizenship can be acquired in three ways: by birth, by registration, and by naturalization. (Nigerian Constitution, 1999, Chapter III)

Citizens owe the state certain duties and obligations in exchange for certain rights. Some of these according Oluya, Olu-Buraimoh and Okege (2010) are:

- Abide by law of the land: citizens are expected to keep within the bounds of the law in their daily obligations; exercise their fundamental human rights in such a way as not to jeopardize that of other fellow.
- Citizens are not only expected to abide by the law but also endeavor to bring to the attention of law enforcement agents cases of violation of the law.
- Payments of taxes and tolls as directed by the government
- Be a good ambassador of the country wherever they go
- Exercise their franchise within the limit of the electoral law by voting and being voted for during elections.

In exchange for the duties and obligations stated above the State has the obligation to give the citizens certain fundamental rights. These rights include civil, political and economic rights.

The Nigerian 1999 Constitution aptly stated these in Chapter IV. These are:

Civil Rights

- Right to life
- Right to dignity of the human person: no person shall be held in slavery/servitude, subject to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment.
- Right to personal liberty.

- Right to fair hearing
- Right to private and family life
- Right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion
- Right to freedom of expression and press
- Right to peaceful assembly and association
- Right to freedom from discrimination
- Right to freedom of movement
- Right to acquire and own immovable property anywhere in Nigeria.

Political Rights

- Right to vote
- Right to seek and to hold political office
- Right to organize and belong to political parties
- Right to petition –protest, advocacy, pressure groups and public opinion.

These and other rights have been guaranteed by Sections 13 to 18 of the 1999 Constitution.

Section 15 for example states that:

1. ... national integration shall be actively encouraged, whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, sex, religion, status, ethnic or linguistic association or ties shall be prohibited.
2. For the purpose of promoting national integration, it shall be the duty of the State to:
 - (a) provide adequate facilities for and encourage free mobility of people, goods and services throughout the Federation;
 - (b) secure full residence rights for every citizen in all parts of the Federation;
3. The State shall foster a feeling of belonging and of involvement among the various peoples of the Federation, to the end that loyalty to the nation shall override sectional loyalties.
4. The State shall abolish all corrupt practices and abuse of power.

Section 16 states that:

1. The State shall, within the context of the ideals and objectives for which provisions are made in this Constitution -
 - (a) harness the resources of the nation and promote national prosperity and an efficient, a dynamic and self-reliant economy;
 - (b) control the national economy in such manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity;
 - (c) without prejudice to its right to operate or participate in areas of the economy, other than the major sectors of the economy, manage and operate the major sectors of the economy;
 - (d) without prejudice to the right of any person to participate in areas of the economy within the major sector of the economy, protect the right of every citizen to engage in any economic activities outside the major sectors of the economy.
2. The State shall direct its policy towards ensuring:
 - (a) the promotion of a planned and balanced economic development;
 - (b) that the material resources of the nation are harnessed and distributed as best as possible to serve the common good;
 - (c) that the economic system is not operated in such a manner as to permit the concentration of wealth or the means of production and exchange in the hands of few individuals or of a group; and
 - (d) that suitable and adequate shelter, suitable and adequate food, reasonable national minimum living wage, old age care and pensions, and unemployment, sick benefits and welfare of the disabled are provided for all citizens.

Section 17 further states that:

1. The State social order is founded on the ideals of Equality and Justice.
2. In furtherance of the social order,
 - (a) every citizen shall have equality of rights, obligations and opportunities before the law;

- (b) the sanctity of the human person shall be recognized and human dignity shall be maintained and enhanced;
 - (c) governmental actions shall be humane;
 - (d) exploitation of human or natural resources in any form whatsoever for reasons, other than the good of the community, shall be prevented; and
 - (e) the independence, impartiality and integrity of courts of law, and easy accessibility thereto shall be secured and maintained.
3. The State shall direct its policy towards ensuring that
- (a) all citizens, without discrimination on any group whatsoever, have the opportunity for securing adequate means of livelihood as well as adequate opportunity to secure suitable employment;
 - (b) conditions of work are just and humane, and that there are adequate facilities for leisure and for social, religious and cultural life;
 - (c) the health, safety and welfare of all persons in employment are safeguarded and not endangered or abused;
 - (d) there are adequate medical and health facilities for all persons;
 - (e) there is equal pay for equal work without discrimination on any account of sex, or on any other ground whatsoever;
 - (f) children, young persons and the aged are protected against any exploitation whatsoever, and against moral and material neglect;
 - (g) provision is made for public assistance in deserving cases or other conditions of need; and
 - (h) the evolution and promotion of family life encouraged.

Finally, Section 18 states that:

1. Government shall direct its policy towards ensuring that there are equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels.
2. Government shall strive to eradicate illiteracy; and to this end Government shall as and when practicable provide:-

- (a) free, compulsory and universal primary education;
- (b) free secondary education;
- (c) free university education; and
- (d) free adult literacy programme.

II - THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STATE AND ITS CITIZENS

The relationship between the state and its citizens from the discussion above emanates from the social contract theory and refers specifically to public expectations. It extends also to the level of trust that citizens have towards the state and the rights and responsibility of citizens towards the state. These relationships cut across all the spheres of life and are multidimensional in nature. They include political, social, economic, security, good governance among others. Without mincing words, the essence of any governments is to promote the welfare of its citizens. Over a long period of time, most states take some of these rights for granted to the extent that citizens over the years lose their rights to become mere subjects in a country where both the citizens and government (even its functionaries) are stakeholders.

In democratic systems like we have in Nigeria, the political space needs to be enlarged to encourage active participation of citizens in matters that affect them. Most of the political, administrative and economic reforms that were embarked upon by successive governments in Nigeria have not yielded expected output. The impact of this on the polity is evident in the fact that while the recurrent expenditure is expanding the capital expenditure keeps shrinking. See Table 1 below.

Table 1: Comparison of Recurrent and Capital Expenditure

Year	Total Budget N	Recurrent Expenditure N	Capital Expenditure N
2010	4.4 trillion	2.1 trillion	1.5 trillion
2011	4.2 trillion	2.4 trillion	1.01 trillion
2012	4.749	3.357 trillion	1.34 trillion

Source: Extracted from National Budgets

Note: The gap in the figure is due to provision for Debt Servicing and Statutory Transfers

The above table is a clear indication of the problems with citizen-state relationship in Nigeria. The first point has to do with the growth in the expenditure of government without commensurate growth in human development. The public sector employees whose total population at Federal, State and Local government stands at 2,602,000 takes about 80% of annual budget while the citizens (about 150 million) that pay the taxes are expected to share the remaining 20%. This type of budgeting has implication for whatever rights that citizens are expected to enjoy.

The 2011 Human Development Index (HDI) released by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) testifies to our development deficit as Nigeria is placed among the “Least Human Development” countries in terms of wealth and low educational ranking. Out of 187 countries covered by the report, Nigeria was ranked 169 with life expectancy at 51.9 years, below that of Libya at 74, Mauritius 73.4, Gabon 62.7 and South Africa, 52.8.

Figure 1: Caricature of Differences between Government and Citizens



Source: Anonymous

Let us start from the right to life. The essence of the State as earlier stated is to guarantee that its citizens enjoy life devoid of brutal and sudden death. It is expected that the State should be able to guarantee whatever any citizen requires to live a long life and in good health. It is rather unfortunate that because better infrastructure could not be provided, many citizens lose their lives abruptly. The reasons are not farfetched.

The absence of good roads has led to untimely deaths. According to the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC), between January and June 2011 road accidents claimed 2,218 lives in 2,234 crashes, compared to 1,822 deaths in 2,673 crashes in January-June 2010. In fact 162 persons die per 100,000 in road accidents in Nigeria. The high rate of accident is attributed to bad and unmotorable roads. According to Osita Chidoka, the Corps Marshall of the FRSC, over 194,000 kilometres of roads are death traps (*The Punch*, August 26, 2012).

Figure 2 Accident Caused by Bad Road at Ore on Lagos-Benin Expressway



Source: www.wazobaa.info

Figure 3 Gridlock caused by Bad Roads



Source: www.news.onlinenigeria.com

Incessant killings of citizens by insurgent groups are rife. From the 1966 pogrom when Igbos in the North were slaughtered in their thousands to the May 1980 riots in Zaria, the December 18-20 religious riot of Zaria the same year which claimed over 4,100 lives, to the Maitasine wahala in Kaduna, Maiduguri, Borno in 1982, Maitasine wahala in February/March 1984 where over 500 were slaughtered, to Zango Kataf of 1992 (Ogunsola, 2012). Added to this is the continued threat to life and property in Plateau State and the ongoing Boko Haram assault on Christians in the North.

According to CENCOD Annual Report 2011, extra judicial killings also take its toll on the citizens. The Report states:

The authoritarian essence of the Nigerian State has continued to assert itself in ways that have been overbearing for the citizens. Security personnel from the various arms of the security service, who are supposed to protect and defend the people, routinely violate the rights of the citizens. This often takes the form of extra-judicial killing.



Source: <http://news2.onlinenigeria.com>



Source: <http://nationalmirroronline.net>

The process of arriving at important life saving decisions is so slow that life seems to have no meaning in the country. The common saying is always “If government had responded in time we would have saved their lives”. We all recollect the 33 Chilean miners trapped in October 2010 and how the Chilean government responded and saved all the miners. The following scenario was simulated by an unknown author if it were to have happened in Nigeria:

Last night I dreamt that 33 Nigerian miners were trapped underground and the government decided to send a capsule down to rescue them one after the other. When the miners knew of the rescue plan, they began to argue amongst themselves on who goes first. ZONING was suggested but they could not agree on which zone will go first. Eventually in a struggle to determine who goes first, several of them got injured

and MEND issued a threat message warning that they would set off a bomb if any SOUTH-SOUTH miner was critically injured.

Meanwhile, the FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL had awarded the capsule contract to JULIUS BERGER and were still awaiting delivery three months later. There is a probe going on to unravel this and retrieve the award sum before we get to the issue of what formula to adopt for the rescue and which miner comes out first. In the meantime, traditional rulers from the miners' towns are paying solidarity visits to the president to thank him for his efforts to rescue the miners. And the first lady had just invited the wives of the Nigerian miners to ABUJA for dinner at the HILTON! The first ladies from the 36 states will also be in attendance. All including the wives of the miners will wear the GOODLUCK FOR PRESIDENT ANKARA!

CNN reported early this morning that after 10 months underground, all the 33 NIGERIAN MINERS HAVE DIED and the Nigerian government has declared seven days of mourning during which Nigerian flag will be flown at half mast to honour the dead. Meanwhile, JULIUS BERGER has sued the Federal government for the balance of the contract sum. (ThisDay 14th October, 2010- Author Unknown)

As funny as this may sound, it represents the attitude of the state towards important economic, social and political decisions where serious state policies are diverted from their original purpose for ethnic, personal, religious, and political reasons. Sam Amadi (2010) captured my reflection very well in his comment on the fiction in the Vanguard Newspaper titled, ***Miners, Citizenship and Responsible State*** when he wrote that:

But the truth is that this story captures the problem of the last 50 years of Nigerian independence and the challenge of the next 50 years. Nigeria's major problem is the absence of the sense of citizenship. Modern states are built on the conceptual foundations of citizenship. If there are no citizens there cannot be modern states as we understand them today. Democracy is possible where we have citizens.

None of the development plans by government was followed to their conclusive end. A few examples will suffice:

After Independence, the State was to grow based on well thought out development plans. Consequently, the Central government then instituted a six-year development plan (1962 – 1968) which could not get to its term as a result of military intervention in 1966. Ever since, it has been from one plan to the other and from one vision to the other.

Table 2: Development Plans/Policies/ Vision in Nigeria 1962 – 2020

S/n	Name	Period	Regime	Remark
1.	First Development Plan	1962 - 1968		Aborted by 1966 Coup
2.	Second National Development	1970 – 1974	General Gowon	
3.	Third National Development	1975 - 1980	General Gowon	Aborted by 1975 Coup But Implemented by Murtala/ Obasanjo and Shagari regimes
4.	Fourth National Development Plan	1981 -1985	President Shagari	Completed with modifications by General Buhari before he was overthrown on August 27, 1985
5.	Three-year Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and Rolling Plans	1986 - 1993	General Babangida	Inconsistencies in implementation
6.	Vision 2010 Strategic Plan	1996/1997 - 2010	General Abacha/General Abdusalami	Inconsistencies in implementation as efforts were more on military to civilian transition
7.	National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS) State Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (SEED) Local Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (LEEDS)	2003-2007	President Obasanjo	Targets were not met as timelines failed
8.	Seven Point Agenda Vision 2020	2007-	Presidents Yar'Adua/Jonathan	Inconsistencies in Implementation and

				absence of a well articulated timelines and policies
9.	Transformation Agenda	2011	President Jonathan	Not well articulated

Source: Author

One thing that is common with all the development plans/vision/policies/agenda is lack of continuity. Each of the plan expired with the tenure of the regime that instituted them. This has made monitoring by the citizens very impossible and it has encouraged corruption as expenditures were incurred without commensurate output/outcome.

Citizens' access to government is reduced by the inability of local governments to perform their statutory role. The 1976 local government reform defines local government as:

“government at 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 governments in their areas, and to ensure, through devolution of these functions to these councils and through the active participation of the people and their traditional institutions, that local initiative and response to local needs and conditions are maximized.”

The definitions above provide certain intrinsic characteristics of local government as:

- Local government officials are elected.
- The local government unit must have a legal personality distinct from the State and Federal Governments.
- The local government must have specified powers to perform a range of functions and finally,
- It must enjoy substantial autonomy. i.e. ability to make its own laws, rules and regulations; formulate, execute and evaluate its own plans and the right to recruit, promote, develop and discipline its own staff.

In explaining reasons why local government exists for example, Ola (1984) provided these schools of thought: Democratic Participatory School, The Efficient-Service School and The Developmental School. These three schools are relevant in this lecture. The democratic school for example argues that the major function of local government is to bring about democracy and to provide citizens the opportunities for political socialization and participation. The efficiency school believes that local government should coordinate the delivery of national services at local level, to minimize costs. The last school, the developmental school is more concerned about how local government can serve as change agent to better the lives of the citizens socially and economically.

The above discussion presupposes that any local government worthy of the name should be able to meet certain objectives. The 1976 Local Government reform captured this principle when it listed the primary objectives of the local government as follows:

- (a) To make appropriate services and development activities responsive to local wishes and initiatives by devolving or delegating them to local representatives body;
- (b) To facilitate the exercise of democratic self government close to the local government levels of our society, and to encourage initiatives and leadership potential;
- (c) To mobilize human and material resources through the involvement of members of the public in their local development;
- (d) To provide a two way channel of communication between local communities and government (both state and federal).

These objectives if carefully looked at are aligned to the core principle of good governance and citizen participation. Unfortunately this has not been the case. Although the constitution guarantees them some tasks, the enabling environment is not there for them to perform the task. Section 7 (1) of the 1999 Constitution stipulates that: The system of local government by democratically elected local government councils is under this Constitution guaranteed; and accordingly, the Government of every State shall, subject to section 8 of this Constitution, ensure their existence under a Law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils.” The same constitution in the Fourth Schedule conferred certain functions on local governments.

What results from these are overlapping powers and consequently buck passing. As a result some problems are hardly solved either at state and local government level. The end result is disillusionment with government and its activities. In some states for example, there have been issues concerning land use charge, tenement rate, provision of basic medical services, primary education.

One other problem militating against citizens enjoying their local government is the lack of resources. Local governments in Nigeria have constitutional powers to levy local taxes and fees but these resources amount to nothing compared to the enormous responsibilities bestowed on them. Section 162 (3 -7) of the Constitution states that:

- (3) Any amount standing to the credit of the Federation Account shall be distributed among the Federal and State Governments and the local government councils in each state on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the National Assembly.
- (5) The amount standing to the credit of local government councils in the Federation Account shall also be allocated to the states for the benefit of their local government councils on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the National Assembly.
- (7) Each state shall pay to local government councils in its area of jurisdiction such proportion of its total revenue on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the National Assembly.

The Revenue Allocation Formula in Nigeria allocates 20% to local governments whereas 48.5% to the Federal Government, 24 % to States, and 7.5 % for “special” or federally determined projects. In addition, LGAs are entitled to a share of certain federation taxes like value added tax (VAT).

From the provision above, local governments are entitled to 10% of internally generated revenue of the State government. Allowing them to managing these funds on their own has been problematic. Section 162 (6) states that “ Each State shall maintain a special account to be called “State Joint Local Government Account” into which shall be paid all allocations to the local government councils of the state from the Federation Account and from the Government of the

state.” This clause has enabled the state governments to manage the accounts of local governments ‘directly’.

One other issue that impairs citizen’s participation at the local government level is the lack of real democratically elected local government. Although the constitution prescribes a “system of local government by democratically elected local government councils”, some councils in some states (Ondo, Oyo, Edo, Kebbi and Ekiti) have been dissolved and appointed officials run such councils. Moreover in cases where elections were held, they have been hardly free and fair in most states of the country. State governments by law are to constitute a State Independent Electoral Commission for the purpose of organising elections into local councils. Such elections are won by the party at the state level. We have instances like in Imo State where the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), out of the twenty political parties that contested the election, won all the 303 councillorship seats in the 27 local government councils. In Lagos State also the Action Congress (AC), the party in power at the center swept all the chairmanship and councillorship positions in the election that was conducted in the state’s 20 Local Government Councils and the 37 Local Council Development Areas. The violence that characterize these elections have discouraged honest and responsible people from participating in local elections (PM News, 2010; Vanguard Online, 2010)

The issue of equity and women participation is of interest also if citizens’ rights are to be guaranteed at local government level. Women have never been at the forefront of politics in Nigeria in general. It is even worse at the local level. In the 1990 elections into local governments heralding the Third Republic, very few women emerged as councillors and only one woman, Chief (Mrs) Titilayo Ajanaku, emerged as chairperson of a Local Government Council in the West. In 2003 the total number of councilors in Nigeria stood at 8810 with 8667 male and 143 female representing a meager 1.6%. This percentage compares poorly with the recommended 30 per cent global affirmative action or with the statistics from other African countries like Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya or South Africa (DFID, not dated)

Another issue that has impaired citizen development is lack of transparency and accountability at all levels of government. There is corruption at all levels of government though higher at the local level. The reason for this is that local government accounts are not accessible to the citizens. It is

difficult to find a single person who has assisted in the budgetary process of local governments. To many it is believed that local government accounts are shrouded in secrecy. The publication of monthly allocations to the three levels of government has never enjoy the support of public office holders. A former Minister of State for Finance, Mr Remi Babalola, confirmed that some states were not comfortable with the continued monthly publication of revenue accruing directly to local councils. And that instead, they prefer the stoppage of the publication or at best, the allocation lumped under the states' share. The reasons for this are not farfetched. Apart from the fact that it enables the citizens to know the amount of money their state and local governments receive as allocations from the federal government, it also exposed the amount of deduction at source carried out by the State without the knowledge local government chairmen (Guardian Newspaper Thursday, December 03, 2009). It is this lack of accountability that has encouraged corruptible practices in government.

Table 3: Nigeria's Corruption Perception Index, 1998-2011

Year	CPI	Rank	Position from Bottom
1998	1.2	81/85	5 th
1999	1.6	98/99	2 nd
2000	1.2	90/90	1 st
2001	1.0	90/91	2 nd
2002	1.6	101/102	2 nd
2003	1.6	132/133	2 nd
2004	1.6	144/146	3 rd
2005	1.9	152/168	6 th
2006	2.2	142/163	22 nd
2007	2.2	147/179	33 rd
2008	2.7	121/180	60 th
2009	2.5	130/180	51 st
2010	2.4	134/178	45 th
2011	2.4	143/183	40 th

Source: Extracts from Transparency International Reports. www.transparencyinternational.org

It is not surprising therefore that a former World Bank Vice President for Africa, who also served as a minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Dr. Oby Ezekwesili, while presenting a paper entitled “*Corruption, National Development, The Bar and The Judiciary*” at the 52nd Annual General Conference of the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) admitted that about \$400 billion of Nigeria’s oil revenue has been stolen or mismanaged since independence in 1960 (*The Nation online*, August 29, 2012). With 20 per cent of capital expenditure ending up in private pocket annually, citizens need to brace up if they want to receive any dividend of democracy from government.

From the above discussion, it is glaring that the citizens have not been well treated under the current system of government in Nigeria. Analysts have put up a number of reasons for this awkward situation. The most common of them are:

- Our culture is not in consonance with modern governance
- There is the perennial problem of corruption
- Neglect of local government in development plans
- Absence of the culture of service delivery
- Lack of access to justice
- Failure of public service reform efforts

III - SOME OF MY CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE IN THESE AREAS

This section will address some of my contributions to knowledge in the field of public administration especially in redressing some of the issues raised in this lecture.

Culture and public administration

There is a general belief that democracy, public administration and good governance are strange to our culture. Some even argue that traditional values retard development and so should be discarded. My study on Japanese bureaucracy in 1996 and 1999 through Fellowships from Institute of Economic Development (IDE) and Japan Foundation respectively demonstrated the extent to which culture has assisted in building a virile public administration in Japan (Fajonyomi, 1998, 2000). Culture according to Smith (1992, p. 13) is “the array of formal and informal rules that

guide the members of a society in their selection of appropriate behavior and provides the framework for the construction of ideology. It is the context in which all economic and political behavior must make sense. While not determinative of behavior, it does establish the range of choices of action.” The attitude of bureaucrats in Japan is linked to the religious tradition of Confucianism and its system of ethics and morality which include loyalty (*chu*), filial piety (*ko*), veneration (*kanson minpi*), vertical organization (*tate*) and superior-subordinate (*Oyabun-Kobun*) relationship (see Nakane, 1970). In fact Miyamoto (1994) in his classic on Japanese public administration concluded that these cultural values help to explain to some extent the high level of commitment that Japanese have to their works, as demonstrated in several hours of unpaid voluntary overtime, and the lack of distinction between official and private life.

Unfortunately, culture has not been put into positive use in Nigerian public administration (See Babawale, 2012). Our cultural practices like family loyalty, kinship, respect for age/seniority and our understanding or misunderstanding of the concept of power have weakened citizens’ rights and obligations. No wonder then that Dudley write that “power in Nigeria is not a relation, it would generally be construed to be, but a ‘property’ (or put differently, a predicate), and as such something to be valued not only for its own sake, but because its possession is what make everything else possible.” This explains why most times in Nigeria bureaucratic operations are personalized instead of the impersonality recommended by Marx Weber.

On Corruption

It is no news that the problem of corruption is endemic in the country and successive government have tried their hand to combat it. These efforts became more vigorous under President Obasanjo who established new anti-corruption agencies like the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) in 2000, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in 2002, Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit (BMPIU) aka Due Process Office in 2003, Nigeria Financial Intelligent Unit (NFIU) in 2006, and Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) in 2007, in addition to other pre-1999 agencies like Public Complaints Commission (PCC), Code of Conduct Bureau and Tribunal and other anti-corruption sections in the Criminal Codes of Nigeria.

What is paradoxical about the anti-graft war in Nigeria is that the proliferation of these agencies has not made any meaningful impact on corruption (See Table 3). In a study I carried out in 2006, I argued that while the government keeps multiplying its anti-corruption agencies, it has actually neglected other mechanisms that would have made its anti-corruption war effective. The government has wittingly avoided a thorough reform of the judicial system, the police force, and even the transactions in the oil sector. Moreover, the appropriate administrative, financial and economic reforms that are necessary to discourage corrupt tendencies were never implemented. More serious is the absence of sustainable development programs that could improve the quality of life of the citizens. Until all these are factored into the anticorruption campaign it will be difficult to win the war of corruption in Nigeria (Fajonyomi, 2006).

Citizens' Access to Justice

Another area where citizens are being short changed is in the administration of justice. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights provided for equality before the law and access to fair hearing. In fact, Articles 7, 8 and 10 of the Bill specifically state that:

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. (Art. 7). Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by the law (Art. 8) Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him (Art. 10).

Nigeria, being a member of the United Nations, has similar clauses in her constitution. The 1999 Constitution specifically states in Sections 36(1) that:

In the determination of his civil rights and obligations, including any question or determination by or against any government or authority, a person shall be entitled to

a fair hearing within a reasonable time by a court or other tribunal established by law and constituted in such manner as to secure its independence and impartiality.

There have however been few problems militating against the full realization of the spirit of this clause in many developing countries like Nigeria. When rights are granted to individuals without the economic empowerment to pursue or prosecute such rights, such individuals will have problems enjoying such rights to the fullest. The right to fair trial and equal access to justice might be difficult when the victim has no money to hire a lawyer. In a situation where more than sixty per cent of the citizens live below the poverty level and where legal fees in some instances can become very expensive, many are left with no other option than to face trial without proper defense or accept whatever inhuman treatment that is meted unto them without recourse to the law courts.

Another concern in the issue of access to justice is the unusual delay in civil cases that ordinarily could be settled out of court. Matters having to do with the family, landlord tenant relationship could be settled without much delay and without incurring legal costs.

It is in this regard that this inaugural lecturer conducted a study on the operation of the Office of the Public Defender in Lagos State (Fajonyomi and Dabiri, 2007). The Lagos State government introduced the Office of the Public Defender in its Ministry of Justice with ‘responsibility for the provision ... of free legal services and advice to and in respect of persons entitled thereto’ (OPD Law, 2003, section 2). The OPD started operation in July 2000, well before this law. The study discovered that most Lagosians are aware of the existence of the office and they are availing themselves of the opportunity provided by OPD to enjoy their rights. As at today, OPD has handled 34,100 cases. Nevertheless the study recommended that

- There must be increased effort to increase the number of staff in the OPD. This should be in the areas of attorneys, investigators and other supporting administrative staffs.
- A better management structure that will make OPD more independent in terms of administration and finance will go a long way to assist the organisation to be more effective. The recruitment and salary structure should be separated from that of the civil service to be able to attract intelligent attorneys to its fold. It is also recommended that additional remuneration be made available to lawyers in the organisation that have been

able to handle near difficult cases successfully as a means of encouraging them against future assignments.

- Apart from the normal brochure listing the activities of the OPD that is currently made available to the public, OPD should design operational manual of its procedure to give the public the required confidence to trust the organisation.
- Lastly, as it is being currently proposed, the OPD should endeavour to make its presence known in all the local governments of the state.

On Public Sector Service Delivery

Mr Vice Chancellor sir, modern public administration, otherwise known as public management, advocates a market based philosophy where emphasis would be placed on efficiency, effectiveness and value for money in the management of public organizations. It is a trend that considers citizens as customers who should be treated as kings. Most of the tenets of the new public management were actually recommended by previous administrative reforms like the 1973 Udoji reforms, 1988 and 1994 reforms (Fajonyomi, 2004). Of special interest are those carried out by the Bureau of Public Service Reform (BPSR) since year 2005. In these reform efforts, attempts were made to introduce a customer oriented public service through SERVICOM initiative. President Olusegun Obasanjo in his address at the Retreat for Honourable Ministers and Permanent Secretaries held at Nicon Hilton Abuja. July 18 - 20, 2003, said that:

"Public offices are the shopping floor for government business. Regrettably, Nigerians have for too long been feeling short-changed by the quality of public service delivery by which decisions are not made without outside influence and files do not move without being pushed with inducements. Our public offices have for too long been showcases for the combined evils of inefficiency and corruption; whilst being impediments to effective implementation of government policies. Nigerians deserve better. And we will ensure they get what is better!"

As a demonstration of government's commitment to the above initiative, a special Presidential Retreat was held between 10th – 21st March 2004. At the end of the retreat on 21st March 2004, the Federal Executive Council entered into a *SERVICE COMPACT WITH ALL NIGERIANS (SERVICOM)*. The compact states inter alia:

We dedicate ourselves to providing the basic services to which citizens are entitled, timely, fairly, honestly, effectively and transparently.

By SERVICOM, it was also agreed that all Ministries, Parastatals and Agencies and all other Government Departments will prepare and publish, not later than the FIRST DAY OF JULY 2004, SERVICOM CHARTERS whose provisions will include:

- ◆ quality services designed around the requirements of their customers and served by staff sensitive to the needs of their clients
- ◆ set out the entitlements of the citizens clearly and in ways they can readily understand
- ◆ list of fees payable (if any) and prohibit the demand for any additional payments
- ◆ commitment to the provision of services (including the processing of applications and the answering of correspondence) within realistic set time-frames
- ◆ details of agencies and officials to whom complaints about service failures may be addressed
- ◆ publish these details in conspicuous places accessible to the public
- ◆ Periodically conduct and publish surveys to determine levels of customer satisfaction.

The seriousness of government in providing quality service is further demonstrated in the charter by creating institutions and organizations with specific roles and functions. Under the charter the following roles and functions are assigned to the following (See www.servenigeria.com for details):

1. The President of Nigeria: receiving reports regarding the progress made by the Ministries and Agencies with respect to implementation of the Service Compact
2. A SERVICOM office in the Presidency and it is empowered:
 - a. To coordinate the formulation and operation of SERVICOM charters.
 - b. To monitor and report to the President on the progress made by Ministries and Agencies in performing their obligations under SERVICOM.
 - c. To carry out independent surveys of the services provided to citizens by the Ministries and Government Departments, their adequacy, their timeliness and customer satisfaction.

- d. To conduct **SERVICOM** Compliance Evaluation of services provided by Government Departments.

Other public institutions and personnel like the Ministers and members of the National assembly are also assigned specific role in the implementation of the policy. The conclusion derived from the study I carried out was that **SERVICOM** is a genuine attempt by the Nigerian government to engender competition and thus make available better service provision for her citizenry. Evidences on ground however have shown that **SERVICOM** has not resulted in better quality service. A visit to any of the government ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) shows that the culture of service delivery is still far from being achieved. The reasons for this are structural, administrative, political, economic and personal. Moreover, there is not enough publicity as to cause citizens to ask for their rights as they are not even aware of the existence of such charters as claimed by many of the MDAs (Kuye & Ile, 2007).

CONCLUSION

This lecture has examined the relationship between the State and its citizens in bringing out the fact that the citizens have not been well served in Nigeria. It highlights the theories that guide these relationships and the noticeable gaps in the practice in Nigeria. It also discusses some of my contributions to knowledge in these areas. One thing is certain. The state has gone to sleep. No wonder marauders have taken over certain basic services that the state ought to provide be it security (Oodua Peoples Congress, Egbesu Boys and Niger Delta Vigilante Force) traffic (members of National Union of Road Transport Workers or even the physically disabled members of the community on skaters), health (too numerous to mention) education (every street now has private schools), infrastructure (private bridges link some isolated communities and potholes are filled by miscreants). **IT IS TIME FOR THE SLEEPING GIANT TO WAKE UP.**

It is pertinent to say here that some of the problems highlighted in this lecture can be handled if existing laws, policies and recommendations in whitepapers are implemented. Apart from this, other countries have implemented other measures to give citizens a voice in the affairs of the state. Countries like the Fillipines, India, Gambia and Brazil have introduced Participatory budgeting, Citizen Report Cards and Community Score Cards (World Bank, 2012).

Participatory budgeting enables ordinary people to decide how to allocate whatever resources come to their constituency in the annual budget. One advantage of this approach is that citizens are allowed to identify, discuss, and prioritize how public money should be spent. This approach to budgeting has encouraged more equitable public spending, higher quality of life, increased satisfaction of basic needs, greater government transparency and accountability, increased levels of public participation and democratic and citizenship learning (Wikipedia, 2012)

Citizen Report Cards also empowers citizens to provide quantitative feedback on the quality, adequacy and efficiency of services provided by the state. The present of the media in the exercise is a form of transparency and accountability.

Community Score Cards are also being used as qualitative monitoring tools to evaluate if government projects and services actually meet the expected standard. One advantage of this process is that it encourages an interface meeting between service providers and the community.

I will end this inaugural lecture with a quote from the Transparency International 2011 Corruption Perceptions Index Report and I quote:

“Public sector governance that puts the interests of its citizens first is a responsibility that transcends borders. Governments must act accordingly. For their part, citizens need to continue demanding better performance from their leaders. (Transparency International, <http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2011/results/>)

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I would like to thank the members of my Unit, Public Administration, for the passion they exhibit in this field of public administration. I wish you well as we advance in this noble carrier.

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Thank you all for listening.

SONG

This is my story, This is my song

Praising my Saviour, All the day long

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