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Degree of Master of International Studies

(International Area Studies)

**POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS FOR
NIGERIAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS**

**A Critical Analysis of Agricultural, Education and
Water Supply Projects**

August, 2016

Development Cooperation Policy Program
Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University

NAFI'U ABUBAKAR SHEHU

**POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS FOR NIGERIAN
DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS**

A Critical Analysis of Agricultural, Education and Water Supply Projects

A thesis presented

By

NAFI'U ABUBAKAR SHEHU

**A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of**

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Seoul National University

THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

The undersigned, appointed by
The Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University

Have examined a thesis entitled

**POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS FOR NIGERIAN
DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS**

A Critical Analysis of Agricultural, Education and Water Supply Projects

Academic Advisor: Prof Kim, Taekyoon

Presented by **NAFI'U ABUBAKAR SHEHU**

August 2016

Candidate for the Degree of Master of International Studies (International Area
Studies) that is worthy of acceptance

Signature



Committee Chair

Eun, Ki-Soo

Signature

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Byun, Oung', written over a horizontal line.

Committee Vice-Chair

Byun, Oung

Signature



Committee Member

Kim, Taekyoon

ABSTRACT

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS FOR NIGERIAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

A Critical Analysis of Agricultural, Education and
Water Supply Projects

NAFI'U ABUBAKAR SHEHU

*Development Cooperation Policy Program
The Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University*

After decades of gaining independence and self-rule, many African states still remain poor as Economic Development stagnated. This continuing decline of economic development and the persistent large-scale poverty in Nigeria and other African states has led to disappointments and frustration for policy makers and the international community.

To address these challenges and alleviate poverty and improve economic development, the Nigerian government solicited international development programs (Aid) from the World Bank and other development agencies. While some of the programs funded by the World Bank and implemented over the years have been successful in terms of improving the quality of lives in the local communities, we have also witnessed development projects that lack capacity to generate positive impact and, in some cases, have not resulted in any meaningful results on the targeted policy communities.

This study seeks to discover the underlying contextual factors that have influenced program performance and declining economic development in Nigeria. There are certainly many factors that can affect the successes and failures of international development programs. These factors generally vary depending on the development agency, intent and objectives of the policy makers that adopt the policies, the type or nature of the policy area or projects, the policy community that are the beneficiaries, and the country context within which the projects are implemented.

This study assesses the various key policy-related factors that could affect the success and failures of development programs in Nigeria through the lens of policy implementation and examines how and why these factors could, in turn, influence the success and failure rates of development projects in Nigeria. The findings of this study have significant implications for International Development Programs, International Development Institutions, Policy Makers, and Recipient Nations and for the understanding of the factors that influence the outcomes of development projects.

Keywords: Policy Making, Policy Implementation, Development Projects, Economic Development, Policy Makers.

Student Number: 2014-24334

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADPs	Agricultural Development Projects
ERR	Economic Rate of Return
FACU	Federal Agricultural Coordinating Unit
HDI	Human Development Index
IEG	Independent Evaluation Group
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NPEC	National Primary Education Commission
PDO	Project Development Objectives
UBEC	Universal Basic Education Commission
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
USAID	United States Aid

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In the contemporary world of today, the problem of translating plans, policies, legislative, executive and judicial orders into concrete actions that will lead to the realization of the planned objectives and consequently to national development has become increasingly challenging and difficult, making many developmental initiatives of many nations unrealistic. These challenges which have bedevilled many nations across the globe cut across national and continental boundaries and have become increasingly worrisome in the developing worlds, Paki and Kimiebi (2011).

At its basic understanding, policy implementation is the process whereby actions are taken to execute some specific plans in order to accomplish some objectives, produce some results that will fulfil some targets and consequently solve some problems, Theodoulou and Kofinis (2004). It is the stage in the policy process whereby policy actions occur to address recognized national problems or needs.

At this stage, the design of policy proposal is put into effect and executed by respective government agencies. Selected instruments are applied reflective of the legislative mandate. Bureaucratic interpretation is carried out and the specific targeted populations experience the tangible effect of policy implemented leading to national development, Wayne H. (2009). What this suggests is that without policy implementation, problems and needs will not be solved and the objectives for which policies are initiated will not be realized, meaning that no development can occur.

National development is often referred to “as the ability of a nation state to improve the technology, economic status and social welfare of its citizens. This is mostly achieved by the provision of the basic and necessary social and technological infrastructures like quality education, portable water, and efficient transport system, sound Medicare etc. and is measured by the quality of the above factors and their ability to solve the existing needs and problems of the society”, Okolie (2004).

However, while there are different policies and plans undertaken by a nation in its efforts towards actualizing its developmental goals, the most important factor in these processes of development as stated by Tolu & Oluwatoyin (2011), is the implementation of policies. This is because implementation stage of

the policy process is the operational stage where the original goals of the policy are actually translated into concrete actions and results.

Hence, the above analysis has brought to the fore, the unique and immeasurable importance of policy implementation as a vital tool and prerequisite to national development. This is why it is stated that no matter how sound a policy might be, if not adequately implemented, that policy will never yield desired result and the public needs and problems intended to solve will remain unresolved.

This has been responsible for the low or high level of development experienced in different nations today. While some countries initiate and implement their developmental policies, others initiate but do not implement them. This is mainly due to inconsistencies in government, inadequate finance, poor policy evaluation, lack of involvement of the local people, negative political dispositions towards policies and corruption.

As a result, even though sound policies are made in most of the developing countries, no meaningful development is achieved as the objectives of policies are not realized due to poor implementation. The above issues as they relate to the place of policy implementation to national development have underscored the importance of this research project.

This paper within its capacity tries to examine the role of policy implementation in national development. In its attempt to critically measure the impact of policy implementation to national development, a critical analysis of Agricultural, Water and Sanitation, and Education projects undertaken by the Nigerian government and World Bank will be made. This is especially, judging from the fact that Nigeria is still a developing country with a number of abandoned, half implemented and multiple yet unimplemented policies.

In this regard, an examination of some policies in Nigeria will be appropriate in an attempt towards showing the role of policy implementation to national development and making recommendations on the best approach in an effort to enhance policy implementation and national development in Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Most developing countries face challenges of policy implementation. This has in a number of ways deterred and slowed down the development efforts of Nigeria as an emerging nation.

It is therefore against this backdrop that the research intends to investigate the relationship between policy implementation and national development using Agricultural, Water and Sanitation, and

Education projects as cases. The research intends to find out the major factors militating against policy implementation and how it affects national development.

Research Question

In the course of this investigation, these questions will be addressed.

1. What factors have made the implementation of policies difficult in Nigeria?
2. What are the effects of poor policy implementation to national development?
3. What are the underlying contextual factors that have affected or influenced the relative success and failures of development programs and declining economic growth in Nigeria?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this research is to examine the effect of policy implementation to development in Nigeria focusing on characteristics of policy implementation, particularly institutions

and governance, leadership and vision, political factors. It will entail the examination of the implementation of policy areas such as Agriculture, Water and Sanitation, and Education, focusing on the factors that affect the successes and failures in Nigeria.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This analysis is a type of evaluation research. I hope that my analysis will contribute to improve decision making, as policy-makers should demand and rely upon systematic evidence to guide their decisions. Such policy decisions serve the public better than decisions made in the absence of, or in disregard of, systematic information. Furthermore, this analysis will help determine and provide needed explanation regarding why certain development policies have resulted in failure or success over many years.

1.5 Area of the Study

This research work carried out analysis on Agricultural, Water and Sanitation, and Education policies of Nigeria.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Policy Implementation

It has been observed that policy implementation is a major problem confronting developing countries. The focal point of this research will be Nigeria, which is among the developing countries.

According to Adamolekun (1983), policy implementation refers to those activities that are executed out in the light of established policies. It refers to the process of converting financial, material, technical and human inputs into output i.e. goods and services (Egonmwan 1991). Edwards (1980) defines “policy implementation as a stage of policy making between the establishment of a policy (such as the passage of a legislative act, the issuing of an executive order, or the promulgation of a regulatory rule) and the consequences of the policy for the people whom it affects”.

Implementation problem arise when the desired result on the target beneficiaries is not met. Such problem is not restricted to only the developing countries. Wherever and whenever the basic critical factors that are very crucial to implementing public policy are

missing, whether in developing or developed nations, there is bound to be implementation problem. According to Edwards III (1980), these critical factors are communication, resource, dispositions or attitudes, and bureaucratic structure. The four factors operate simultaneously and they interact with each other to aid or hinder policy implementation. By implication, therefore, the implementation of every policy is a dynamic process which involves the interaction of many variables as would be discussed.

Communication is an essential ingredient for effective implementation of public policy. Through communication, orders to implement policies are expected to be transmitted to the appropriate personal in a clear manner while such orders must be accurate and consistent. Inadequate information can lead to a misunderstanding on the part of the implementers who may be confused as to what exactly are required of them. In effect, implementation instructions that are not transmitted, that are distorted in transmission, that are vague, or that are inconsistent may cause serious obstacles to policy implementation. Conversely, directives that are too precise may hinder implementation by stifling creativity and adaptability (Edwards III, 1980). Such precise directives do not leave room for implementers to exercise discretion and flexibility where and when the need arises.

Where implementation orders are clear, consistent and accurately transmitted, the absence of adequate resource will result in implementation problems. Resource include both human and material such as adequate number of staff who are well equipped to carry out the implementation, relevant and adequate information on the implementation process, the authority to ensure that policies are carried out as they are intended, and facilities such as land, equipment, buildings, etc as may be deemed necessary for the successful implementation of the policy. Without sufficient resource, it means that laws will not be enforced, services will not be provided and reasonable regulations will not be developed.

In addition to communication and resource, disposition or attitude is another key factor that affects policy implementation. Most implementers can exercise considerable discretion in the implementation of policies because of either their independence from their nominal superiors who formulate the policies or as a result of the complexity of the policy itself. The way the implementers exercise their discretion depends to a large extent on their disposition towards the policy. Therefore the level of success will depend on how the implementers view the policies as affecting their organizational and personal interest. Where a policy will result in reduction of pay, low esteem, or loss of position to the implementers, the attitude/disposition will be affected adversely. On

the other hand, if a policy will enhance the status, the pay or the self-esteem of the implementers, such implementers will be favourably disposed to it.

It is to be noted that the fact that communication, resource and positive disposition are put in place does not guarantee implementation success. If there is no efficient bureaucratic structure, the problem of implementation can still arise especially when dealing with complex policies. As observed by Edward (1980) where there is organizational fragmentation it may hinder the coordination that is necessary to successfully implement a complex policy especially one that requires the cooperation of many people. It may also result in wastage of source resource, inhibit change, create confusion, lead to policies working at cross-purposes and at the end, result in important functions being overlooked.

However, there are, in addition to the above, some problems that seem peculiar to developing nations in the area of policy implementation. These are usually problems that lead to implementation gap and which can be traced not only to the policy itself but also to the policy maker and policy environment.

Paki and Kimiebi (2011)¹ believe that public policy implementation in Nigeria is negatively affected by the behaviour of both the government and implementers. Hence it has been stated that the Nigerian state is privatised, dependent, and weak and lacks autonomy. Therefore, despite the availability of public policies that stand to better the lots of many Nigerians, the Nigerian state unfortunately, lacks the political will to positively realise such policies objectives.

On the other hand, Tolu and Oluwatoyin (2011) highlighted that inadequate financial and human resources have also been major challenges to the success of policy implementation in Nigeria. Paki and Kimiebi (2011) *supported this position by saying that it is not as if Nigeria is a poor country, but the formulation of wrong policies at the right time, multiplicity of policies and discriminative funding of some policies that led to lack of resources.*

2.2 Public Policy

Public policy is a field of theoretical inquiry with its own language and standards of judgment as well as a practical activity directed ultimately toward the preservation and alteration of the

¹ Paki A. E. and Kimiebi I. E. (2011) Public Policy in Nigeria: An Implementation Paradox Journal of Social Science and Public Policy, Volume 3, March 2011. Cenresin Publications

polity. Public policy does overlap with many disciplines such as public administration, economics, law, political science and government. It is an activity engaged in by public officials and other actors who make, execute and interpret laws that aim at some particular public good. Moreover, individual citizens, as well as associations and interest groups, take stands on a range of issues concerning what laws, or policy, should be and participate in the process of creating public policies or laws. At best, public policy is a public activity that is concerned with the public good, private rights, institutional inquiry, and the moral condition of the citizens and of the citizenry. And “doing” public policy involves confronting the crises of the republic and engaging the participants of those crises in a serious conversation.

An issue generally gives rise to a public policy. Such an issue may be considered a problem on the public agenda and a policy may be put in place to resolve the problem. Public policy can be defined in a number of ways. For instance, B. Guy Peters (1993) defines public policy as “the sum of government activities, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has influence on the lives of citizens”. Similarly, Schneider and Ingram (1997) contend that public policies are the mechanism through which values are authoritatively allocated in societies. Schneider and Ingram also hold the view that public policies contain designs recognizable in

the context and in the practices through which policies are conveyed and have consequences.

According to Charles Lasswell (1958)² in his book, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, and How*, “the study of politics is the study of influence and the influential”. In his view, “What” implies policies advocated and enacted by policymakers, and “How” means the politics or political processes through which the policies are attained. An understanding of how policy choices are made requires attention of not only those who have power, but also sensitivity for the nature of decisions and constraints on policy decision making.

A policy therefore, becomes a public policy only when it has been adopted, implemented, and enforced by a government institution. Charles Lindblom (1959) argues, “Policy is not made once and for all; it is made and remade endlessly. Policy-making is a process of successive approximation to some desired objectives in which what is desired itself continues to change under consideration”. According to Cooper, Hidalgo-Hardeman, Naff, Ott, and White (1998), a policy is an answer rather than the answer because there can be many possible answers for a given issue. For example, when we speak of public policy with regards to the homeless, there is undoubtedly no one single answer. The same

² Lasswell, C. (1958). *Politics: who gets what, when, how*. New York: P. Smith

observation can be made about hazardous waste policy, education, and health care as well as other central issues of our time.

In terms of its contribution to American society, Thomas Dye (1998) argues that governments do many things, and that public policy is what governments choose to do or not do. Essentially, government regulates conflict within society, organizes society to carry on conflicts with other societies, extracts money in the form of taxes from the society, and distributes a great variety of symbolic rewards and material services to the members of society among many other things.

2.3 Development Projects

Development means different things to different people, nations or organizations. In our context, development means *improvement in a country's economic and social conditions*. More specifically, it refers to improvement in ways of managing an area's natural and human resources in order to create wealth and improve people's lives. Similarly, the United Nations defines sustainable development as "development that meets the need of present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". A sustainable way to development is one that takes account of economic, social and environmental factors to produce

projects and programs which will have results that are not dependent on finite resources.

A project that is sustainable will not use more natural resources than the local environment can supply or more financial resources than the local community and market can sustain, and will have the necessary support from community, government and the stakeholders to carry on indefinitely. This is one of the key concepts in international development, and is critical in removing dependency. For example, undertaking the construction of gigantic development projects such as the building of bridges or dams by poor countries (that are typically financed by the World Bank or USAID), may serve as a sound and active development move. However, funding projects of this nature may adversely affect the limited financial resources of poor countries, perhaps it may negatively impact the budget used for running government and basic social services.

Indicators of National Development

Okolie (2003) provides the five basic and comprehensive indicators of National Development and went on to completely explain how they are measured:

Below are the indicators and their measures:

(1) Economy;

This can be measured by

- (i) Gross Domestic Product,
- (ii) Average Annual Growth Rate in Agriculture, and manufacturing
- (iii) Average Annual Growth,
- (iv) Important natural resources in the country
- (v) Role of agriculture in employment and contribution to GDP,
- (vi) Dominance of petroleum sub-sector in the area of government revenue and foreign exchange earnings,
- (vii) Total external debt and debt service,
- (viii) Infrastructure, transportation, road and waterways, electricity, and communications
- (ix) Major impediment rapid industrialization.

(2) Health;

This is measured by

- (i) Life expectancy both for male and female in the country,
- (ii) Rate of infant mortality in the country,
- (iii) Percentage of population provided with health services in the country,
- (iv) Types of communicable diseases in the country.

(3) Education;

This is measured by

- (i) Percentage of age group enrolled in primary, secondary and tertiary Institutions
- (ii) Enrolment in vocational institution,
- (iii) Adult literacy rate (male and female).

(4) Political;

This is measured by

- (i) Quality of governance (accountability and transparency)
- (ii) Level of popular participation.

(5) Social;

This is measured by

- (i) Child welfare
- (ii) Women empowerment
- (iii) Security(safety of lives and property)

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Hypothesis

For the purpose of this research, the following hypotheses have been formulated to guide this study;

Hypothesis: there is a significant relationship between frequent change in governments, lack of continuity of policies, more multiplicity of policy by different administrations, inadequate resource, and poor policy implementation.

3.2 Research Design

The design of the study is a Qualitative analysis. Qualitative evaluation is critical to this thesis because it involves an intense investigative process that compares, classifies and contrasts events and subjects to provide policy makers with the required information and policy choices. Qualitative approaches are generally suggested and useful when a researcher wishes to understand the contextual variables that influence the effectiveness of a program or process (Maxwell, 1998).

Qualitative research is important and of to the understanding of the specific context within which participants act and identifies

the critical processes leading to specific outcomes. Furthermore, qualitative studies often lead to the development of causal explanations for what outcomes occur.

3.3 Method of Data Collection

Data was collected from secondary sources from Articles, Journals, Websites of some Organizations, past research, largely through the use of electronic medium.

3.4 Method of Data Analysis

The data collected were analyzed using intense investigation process to determine the causes of successes and failures in policy implementation in Nigeria.

3.5 Factors Affecting the Implementation of Development Projects in Nigeria

There are many factors that can affect the success and failures of development programs. These factors generally vary depending on the development agency, intent or objectives of the stakeholders that adopt the policies, the type or nature of the policy area or projects, the policy community, and the country context within which the projects are implemented.

Here, I will attempt to discuss the factors that affect development programs in Nigeria by focusing on characteristics of policy implementation such as institutions, governance and leadership, cultural values, nationalism, Public Policy (Policy Design), political factors, corruption and other related factors.

3.5.1 Governance

The terms "governance" and "good governance" are being increasingly used in development literature. Governance describes the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). "Governance can be defined as the science of government behaviour and performance, including the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels" (Kayizzi Mugerwa, 2003).

Governance emerged during the 1980s as a new paradigm denoting something more than "government." The emphasis of this new paradigm was on reforming the management structures and processes of many Western countries. Such reforms were considered to be part of a revolutionary change in the management of governmental affairs that involved a "paradigm" shift from the dominant twentieth century Weberian bureaucratic model (Jabbara & Dwivedi, 2005) to the new public management model. Good

governance accomplishes this in a manner essentially free of abuse and corruption, and with due regard for the rule of law. Bad governance on the other hand, is generally regarded as one of the root causes of inefficiency and evil within our society. Good governance can be understood as a set of eight major characteristics: participatory, consensus oriented, accountability, transparency, rule of law, responsiveness, equity and inclusiveness, and effectiveness and efficiency (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP), 2008). As a policy framework, 'good governance' imposes demand on policy-makers in their exercise of power. Thus, it encompasses:

- An effective state—one that possesses an enabling political and legal environment for economic growth and equitable distribution.

- Civil societies and communities that are represented in the policy-making process, with the state facilitating political and social interaction and fostering societal cohesion and stability.

- A private sector that is allowed to play an independent and productive role in the economy (Singer, Hatti, & Tandon, 2007).

According to Singer, Hatti and Tandon (2007), all three elements, singly and in combination, together with sound economic management, are essential for sustained development as emphasized in assessment by the African Development Bank (1993, 1998).

Good governance also presupposes the existence of effective domestic institutions. These institutions are usually few, and those that exist are bound to address complex agency problems. For example, addressing the complexity of hierarchical power structures problems within the institutions that get in the way of effective management of personnel and other essential tasks continues to become a reoccurring problem.

In the context of Africa, during the 1960s, in the early years following independence, average incomes in Africa demonstrated some levels of growth. However, as political and economic problems struck Africa in the 1970s and 1980s, per capita incomes declined sharply. It was a period that was characterized by undemocratic governments, widespread corruption, and ineffective states. Africa has suffered from governments that have looted the resources of the state; that could not or would not deliver services to their people; that in many cases were predatory, corruptly extracting their countries' resources; that maintained control through violence and bribery; and that squandered or stole aid (African Commission Report, 2005).

Richard A. Joseph's (2003) article "Facing Africa's Predicament: Academe Needs to Play a Stronger Role" poses a thought-provoking question. He asks, "How can a revolution in African governance be effected that would build complexes of

institutions that operate efficiently and synergistically?" The revolution is needed, he says because "entrenched political corruption throughout Africa has become just one element of a broader phenomenon that I call 'catastrophic governance.'" He defines the catastrophe as "endemic practices that steadily undermine a country's capacity to increase the supply of public goods to serve the basic needs of its population, including the security of life itself." The practice he had in mind includes repressive regimes, absence of democratic institutions, pervasive corruption, theft, mismanagement, and inefficient utilization of public services (Murungi, 2004).

Because Nigeria is part of the greater Sub-Saharan African States, it is not immune from the troubling reality of poor governance in Africa. If poor governance affects Nigerian government's ability to provide for the public goods, it is reasonable to hypothesize that it would have negative influence in the implementation of the policy outcomes in our study. In his article, "Africa's Crisis of Governance," Tunde Obadina (2007) has a different view on governance in

Nigeria as he observes:

“Certainly African nations suffer from poor administrative, inadequate judicial infrastructure and insufficient numbers of expertise. But these short-comings cannot explain the abuse

and misuse of state power in the continent. For instance, Nigeria has a large number of highly-trained professionals, including accountants and constitutional lawyers. Laid down budgetary procedures, include provisions for check and balances are inadequate. But the fact remains that Nigerian rulers have ignored the provisions of the constitution and laid down administrative procedures are irrelevant to the actual workings of the government. Abuse and misuse of power and authority by Nigerian rulers have not been largely due to any national lack of capacity for good governance. Nigerian leaders have not been ineffective and tyrannical because they are incompetent or ignorant. Neither has the lack of administrative or intellectual expertise to formulate and properly execute growth enhancing policies being the major problem. Quite simply, Nigerian leaders have acted in their own selfish interests in total disregard to the existing rules and laid down procedures”.

The USAID 2005 Report on Fragile States notes, "When development and governance fail in a country, the consequences engulf entire regions and leap around the world". Good governance is the key factor to both growth and participation and without progress in governance; all other reforms will have limited impact. While there have been improvements in some African countries,

weakness in governance and capacity is the central cause of Africa's difficult experience over the last decades (African Commission Report, 2005).

3.5.2 Leadership and Vision

In our context, leadership refers to the entities that conduct one or more act of leading. It constitutes the ability to affect human behaviour so as to achieve a mission delegated by the leader. For leadership to be effective, it is necessary to influence others to support and implement decisions that the leaders and group may deem necessary. Without influence, leadership does not occur. In other words, leadership implies the act of influencing others, but the type of influence leaders should exert must be positive rather than negative. Myles Munroe (1993) observes, "Whenever a nation has a lack of quality, legitimate, and just leaders, national deterioration occurs. Quality leadership is a key to prosperous and peaceful life and nation". "Quality" includes being competent, knowledgeable and skilled in the job of nation leadership; "legitimacy" is not just winning elections, but the acceptance by the governed who command their mandate and trust; people to whom they can entrust the authority of governance; "Just" leadership refers to fairness and equity and inclusiveness in all its ramifications. A combination of

these key characteristics, which is referred to as legacy building leadership is what Nigeria and the rest of the sub-continent Africa lack.

Poverty within the context of resource abundance, as in oil-rich Nigeria from 1975 to 1999, does also reflect inadequate leadership. The 1967-1970 civil war in Nigeria that claimed thousands of lives, the continuing ethnic, tribal and religious conflicts and other catastrophic events that have taken place in Nigeria have all been fuelled and precipitated by both bad civilian and military leadership. Decades of stagnant economic development and persistent widespread poverty in Nigeria is a glaring evidence of poor leadership. Decades of failed development programs could also be attributed to the problem of bad leadership. Bad leadership is the culprit here because it has created a negative environment for bad macro and micro politico-socio-economic factors to thrive. Regardless of various fundamental causes of slow progress, the role of poor leadership in Africa has been singled out by various development experts and scholars as the chief cause of underdevelopment (Dada, 2007). Thus, African leadership has failed to achieve stable and acceptable political order in terms of improving the lives of its citizens; and achieving peaceful resolution of conflicts.

3.5.3 Institutions

Institutions are conceptually tied to governance as one of the variables that affect the success and failures of development projects. The development of productive capacities within a country is strongly influenced by the institutions which enable or constrain processes of capital accumulation, technological progress and structural change. These institutions that matter include both the institutional environment -the set of fundamental political, social and legal rules that establish the basis for production, exchange and distribution—and institutional arrangements—the regular relationships amongst economic agents and related informal rules which govern the ways in which they cooperate and compete (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2006).

Great political institutions should be autonomous, effective and have a mechanism in place or a capacity to adapt to citizens' demands. However, many public institutions in Nigeria and other African states seemed impressive on paper and in some ways reflected those of the colonial masters, but generally deliver poor results in the end. But it is also important to point out that many of these institutions were designed by the colonial administrations to extract wealth to the core—and not to promote indigenous development. Their inability to generate policy reforms or

contribute to growth has led to the examination of possible causes. The results of such findings pointed to the notion that Nigeria's poor performance and counterproductive policies were no accidents but the results of underlying bad governance or institutions (Moss, 2007). In 2000, the executive directors of the World Bank discussed the World Bank strategy for governance and public sector reforms, entitled *Reforming Public Institutions and Strengthening Governance*.

It built on numerous studies, which emphasized the critical importance of well functioning and accountable public institutions to economic growth and poverty reduction. The strategy called for the Bank to move governance, institutional development, and capacity building to centre stage, and to help clients build institutions to make and implement good policy and deliver public services themselves (The World Bank, 2003). It is in view of the fact that weak, fragile, corrupt Nigerian institutions and others in Africa have broken down in terms of lacking the capacity to function and promote rule of law, produce meaningful public policies, and in some respects affecting the outcomes of development projects in a negative matter, that the World Bank saw it fit to demand for reformation and improvement.

3.5.4 Political Factors

While acknowledging that there are many political factors that could influence development programs and declining economic growth, I would like to focus specifically on the political instability factor. Political instability can be defined as "a condition in political systems in which the institutionalized patterns of authority breakdown and the expected compliance to political authorities is replaced by political violence" (Mbaku, 1997). This could result from a struggle between political coalitions for capture of instruments of the government. The power relationships that exist between different groups in the country can have a significant impact on institutional stability. Researchers contend that there are three types of political instability: elite, communal, and mass instability (Morrison & Stevenson, 1971).

Elites are individuals who occupy positions of authority or leadership in those institutions that determine the allocation of resources. Elite political instability involves forceful removal of individuals who hold leadership positions in the polity's political institutions. Communal groups consist of individuals who shared ascribed characteristics of ethnicity, religion, language, territory, or a combination of traits. Communal instability usually involves incidents of severe violence and, if successful, could result in radical

changes in the structure of the political system in the country. Elite instability and communal instability are the most common forms of political instability in developing countries particularly in the Sub-Saharan African region (Morrison & Stevenson, 1971). Because many of the developing countries have become urbanized and industrialized, mass movements have now gradually replaced the elite and communal instability groups. Mass movements have been pushing for national policy and economic reforms for many of the countries that have previously chosen the military coup approach.

Forms of Political Instability: Military Coups in Nigeria

In the context of political instability in Africa, over sixty successful military coups d'état have taken place in the African continent since 1952. Countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, the Sudan, Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) and Libya have been ruled by military governments during most of these countries existence after independence (Mbaku, 1997). By the 1980s, military coups had become the most important and preferred approach to the change of government in Africa. The continuing increased reliance on military coups and other non-constitutional methods has drastically increased political instability and retarded or slow the

pace of economic growth and development in Africa. Omololou Fagbadebo (2007)³ notes:

“The leadership pattern in Nigeria lacks the necessary focus capable of instilling national development and promotes political stability. Rather, Nigeria leaders are preoccupied with their own desires for appropriation and privatization of Nigerian state. Similarly, the military coups and countercoups were also plagued by bad leadership, although their successors did not fare better. Consequently, development performance was slowed down, and political instability continued to pervade the polity, as focus was shifted to combat the looming forces of insecurity and internal regime instability”.

Furthermore, one of the troubling factors that had contributed significantly to political instability in Nigeria and other African states is the failure of the political class to adequately adhere to the tenets of democracy and constitutionalism.

In 1966, the Nigerian military overthrew the government of the nation's First Republic, killing an estimated 1,000,000 people and destroyed the economy. According to Ihonvbere and Shaw (1998), "The civil war had far-reaching effects on the political

³ Fagbadebo, O. (2007, November). Corruption, governance and political instability in Nigeria. African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, Vol 1(2), pp. 28-37.

economy. Other than the general dislocation and overall disruption and decline in production and exchange activities, the war also affected the country's geo-political and external relations in way which had deep implications for economic relations in the post-civil war period".

The 1966-1970 civil war was a very damaging war as the Igbo population of Nigeria sought independence in their lands of the Niger Delta, the location of most of Nigeria's oil resources. This led to a series of military regimes until the return of democracy in 1999. In explaining the cause of political instability in Nigeria, Abdulrasheed A.Muhammed (2007)⁴ contends:

“The colonialists in their intra European struggle for the soul of Africa ended up creating entities with diversity of language and cultures and the attendant problems which later bedevilled post colonial Africa. In the case of Nigeria, the foundation of this unfortunate malady was formally laid in 1914 when Frederick Lugard amalgamated the two separate territories of North and South. Indeed, even the two territories themselves were neither monolithic but an agglomeration of many distinct groups which the British, for political and economic reasons, hound- wound together. The resulting

⁴ Muhammed, A. (2007). Federalism and political instability in Nigeria: current peril and future hopes. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 9 (4), 187-210.

Nigerian state by 1914 was thus an amalgam of disparate territories which, previously, had little or nothing in common except inter-ethnic wars and trade. Even long after the amalgamation, the two territories were separately administered thereby creating disparities in their socio-political and economic development. In other words, it could be reasoned from this background that Nigeria as at 1914 had been implanted with enough seeds of discord that would mar its future stability”.

Civil Strife/Ethnic and Religious Violence in Nigeria

Another phenomenon many African countries have suffered from that has frequently led to political instability is the proliferation of civil strife, ethnic, and religious conflicts that have periodically claimed thousands of lives and negatively impact development programs and economic development. In several instances ethnic conflicts have escalated into civil wars that would further cause untold hardship, death, displacement of families and refugee crisis. However, Nigeria's many ethnic groups provide a recipe for constant inter-groups ethnic conflicts.

Perhaps the most devastating image that emerges from Nigeria's political instability, discontinuity, fear, uncertainty, its civil war, continuing ethnic and religious conflicts over the years is

the image and picture of a dangerous and failed state that discourages foreign investments that would have in turn provided needed jobs and other opportunities for the citizens of Nigeria. Just as it takes effective institutions, rule of law, and political stability to enable a viable democratic government to flourish, successful development outcomes, economic growth and poverty reduction will also thrive in an environment and political system that is embedded with good governance and leadership and public policies, clear national identity and commitment for the common good, institutions, political stability, and rule of law.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN NIGERIA

4.1 Development Projects

The continuing decline of economic development and large-scale poverty that have been prevalent in post independence Nigeria and other Sub-Saharan African states for several decades has resulted to disappointments for the policy makers. To end this dangerous trend, and to alleviate poverty and improve economic development, one of the approaches employed by the Nigerian government was to solicit for assistance from the World Bank and other development agencies. Unfortunately, most of the World Bank financed and implemented programs over the years have failed miserably in terms of generating positive impact and in some cases have not resulted in any meaningful results and impact on the targeted policy communities. A review of these development programs and analysis is necessary to address the central question of this study:

What are the underlying contextual factors that have affected or influenced the relative success and failures of development programs and declining economic growth in Nigeria? What can we learn from these cases that can ultimately improve other future projects?

4.2 Definition of Successful and Failed Projects

The concept of successful and failed programs (in terms of the definition of success and failures) can be linked to the specific policymaker, donor agency, and/or policy area (or program) recipient and it can be defined, interpreted and executed differently by different policymakers and donors. For the purpose of this study, a project could be considered successful if it meets Project Development Objectives (PDO) as measured by a set of outputs and outcomes specified in the project documents. However, if such a project does not meet or partially meets the objective and measurable outcomes are not achieved, then, it is considered a failure, or a partially successful and partially failed outcome. It is up to policymakers to decide on what actually constitutes success and failure and how to assess it. It is important to state here that this approach is one plausible way, and that there are other ways as well. In this study, defining and determining success or failure will require comparing the goals of the program to their outcomes, and measuring program impacts using key indicators such as return on investment, increases in economic growth, rising employment rates, decreases in the poverty rate, decreasing or increasing in misdistribution of wealth; and the degree of civic awareness and

participation in a particular development program and,/ or increases in primary school enrolment and graduation rate etc.

Perhaps a given program could fail as a result of the fact that the original policy design was wrong, or because the design was never implemented. For example, Carl V. Patton and David S. Sawicki (1993) once observed that a program may produce an undesirable outcome because the underlying theory was incorrect. If a policy cannot resolve the issues for which it was formulated, it will probably result in a failure no matter how well it is implemented. But even a brilliant policy program implemented may fail to achieve the goals of its designers (Edwards, 1980). George Edwards also argues that successful implementation does not necessarily guarantee a positive impact. There are different kinds of measures, techniques and approaches that have been used over time to determine and account for success or failure of programs and they provide different perspectives on a policy and call for different kinds of measurements at different times in the policy process (Cooper et al., 1998). Thus, there can be no standard approach to conducting an evaluation. Each evaluation has to be designed according to the specific project, country, and institutional context.

In my analysis for successes and failures of development projects, it would be essential to apply the World Bank evaluation

tools for measuring results. This approach will help determine that failed or successful outcomes are indeed what they are as it provides the mechanism for checks and balances among the various methods and techniques.

Since 1998, “the World Bank has developed a policy on how it delivers aid to the countries it works with -placing more emphasis on evaluating the results of its lending programs in terms of how they impact on people and their needs, rather than by measuring input levels. The Bank uses evaluation tools that focus on the effectiveness of individual projects and more wide-ranging reviews which look at the Bank's work in whole countries and whole economic or social sectors of operation” (Liebenthal, Feinstein, & Ingram, 2004).

Some of the evaluations and measuring tools the Bank uses to account for success and failure or measuring results includes: Implementation Completion Reports, Project Performance Assessment Reports, Inspection Panel Reports, Impact Evaluation Reports, and Country Assistance Evaluations. In terms of Impact Evaluations Reports, an assessment of the economic worth of projects and the long term effects on people and the environment is carried out. The Country Assistance Evaluations require the examination of the Bank's performance reporting on the country's

adherence with the applicable bank Country Assistance Strategy after 10 years (The World Bank Group, 2008). In accounting for success and failures, and measuring results, Cooper et al. (1998) contend policy evaluations should ask how well a policy is working. They pose questions such as: What are the actual costs as compared with anticipated costs of policy? What are the unanticipated consequences, either positive or negative, that have come from the policy?

It is critical to determine how effective the program is in comparison with alternative interventions. Is the program worth the resources it costs? Is there sufficient evidence that this type of intervention works well in different contexts? In our context, the development programs in question have already been funded and implemented. Success and failure can be determined and measured by assessing the specific outcomes attributable to a particular intervention or program using information generated from guided questions tailored for the programs. This can further be carried out by comparing outcomes (from information generated) where the intervention is applied against outcomes where the intervention does not exist. The goal is to verify the effect of outcomes that is caused by the intervention. Of all the competing views as to how to account for success and failures of the implementation of development programs, the application of impact evaluation would offer a

valuable tool. With an increasing demand for evidence of aid effectiveness, rigorous and effective analysis would be critical to trigger the increased rates of successful development and overall economic growth in Nigeria. To conduct this analysis, a review of the implementation and impact of the three development policy areas (cases) are stated below.

4.3 Implementation and Results of the Agricultural Development Project (ADPs)⁵

The ADPs concept was one of the measures undertaken in the 1970s by the Nigerian government and the World Bank to help reduce poverty and spur economic development. These were designed as a response to the shortage in agricultural productivity, and a concern to sustain domestic food supplies, as labour had moved out from agriculture to the oil sector. Conversely, local redistribution of income from the oil sector provided an opportunity for the government, with World Bank support, to develop ADPs. The projects included investment and services in agriculture, village water supplies and rural roads. In this dissertation, we are focusing

⁵ Agricultural Development Projects in Nigeria World Bank Report, June 11, 1993; and Nigeria: Impact Evaluation Report, World Bank Operations Evaluations Department, June 29, 1995.

specifically on agricultural investment and services (The World Bank, 1993; 1995).

In terms of implementation, the Northern part applied an expanded version of the same model previously used in the earlier enclave projects in the zone. This model required large sums of capital and intensive management. With hindsight, not enough consideration was given to the implications of the large increase in scale—or indeed to the less favourable production environment than existed in the smaller enclaves. In terms of outcome and content, all the ADPs targeted to enhance food production and increase farm incomes. In all the ADPs, it was assumed that increase in productivity would come from the use of improved technology, (The World Bank, 1993; 1995).

The agricultural components of the projects were designed around systems for developing technology and transferring it to farmers, distributing production-outputs, and land development including small-scale irrigation of fadama areas and land clearing. Investments in infrastructure included an expanded feeder road network, construction of farm service centres for input distribution, and facilities for ADP staff and operations. All projects, with the exception of the Ilorin project, supported improvements in rural water supplies. To support its agricultural development goals, the federal government introduced controls on food imports and

continued its subsidies on farm inputs, particularly fertilizer (The World Bank, 1993). However, the World Bank report does not indicate any evidence of the impact of government food control on productivity (see Table 1).

The technical assistance project was designed to support ADPs and strengthen the capacity of the Department of Rural Development in the Federal Ministry of Agriculture (FMOA) to plan and coordinate agricultural production programs. The project was to be implemented through existing Agricultural Project Monitoring and Evaluation units in the ADPs, and through a newly established Federal Agricultural Coordinating Unit (FACU), that was to provide technical assistance to the ADPs. The World Bank report thus states that the technical assistance had mixed results. While the FACU component of the projects (Kano, Bauchi, Oyo North and Ilorin) was successful in providing technical assistance, the assistance in infrastructure was not well developed (The World Bank, 1993).

In terms of implementation and results, the reduction in oil prices that was witnessed in 1982 had a substantial fiscal effect in and led to shortages of funds for the projects (see Table 1). In two projects, loan funds for the projects had to be used in order to support local salaries and operating costs. In all the ADPs, lack of funds and delays in recruiting a full complement of staff meant that

implementation was much slower than expected at appraisal. As a result, closing dates for project completion had to be extended by 2.5 to 3.5 years in all the projects. The emphasis given on technology in the projects led the agricultural research and extension services to focus on relatively high-input technology for monocropping systems. Most small holders, especially in the north, used mixed cropping systems as strategy to reduce risk. They were also conservative in their use of cash inputs, even though such items as fertilizers were being subsidized (The World Bank Group, 1993).

Secondly, to get the ADPs implemented efficiently, special agencies were created. The ADPs and technical assistance projects depended heavily on expatriate consultants (233 for the six projects, although only 70% of ADP positions were filled), including some executive positions. Though out of keeping with the Bank's operational practices the approach was rationalized on the grounds that the programs were large, and food production had to be increased quickly (The World Bank, 1993).

Thirdly, in terms of training farmers responsible for implementation of projects, an extension approach already in use (Training and Demonstration) which was mostly on a small numbers of co-operators using high-input technology on large demonstration plots, was to be replaced by the Training and Visit (T and V) method, which promised much wider coverage of farmers.

The change was slow and T and V was not fully applied until after 1985 even if then; many of the following problems persisted: continued technical emphasis without attention to socioeconomics; slow, rather than responsive, recommendations to farmers, meaning training and recommendations provided by the implementers came at a slower pace than expected; inadequate attention to demonstration plots; and deficiencies in staff transportation.

Fourthly, programs for multiplication of improved seeds generally fell short of goals, but a cassava program in Oyo North and Ilorin had some success. Provision of fertilizers to farmers were irregular, mostly because of centralized government control of procurement and a very heavy subsidy program, which did not encouraged prompt delivery, especially in periods of fiscal difficulties (The World Bank Group, 1993).

In terms of results and impacts, the available statistics shows that the increase in total agricultural output in all the projects was below appraisal expectations. Performance of rain fed crops was especially disappointing, reflecting the difficulties with technology development and transfer programs and input supplies. While yields of some rain fed crops which accounted for a large share of agricultural output rose in specific states, yields of others declined (see Table 1 for Summary of Agricultural Development Projects and Components).

According to bank data, the fadama programs (Bauchi and Kano states) in the northern ADPs, though small in area relative to rain fed crops, were successful and exceeded their targets for developing small-scale irrigation. They used cheap techniques for extracting shallow groundwater, which permitted high-value vegetable crop production. A free-standing fadama development has ensued (The World Bank, 1993).

Table 1: Summary of Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs) and Functional or Component

Functional Activity or Component	Kano	Bauchi	Oyo North	Ilorin
Fertilizer	+	+	+	+
Small-Scale irrigation of Fadama areas	+	+	-	-
Expanded Feeder Road Network/Road Maintenance (Infrastructure Invest.)	+	+	+	+
Construction of Farm Service Centers (Infrastructure Invest.)	?	?	?	?
Improvement of Rural Water Supplies	+	+	+	-
Shortage of Staff/ Operation Funds	-	-	-	-
Mixed/Relay Cropping System	+	+	-	-
Wells, boreholes and Hand-pumps	+	+	+	+
Autonomous Special Agencies/institutions	+	+	-	-
Expatriate Consultants	+	+	+	+
Training and Development used extensively after 1985	+	+	+	+
Improved seeds	+	+	+	+
Rainfed Crops	?	?	+	+
Technical Assistance Project	+	+	+	+
Road Maintenance	-	-	-	-
Facilities for ADPs staff and Operations (Infrastructure Invest.)	?	?	?	?
High-input technology on large demonstration plots	-	-	+	+
Government Controls of Food Imports	?	?	?	?

Source: The World Bank Group, June 11, 1993

4.4 Implementation and Impact of Water and Sanitation Projects⁶

The Government has always regarded the provision of water supply and sanitation services to be the responsibility of the federal, state and local governments. However, the government has not been successful in meeting more than a small portion of the demand for water and sanitation. Services are in critically short supply. Many households, often the poorest, end up purchasing water from private vendors much more expensively than from the public supply.

The National Water Rehabilitation, the First Multi-State, and the Small Towns Water Supply projects are selected to determine why many of the World Bank water development projects have failed in Nigeria over the years in terms of generating a significant impact on the targeted communities. The National Water Rehabilitation project followed the first generation of water supply projects from the Bank that had been for investments and strengthening in the northern states and it was nationwide while the first Multi-States Water Supply and Sanitation was earmarked for Katsina and Kaduna states. The Small Towns Water Supply and

⁶ Implementation and Impacts (Outcomes) of (1) National Water Rehabilitation Project Outcome; (2) First MultiState Water Supply Project; and (3) Small Towns Water Supply and Sanitation Projects. Project Performance Assessment Report: Nigeria, The World Bank Report, June 13, 2006

Sanitation project was designed to satisfy the needs of 16 individual towns (The World Bank, 2006).

The Independent Evaluation Group (IEG) of the World Bank in June, 2006 rates the outcome of the National project as highly unsatisfactory, its sustainability as highly unlikely, and its institutional development impact as negligible. The outcome of the Multi-State project is rated as moderately unsatisfactory, its sustainability as unlikely and its institutional development impact as modest. In contrast, the outcome of the Small Town project is rated as satisfactory, its sustainability as likely and its institutional development impact as substantial. While the Bank and Borrower performance were rated as unsatisfactory for the National and Multi-State projects, the performance of the Bank and the Borrower for the Small Towns project is rated as satisfactory. According to the World Bank report, the improving trend in project outcomes can in large part be explained by a shift in responsibility for project implementation away from the Federal Ministry of Water Resources under the National project, to only two State Water Boards (Kaduna and Katsina) under the Multi-State project, and finally to a clear focus on a limited number of towns under the Small Towns project (The World Bank, 2006).

Table 2: Summary of Water and Sanitation Projects and Functional Activity/Component

Functional Activity	National Water Rehabilitation Project	First Multi-State Water Supply Project	Small Towns Water Supply and Sanitation Project
A shift in responsibility for project implementation away from the federal Ministry of Water Resources under the National project to two state water boards (Kaduna and Katsina)	-	+	+
Building Simple Systems	-	+	+
Funding Concentrated only in two states	-	+	-
Clear focus on a limited number of towns under small towns project	-	-	+
Local institutions, and strong collaborative approach/community involvement/and demand -driven	-	-	+

Source: The World Bank Report, June 13, 2006

This shift enabled an alignment of the incentives of the beneficiaries with the objective of designing and building simple systems that could be sustainably operated. The steadily improved ratings for water supply lending in Nigeria vindicate the Bank's evolving lending strategy since the late 1990s, although deep-seated problems will remain for many years to come. Historically, Nigeria's water supply and sanitation sector has been caught in a

vicious circle characterized by an absence of policies that could enable efficient, sustainable service for all. Specifically, this includes the dearth of tariffs that reflect costs of service; an absence of autonomous state water boards; perpetual operating deficits which deprive the state water boards of funds for maintenance, new investment and back-up power supplies; and grossly inadequate power supplies that cause intermittent water service and damage to electromechanical equipment (The World Bank, 2006).

4.5 Implementation and Impact of Second Primary Education Project⁷

Despite Nigeria's abundant natural and human resources, its considerable economic potential, the country's human development index (HDI) and all other social indicators have declined since the 1970s. The challenges of revitalizing the economy while dealing with globalization and consolidating the transition to democracy demand a rethinking of past approaches in favour of a development agenda. Some observers contend that focusing on some improvements in the educational sector would make a difference. Primary education is recognized worldwide as a powerful tool for poverty alleviation and economic growth (The World Bank, 2002).

⁷ Implementation Completion Report, to the Federal Republic of Nigeria for a Second Primary Education Project, June 21, 2005, The World Bank

Its results can be empowering, enabling graduates to take control of their lives and make more informed decisions, contribute to the building of a democratic polity, increase earning potential and social mobility, and improve personal and family health and nutrition, particularly when participants are females.

The World Bank-assisted Second Primary Education Project (PEPII) which became effective in August 2000, a year into democratic governance, was aimed at assisting the government of Nigeria to improve the sub-sector through the supply of instructional materials, upgrading of infrastructural facilities, enhancing teachers' competence, and facilitating school management, inspection, planning and data gathering. The project focused on procurement and distribution of textbooks, vehicles, consultancy services and on research and development.

Despite external obstacles, the Second World Bank Primary Education project's (PEPII) performance, after its restructuring, improved and in the end it was fully disbursed. However, as time went on some of the more complex capacity-building activities could not be fully achieved. For example, according to the World Bank report, the first two years of PEP II implementation was difficult because the transition from military to democratic rule initiated a lot of changes.

Central to these problems was a frequency in the turnover of staff at both the political and senior technical staff level in the Federal Ministry of Education (see Table 3 for Summary of Second Primary Education Project and Components). Essentially, there were three ministers for the Ministry of Education, two permanent secretaries and two project coordinators during the entire course of project implementation. Furthermore, during the preparation of PEP II, the assumption was that the National Primary Education Commission (NPEC) would also be the implementing agency for PEP II, but this did not happen as NPEC was abolished and the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC) was established with a mandate to promote the delivery of free and compulsory basic education for nine years (The World Bank, 2006).

These frequent changes in leadership within the Federal Ministry of Education and at the level of the implementing agency significantly hindered the decision-making process and contributed to slow project implementation and disbursement in the first two years. In addition, the lack of capacity within the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC) in procurement and financial management also led to slow implementation and disbursement, particularly during the first two years. By lack of capacity, we imply lack of authority and expertise or effective management mechanisms to carry out implementation. The basis for this

conclusion was drawn largely from the World Bank Implementation report of June 21, 2005 which stated that during the supervision mission in October 2001, the PEP II project was placed in unsatisfactory status and was proposed to be restructured because its outcome failed to meet the goal set by the funding agency.

Table 3: Summary of Second Primary Education Project and Functional Activity/Component

Functionality/Component	Second Primary Education Project
Transformation from Military to Civilian rule (1999-2000) in Nigeria	-
Changes in Leadership/High Turnover	-
Project design	+
Decentralized environment—project implemented under a decentralized environment with fiscal federalism, which gives greater responsibility of basic education to federating states.	+
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen Human Resource Capacity • Create a more conducive physical environment for teaching and learning • Improving the Quality and Availability of Curriculum Materials • Develop an Enhanced Information Base for Decision-making • Increase HIV/AIDS awareness among Education Staff, Children and Communities. 	+
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of Interactive radio developed for the nomadic education program. • Major innovations: 1) Proposed based grant financing of self-help projects. 2) Development of school • based model of teacher professional support. 3) Provision of large numbers of supplementary reading materials, selected by teachers, for classroom library sets in the 1,110 focus schools across the country. 	+

Source: The World Bank Group, June 21, 2005

Impact of PEP 11

The factors that led to the unsatisfactory ratings stemmed mainly from delays resulting from the transition from military to civilian rule that had a dramatic negative effect on the project as illustrated from the report and Table 3. Other factors also took center stage during the implementation phase. For example, there was a high degree of turnover, leading to frequent changes in leadership and subsequent delays in implementation. Furthermore, National Primary Education Commission charged with the responsibility to implement Second Primary Education project was abolished (The World Bank, 2005). Consequently, as previously stated, lack of capacity, authority or expertise to effectively implement the policy area became certain and the project ended up in a failure at the time. As part of the restructuring, the policy design was modified to fit right into the needs of the primary school system and that also contributed to a success. My conclusion is based on the notion that by changing the leadership, the implementation strategy and the policy design applied among other factors, backed by a conducive and decentralized environment, the core components of the project generated positive impact which ultimately led to effectiveness and the long awaited improvements (see Table 3) (The World Bank, 2005).

Despite a slow start, PEP II still made a significant contribution to improving the effectiveness of Nigeria's primary education system, mainly through major innovations introduced at the school and community levels (see Table 3). These approaches signify a major change from the top-down administrative style inherited from the military era. The PEP II was also able to support the collection, analysis, and reporting of education data, which makes more reliable data available to the current planners. Innovative approaches in the use of interactive radio instruction for normative education programs were provided and these would ultimately be of value to all primary schools, especially those in rural education (The World Bank, 2005). Nomadic education is a program designed for students of communities (cattle farmers) that moved from one area to the other on regular basis.

The PEP II project was also implemented under a decentralized environment with fiscal federalism, which gave greater responsibility of basic education to federating states (see Table 3) and many of the project's core components such as strengthening human resource capacity or creating a more conducive physical environment for teaching and learning were accomplished. "Physical targets" in this project simply means providing secure storage for text books and supplementary readers in about 740 rehabilitated primary schools, including the acquisition

and provision to the said primary schools of furniture and steel cabinets (The World Bank, 2005).

With these fundamental changes and subsequent project improvements, the evaluation ratings as indicated by the World Bank report were changed from unsatisfactory to satisfactory in September 2003. After the allocation of resources, the project progressed steadily, leading to increased community interest in school activities and all areas doing equally well. According to the report, these improvements also led to increased enrolment and teachers' attendance among other things. However, available data and reports did not show any other signs of impact, such as student achievement. The project closed on schedule on December 31, 2004 with a 97% disbursement and all physical targets were exceeded in the last two years of implementation (The World Bank, 2005). The above projects not only provide a conceptual and theoretical framework or basis for understanding the development programs and the World Bank's role, but for comparison, analysis and testing the hypotheses and the findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The analysis has tried to explain why policies are not implemented properly, specifically in developing countries. While I do not want to leave the notion that implementation of policies in developing countries is always a calamity, the research has tried to point out areas that require improvement. Consequently, I find that there is indeed a plausible relationship between successful implementation of development projects and good leadership and governance, effective institutions, appropriate policies, suitable policy design and adequate funding—that successful implementation of development projects are triggered by these factors; and that failed development project outcomes could emerge as a result of the absence of these very critical factors that facilitated and thus, enabled successful outcomes and impact.

Another important finding of this research is that development should start from the local community and grassroots level. The Small Towns Water Supply and Sanitation Projects, the Kano and Bauchi Agricultural Development projects and the Second Primary Education projects' successes are reflective of and consistent with this finding. The Small Towns Water Supply

projects' successful outcomes were ultimately driven in large part as a result of collective local community efforts and leadership backed by institutions at the local level. The Kano and the Bauchi ADPs' successes were also tied to the efforts of the local community, farmers and local leaders who, together, worked relentlessly toward achieving a common interest and purpose. These efforts were further propelled by the local institutions and communities that ensured the successful results. The change from military to civilian rule in 1999 came with decentralized approach that benefited the Second Primary Education projects as local institutions and agencies were granted authority to implement the Second Primary Education projects. The decentralized management style empowered the local institutions and leaders, thus enabling them to successfully implement the education projects.

Table 4: Summary of Implementation Strategies

Projects	Brief Description of the Implementation Approach
ADPs	
(1) Bauchi	The Fadama program, implemented using small scale irrigation technology, etc.
(2) Kano	The Fadama program, implemented using small scale irrigation technology, etc.
(3) Ilorin	Implemented using technology development, input supplies, e.g. fertilizer and rain fed crops, etc.
(4) Oyo North	Implemented using technology development, input supplies, e.g. fertilizers and rain fed crops etc.
Water and Sanitation	
(1) National Water Rehabilitation	Implemented largely by Federal Ministry of Water Resources under national project.
(2) First Multi-State Water	Implemented largely by Federal Ministry of Water Resources under national project.

Table 4: Summary of Implementation Strategies (continued)

<p>(3) Small Town Water Supply and Sanitation</p>	<p>Implemented via a shift in responsibility for project implementation away from Federal Ministry of Water Resources to only two state water boards (Kaduna and Katsina) focusing on a limited number of towns under the Small Towns water supply project. Success and sustainability in implementation enabled by collaborative (collective efforts) community approach.</p>
<p>Second World Bank Assisted Second Primary Education</p>	
<p>(1) One Education Project</p>	<p>Project implemented during transition from military to democratically elected government (1999-2000), and as a result, some of the more complex capacity-building could not be fully achieved. Although the education project was too ambitious and had complex design given the political environment it was implemented, it led to a positive outcome.</p>

Table 5: Summary of Project Outcomes/Indicators

Projects	Description of the Impact/indicators
ADPs	
(1) Bauchi	Projects are successful and surpassed their target for developing small-scale irrigation. Substantial returns came from fadama development. Project success stands out in comparison with the bulk of the activities undertaken by ADPs, and also with the several other efforts in Bank financed projects to promote increased production in such valley bottom areas in West Africa, most of which have not been successful.
(2) Kano	Successful as at above. For Kano, the estimated ERR was 38% including Fadama cropping, and 16% for dry land cropping only.
(3) Ilorin	Project failed to produce meaningful impact. Evaluation noted several policy, project design, and institutional issues influencing the outcomes e.g., high optimistic crop production targets, unproven or inappropriate assumptions about modern technology, and disregard for farmers' perspective in projecting how fast technology would be adopted; little regard for the social organizational aspects of rural development; too much emphasis on implementation targets rather than establishment of sustainable and service mechanism. Projects, also, had weak and uncertain funding structure.

Table 5: Summary of Project Outcomes/Indicators (continued)

(4) Oyo North	Failed: same as above
Water and Sanitation	
(1) National Water Rehabilitation	Failed as a result of bad policies that couldn't enable efficient, sustainable service for the targeted population., e.g., dearth of tariffs that reflect cost of service, absence of autonomous state water boards, lack of funding, and inadequate back-up supplies.
(2) First Multi-State Water	Failed-same as above
(3) Small Town Water Supply and Sanitation	Successful and its institutional impact substantial
Second World Bank Assisted Second Primary Education	
(1) One Education Project	Project had a successful impact. Project improved the effectiveness of Nigeria's primary education system through major innovations introduced at the school and community levels. For example, it brought about increased in community interest in school activities, increased enrolment and teachers. Project closed Dec. 2004 with a 97% disbursement in the last two years of Implementation.

In conclusion, it is apparent that lack of continuity of administrations hinders proper policy implementation; policies are formulated frequently in developing countries but most of the time, without achieving the desired outcome. For any government to be considered to be administratively competent there must be evidence of bridging the gap between the intention of a policy and the actual achievement of the policy. This is where it becomes necessary for any policy maker, to regard the issue of policy implementation seriously right from the formulation.

In any country, good governance is highly needed in order to make good decisions and for such decisions to be implemented. Since Institutions are conceptually tied to governance, it is strongly recommended that each country builds strong and sustainable Institutions in order to improve its productive capacities. As these Institutions are put in place, the need for good leadership cannot be over emphasized, since it constitute the ability to affect human conduct so as to achieve a mission delegated by the leader.

In order to achieve a successful policy implementation, the following should be considered:

- (a) The target beneficiaries should be invited at the formulation stage in order for them to have an input in what affects their lives. This will also give them a sense of belonging and, therefore, a sense of commitment.

- (b) Attention should be paid to both the manpower and financial resources which will be needed to implement the policy.
- (c) There must be effective communication between the target beneficiaries and the implementers of policy programmes.
- (d) The culture of discontinuing a policy once there is a change in government should be discouraged because even though government comes and goes, administration is continuous. There should be continuity in policy except if the policy is found not to be useful to the people.
- (e) Provision should be put in place for adequate monitoring of projects, as poorly monitored projects will only yield undesired results.

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