



GOVERNANCE FOR SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT OR POVERTY REDUCTION: A THINK PIECE AND CASE STUDY

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SUMMARY

Of late, the “governance for SHD“ and “governance for poverty” dialogue has gained unprecedented momentum. It has been a subject of intensive dialogue within UNDP. I do not see any argument on these two phenomena. **POVERTY** is a complex phenomenon of a web of factors leading to destitution and marginalisation. **SHD** is an intergenerational holistic (ideological) framework that remedies this complex web of factors of impoverishment. Using the Nigerian political transition from military to civilian rule, the paper is designed to enhance dialogue within UNDP, the UN System and other partners, on the conceptual basis and operational linkages on the contribution of good governance to the ‘poverty reduction-SHD continuum.’

The multi-dimensional, multi-sectoral and multi-track governance framework proposed here for the poverty-SHD *continuum* is to create the holism enshrined in the percept of human development. These are realised through the critical benchmarks for sustainable communities - resilience, economic efficiency, social equitability and ecological stability, on the one hand counterpoised against the various forms of capital on the other: human, social, political, natural and physical and financial capital. In this faith, empowerment *links on directly to the formation of social capital in terms of collective ideology, collective action, organisation and leadership to ensure access to political contestation and entitlement as citizens of a political society*. The case study will endeavour to evaluate the hypothesis that “‘governance’ cannot be a generic tool to be applied to all forms of political and societal change irrespective of local objective political conditions.”

Section I

Conceptual and theoretical foundations

At the outset, we need to deal with the paradigmatic crisis that the terminology of development and politics are undergoing today. What is governance and what are poverty and sustainable human development? First I deal with the easy one. SHD and poverty! I do not see any argument on these two phenomena. Poverty is a complex web of negative representation of the problems faced by destitution and marginalisation. SHD is a holistic way of correcting these complex factors that contribute to poverty. We deal with governance second. Although the term “governance” has entered the intellectual discourse in the past decade in the international arena, now that its reforms are externally driven, the idea has a long intellectual history. A key distinction, which runs through much of in the history of political theory is between the *stewardship/guardianship* on the one hand and *guiding/steering*¹ responsibilities of the state on the other. Over the centuries, these two images i.e. the *shepherd* and the *helmsman* - have been at the heart of many political governance controversies. Although neither *guardianship* nor *guiding* can be discharged effectively in isolation, some writers advocate one and others the other as the primary responsibility of the state. Developmentalists emphasise stewardship while neo-classical economists augur its guiding functions.

Governance is the conscious management of regimes with the aim of enhancing the effectiveness of political authority. Governance can be thought of as the applied realm of politics, in which political actors seek mechanisms to convert political preferences into managing society. Good governance involves improvements in the technical competence and efficiency of the public sector as well as measures to make public policy more accountable, transparent, and predictable to society at large.

Recently the discussion has shifted tremendously. We have now governance appended to almost all kinds of political, social and economic phenomena. Some of the significant ones are **economic governance, social governance, democratic (political) governance, open governance, environmental governance, conflict governance, development governance, and management governance.** The fact remains that none of the above do not sufficiently fit into one holistic definition of governance. In addition, these are not only ramifications in the recent history of political theory. Governance has come to signify political liberalisation and market reforms on the lower scale and democratic development on the upper scale.

For international development institutions, this agendum is described best in the convergence and merging of three agendas: the security agenda, the economic agenda, and the development agenda. “*The security agenda* has put political governance and participatory politics at the forefront of international diplomacy and conflict prevention and management. *The economic*

¹ In Plato’s *the Statesman*, a stranger questions Socrates on the ideal qualities of the political leader. Socrates begins by saying that the ruler is like a shepherd, who cares for each individual sheep in the flock, but he quickly dismisses the idea as impractical: a ruler’s knowledge and attentiveness could never extend so far as to minister to each individual: ‘only a god could act thus’. In another dialogue in the *Republic*, Socrates introduces another metaphor, of the ruler as helmsman, guiding a ship safely and efficiently and preserving passengers and cargo from reef and storm.

agenda, after a first wave of structural adjustment programmes aimed at downsizing and "shrinking the State, and promoting market economies, is rehabilitating the role of the State in its core regulatory functions. The *development agenda* is linking sustainable human development (economic development) and participatory development (political development). This convergence of agendas reflects an emerging consensus on the mutually reinforcing role of political governance and development, re-emphasising the importance of the political context of development. However, the definition of "good governance is imprecise partly because different users use them in different contexts and partly the concept is still evolving". It could also be argued that the inflation in the definitions of good governance reflects the different constituencies of the institution using it and is sometimes the expression of opposing foreign policy agenda.²

Today multilateral and bilateral donors have gone further ahead in the articulation between the concept of economic liberalisation and development and "democracy" (*political governance*). These are not only semantic considerations since they have major policy implications. Indeed, while democracy is receiving widespread and increasing acknowledgement for its capacity to foster good governance, the linkage has not been, so far, sufficiently articulated. Aid agencies have found it difficult to advance this agenda, to integrate the qualitative dimension of governance, that is its democratic content, merging this in the concept of "*democratic governance*". These are central elements and have significant policy implications - for both countries and the donor agencies. They refer to the debate on political conditionality in the development co-operation field and affect the detailed articulation and implementation of aid policies by bilateral and multilateral development institutions.³

Governance must be distinguished from political liberalisation occurs when a governing elite grants or extends civil and political rights that had previously been denied. These rights may benefit individuals (such as rights of privacy, speech of movement) or social groups (such as freedom important of association or assembly). Democratic Development is a process of rule making in which citizens obtain opportunities for political contestation and political participation. Political contestation refers to open rivalry and competition among diverse political interests. Political participation refers to the entitlement of citizens, considered as political equals, to be involved in choosing governmental leaders and policies. Democracy is a regime in which the authority to exercise power derives from the will of the people. The use of these definitions is not a great leap of imagination into the different forms of societal change; but simply what's coming is the twisting the familiar slogan in terms that betray little in their meaning.

The attention for *governability and governance* is based on the concern about abject poverty and sustainability of development supported by IFIs. If sustainable human development is to happen, a predictable and transparent framework for policy design and all enabling environment for citizens' participation and private initiative, must exist. The institutional setting and the decision-making process in which this process takes place is essential, together with the norms and values on which they are based. Democracy and governance hence connect the norms, procedures, and institutions that must exist for effective, efficient and open public policies.

² The differences in the terminology used by the different international actors (democratic governance, good governance, open governance, etc.) reflects not only divergent foreign policy but different constituencies: the OAS and IDB were able to impose "democratic governance because all their member States were democracies; others may be not able to do so.

³ International Idea "Democracy and governance, the actors and the agendas". Manuscript 1998

Possibilities and problems of human development can be grasped in terms of the related domain of ideology. Ideological elements and constructs might be seen as the very constitutive structure of governance. Ideology will commonly be characterised by a number of distinctive and shared additional elements, including *concepts and rules of government, national and cultural values, traditions of political discourse and arguments, and modes of representation of specific interests, needs and issues*. These elements, or complexes of elements, will tend to assume varying forms and to enter shifting relations of competition, co-operation, and hegemony during political reform. Generally, the broader the range of ideological elements at play and the more varied and uncertain their relations, the greater the possibilities of process-oriented vision definition.

Obviously there would be a transition period to which the major foundations to which they are often tied more or less closely, transitional ideological constructs tend to be unsettled and, at times, unsettling. Particularly at the initial stages of transition, they are more likely to be uncertain rather than stable structures of ideas and values. This has the effect of opening up the reform process, of freeing the process from simple domination by any one organised stakeholder or coalition of them. Yet such elements and relations take shape and come into play within a hierarchy of global and local agencies and groups. A determinate order of institutions, powers, interests and activities operate through complexes of ideas and values, filling out, specifying, anchoring and, often short-cutting their formal content or meaning. Moreover, this may impose ideological as well as practical limits on the extent to which and how reform processes in Africa can be opened up or broadened.

The upshot of the relative inattention to problems of articulation of systems and processes is to make the governance mission at once the most concrete and reefer of idea systems. Within current proposals of reform, it is either conventionalised on terrain of theory and often vacuously formalised on the ground of practice. It enters society in relatively abstract form, yet is expected to land itself to mediate vital social and political experience. It suggests itself and seems within reach only to elude, appears readily practicable only to resist realisation.

The attention for ***governability*** and ***governance*** is based on the concern about the abject poverty in the world and the sustainability of development supported by international financial institutions. If sustainable development is to happen, a predictable and transparent framework for policy design and all enabling environment for citizens' participation and private initiative, must exist. The institutional setting and the decision-making process in which this process takes place is essential, together with the norms and values on which they are based. Democracy and governance hence connect the norms, procedures, and institutions that must exist for effective, efficient and open public policies. Good governance is seen in the context of economic and social development.⁴ In other words, the essence of functioning democracy is in good governance. The missing link between the concepts of governance and democracy can be traced when they are applied. In theory, governance may be about exercise of power irrespective of a

⁴ According to the standard World Bank definition, governance encompasses the form of political regime, the process by which authority is exercised in the design, formulation and implementation of policies and management of a country's economic and social resources for development. The Asian Development Bank follows the World Bank concept. The Inter American Development Bank places special emphasis on the modernisation of public sector and the participation of civil society in public issues. The African Development Bank has introduced the notions of macro-, meso- and micro-governance, suggesting that authoritarian regimes committed to development might exhibit good governance at middle and lower levels.

political system. In practice, good governance involves accountability, transparency, and participation, predictability (rule of law). These are precisely the working conditions of democracy. Competition for power through elections is meaningless unless those elected are accountable to those who elect them. Accountability is impossible without transparency. Formulation of laws in legislatures and constitutional guarantees of freedom only be paper unless the rule of law is respected and applied. In addition, a political system can only be said to be open if people have a possibility to participate in decision-making processes.

External promoters or supporters of governance often do not efficiently realise in practice the potential of the ideas and goals they promote and that the volume of their interventions is not nearly proportional to their impact. This raises the issue of whether the ideas in question are fundamentally constrained at the moment of their conception and implementation by the very institutions and technocratic structures that ground their articulation. The explicit concept of capacity building for good governance that current international initiatives operate in Africa may be consistent with goals of "empowerment" of indigenous communities and individuals, of enhancing local institutional and human capacities. The initiatives, nevertheless, tend to work toward these goals in narrow economic and technocratic terms. The initiatives seem to equate technocratic rationality and capacity with totality of institutional purposefulness and strength. However, as important as it is, this is only one context or level of analysis on the breadth and depth of process on the terrain of self-directed governance. There is another level of analysis. This is concerned with the extent and nature of openness of distinct ideological constructs, with modes of articulation of given sets of ideas and values and of representations of specific issues relative to others. The concern here is not so much of the number and diversity of ideas, values, and opinions allowed to gain currency as to modes their competitive and co-operative articulation.

The complexities of political transition to good governance and the assumptions that are made based on perceived necessities or demand of societies and states are well beyond the scope of this paper. However, it would be necessary to deal briefly in trying to identify capacity building targets, the modalities, and sources of political transitions. Two aspects need to be considered.⁵

1. Political transitions are initiated at three levels: state-led transitions, civil society initiated and led transitions and combinations of state led and society led transitions.
2. Three main strategic and processual issues are usually considered in the study and analysis of democratic transitions. The first is the presence of *objective conditions for political transition* in the socio-economic structures. The second is contingent political dynamics -- good governance is installed as a result of the conscious reform initiatives of individual leaders, elite factions, and social movements. Thirdly, it depends upon ***the emergence of supportive set of rules and political, social, and economic institutions.*** This becomes a problematic to governance monitoring at the national level. Because rules and institutions are recurrent and valued patterns of political behaviour that give shape and regularity to politics and society, their complexity cannot be captured at the national

⁵ Global Coalition for Africa / Africa Leadership Forum. (1993). P. 9 The classification of the 'Trajectories of Political Transition' has been taken from ALF/GCA. "Research Design and Methodology".

level unless of course one has to resort to the regimentation of society into 'manageable' units.

The multi-dimensional, multi-sectoral and multi-track input that are required as outputs of many outputs to create the holism enshrined in the SHD can only be achieved through the sustainable livelihoods synergy - resilience, economic efficiency, social equitability and ecological stability. In this faith, empowerment for *participatory development* goes beyond the restricted goal of generating *awareness* (which may invariably result in various degrees of empowerment that could also lead to anarchy). It *links on directly to the formation of social capital in terms of collective ideology, collective action, organisation and leadership to ensure access to political contestation and entitlement*. The sustainable communities construct underpins the synergy that is created by various interventions to promote *people's participation as citizens of a political society*.

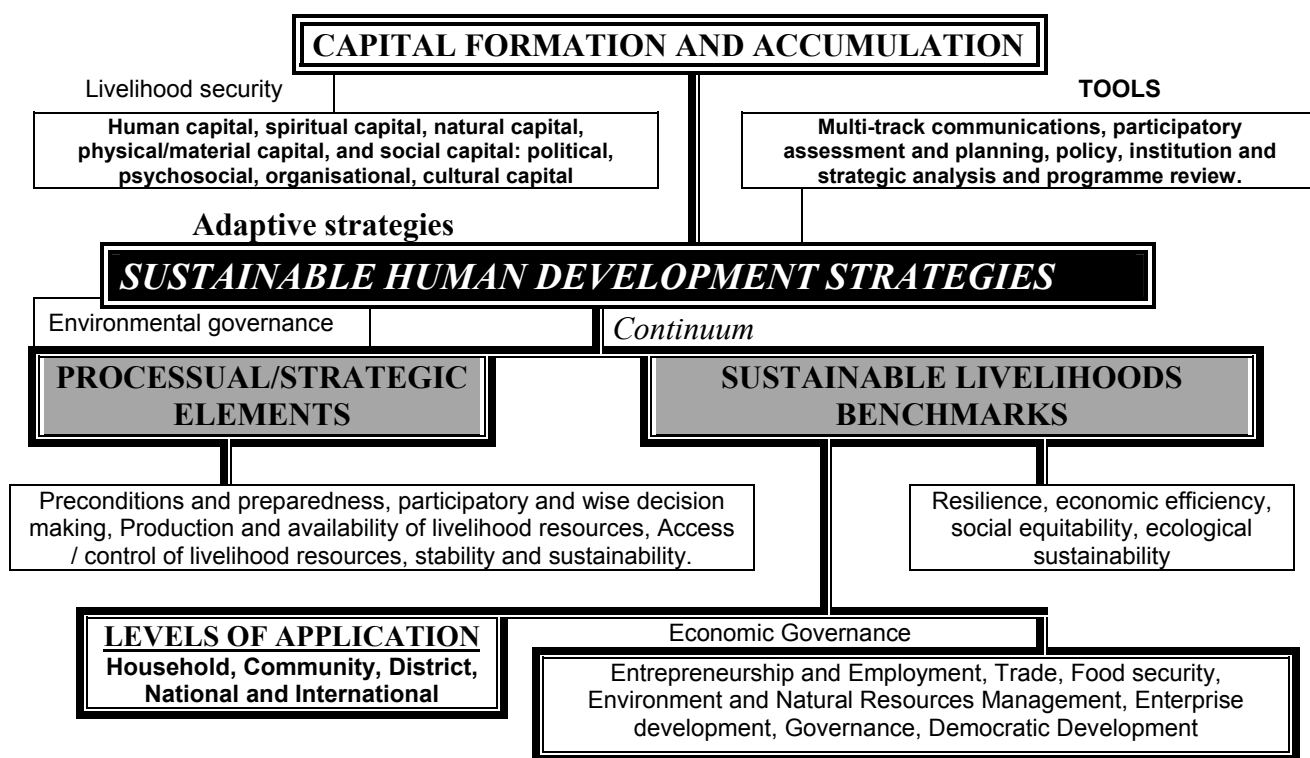


Fig. 3 synergy in sustainable human development

The political intention of the *governance approach* to policy analysis, formulation and management implications for the synergy created by the outputs of governance for poverty elimination programmes (social equitability) is manifested in major changes of livelihood through entitlement, distributive and allocative efficiency. 'Good governance' and micro-policy formulation and management will have to take into account of the following and need to be tackled at three levels

- (1) **Agency**: refers to the full range of significant participants and their activities and relations to *the governance approach* to poverty reduction policy formulation and management. Participants include potential as well as actual domestic as well as

international actors. Micro-policies such as sustainable agriculture that require a reorientation to traditional/indigenous means of farming demand that some old habits generated by “extension oriented agriculture” to die. Some stakeholders in State and Government will find this a difficult choice to make.

- (2) **Operative Ideology**: relating to complexes of *ideas, beliefs, goals and issues that can come into co-operative play* (the underlying thesis of governance for poverty elimination discourse) *or competitive contestation and governance reform* (which the sustainable livelihood construct underpin). It includes alternative definitions of societal vulnerabilities and problems and varying solutions offered for them. Beyond the sphere of agency therefore, opportunities, possibilities and problems of sustainable communities can be grasped in terms of the related domain of ideology. Ideological elements and constructs might be seen as the very constitutive structure of the rights-based approach to governance process openness and closure. “Participatory development” as a specific field of action should apply to ***“decisions concerning collective or individual measures, made through organisations and affecting social groups lack access to political expression.”***
- (3) **Process and strategy**: *the governance approach* to poverty reduction and SHD, as closely linked as it is with macro-policy management, demands a multi stakeholder, multi-track communications strategy that constantly informs stakeholders of their policy choices and options. We can analyse sustainable communities ***as a dynamic interaction of strategy and process!*** *The dynamics of inter play between processes and strategy* in a livelihood system, where assets change hands spontaneously, is dependent upon the specific social agency and political ideology. There is no such thing as social capital development that is based on perfect order devoid of conflict (a normal element of social cohesion, often serving as an important impetus for positive social change) ***unless we assume an absolute zero sum human interaction.*** Hence, as a way of contributing to the overcoming these difficulties we may theorise sustainability as the dynamic interaction of strategy and process.

The conceptual trust is abundantly clear from participatory policies that have evolved during the past few years. As we can see from the figure below, sustainable human development strategies are interfaces between the various elements that contribute directly to the synergy that enhances livelihood sustainability. These strategies can be clustered under the following categories

- Capital formation and accumulations encompassing human capital, natural capital, physical/material capital, and social capital, which in turn refers to its element - socio-political, psychosocial, organisational, and cultural and spiritual capital;
- The tools for planning;
- The SL benchmarks: Resilience, ability to recover from stresses/shocks, economic efficiency, social equitability, ecological sustainability;
- Processual and strategic elements that determine the nature of agency and ideology for SD

The governance- SHD-poverty nexus underpins the fact that while external resources are crucial to national development, we **must proceed from the acknowledgement that all those involved in the process must and should broaden their perception and realise that the key to sustainable communities is with the people**. The so-called poor have **adaptive strategies** that have been outmoded through policies and actions of governments and international trade. It is easy to follow the current trend within the international community and advocate the participatory approaches

Fig. 2. Sustainable communities, governance implications

	Added value	Benchmarks for SHD		
	Human and social Resilience	Economic Efficiency	Social Equitability	Ecological Sustainability
I HUMAN CAPITAL	Empowerment	Political Governance	Awareness	DD
	Surplus value		Entitlement	DD
	Resilience	OPEN GOVERNANCE		
II SOCIAL CAPITAL	Collective action	Social Governance	Cohesion	
	Governance ⁶		Autonomy	
	Human rights	Employment	Complexity	
III PHYSICAL CAPITAL	Productivity	Economic governance	DD	Entitlement
	Sustainability		Entitlement	
	Cities	Environmental Governance	DD	
IV NATURAL CAPITAL	Productivity	NRM	Entitlement	Environmental
	Sustainability		Local Inst.	Governance
	Resilience	ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES		

Significant value added
 Strong impact value added

desirable tools to promoting Sustainable Human Development. Nor is it difficult to make normative judgements about how development practitioners, people and donors should behave if livelihoods are to be sustainable – **the poor must participate in decision making**. But it is not so easy to conceptualise a

participatory multi-stakeholder system, within which the **rights-based approach** to addressing crippling poverty is grounded, as a working process, which is balanced against strategy, to determine what makes for real, as opposed to vacuously formal, process. This is particularly the case where “**the giver**” strata (the State, donors, NGOs) tend to view the relations of their particular agenda with their broader roles and responsibilities as relatively simple and direct, unproblematically reducing the latter to the former.

It is possible to see the rights-based approach as the playing out of objective and critical standards, rules and concepts of political conduct in the goals and activities of all participants in the GOVERNANCE dynamic. The issue here is not simply one of “application” of rules to particular activities. Nor is it one of dissolving agent-catered strategies into “objective” principles and norms. It is rather the production or articulation of self-development process elements and forms within and through the strategic (and non-strategic) activities of various participants, both from the internal and external stakeholders. Highlighting the mutually constitutive and regulative articulation of strategy and process, we shift the centre of analysis away from the two as separate formations that enter only externally in relations with each other. This shift of analytical focus serves to emphasise the critical point that the task of broadly structuring the rights-based approach to sustainable communities, as a gender-sensitive self-

⁶ This includes resource allocation on basis of entitlement and alternative conflict management, a multi-disciplinary and highly participatory field of research and action that seeks to address better decisions making particularly on difficult, contentious issues developed as alternatives to adversarial or non-consensual strategies or partisan political action.

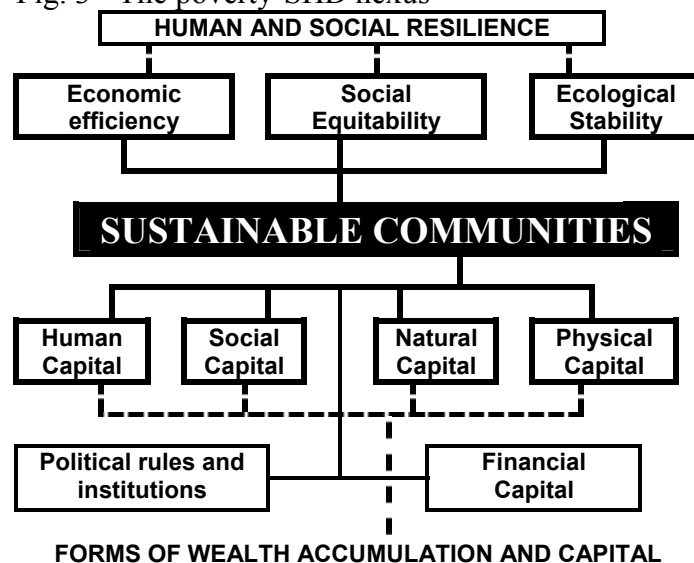
empowering change mechanism, is more important than that of promoting it within the specific programme design of a particular agency’s “participatory development” agenda.

The latter, which manifest in a variety of efforts ranging from community diagnostics to implementing community-based donor-funded programmes, is or should be only a second-order concern. This is in comparison to the former, which is primarily strategic tool adopted by communities and individuals to enhance their adaptive strategies that are important in the rights-based approach transition to a more fulfilled livelihood.

The need to take urgent measures and steps begin the process of building the political culture that would underpin this rich cultural resource is key to enhancing the democratic process and a window of opportunity for peaceful co-existence. The process of peaceful dialogue which characterised the transition from one-party to multi-party system of democratic rule must be constantly resuscitated and incorporated into the system of governance as means of alternative conflict management. This involves tolerance of opposing viewpoints and the acceptance of divergent view with the intention of reaching an acceptable compromise. Insofar as existing perspectives on political reform in Africa neglect to pose the problem of articulation of democracy as a relatively autonomous mode of analysis in which democracy projects impose ideology upon governments and societies from the outside; democratisation would consist of a set of activities in which “universal” concepts and standards of governance are merely "applied to", as distinct from produced or re-produced in, African contexts and conditions.

Even at the level of application alone, it is largely overlooked that international models may enter societies through a proliferation of programmes and mechanisms that hinder the growth of open and effective transition process, retarding the development of indigenous democratic-system experience and capacity. The main strategy for participatory and inclusive democratic development will therefore largely depend upon a consideration of the mechanisms that must be framed, structured and negotiated, and eventually and hopefully accepted. Democracy is about managing conflicts peacefully. In many societies that are both heterogeneous and change-oriented, conflict is seen as a normal element of social interaction. In some it is seen as a positive and necessary force, desirable because individuals and groups are naturally seen as having different needs and interests and values. Hence, conflicts often serve as important impetus for positive social change. In other communities, while its potential for creating change is acknowledged, dominance patterns in the society are such that conflict can be very destructive.

Fig. 3 - The poverty-SHD nexus



Section II

The Nigerian Transition

POOR PEOPLE IN A RICH COUNTRY - THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THREE DECADES OF AUTHORITARIAN MILITARY RULE

The political transition manifested in Nigeria today is unprecedented. The sudden death of General Abacha and the ensuing political dynamics have provided opportunities for political liberalisation and the initiations of democratic processes in Nigeria. The release from detention and the election of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has changed the rules of political engagement. The return to multi-party democracy resulted from a process of struggle of many Nigerian individuals, political groups, and movements. The action of these groups helped to sway it behind demands for political reform and forcing concessions from the interim government of General Abdulsalami Abubakar. After the last elections held in November 18, 1996, political differences still exist among key stakeholders due to axes of divergence on the constitution, regional and ethnic political representation and electoral systems and processes.

It is in the light of the difficulties emanating from the consolidation of democracy that the international community offered assistance to identify bridges, which might require to be built to facilitate the democratic consolidation process in Nigeria. This report is an effort to convey the teams findings to key participants in the decision-making process on the future agenda of supporting democratic development in Nigeria by the international community. The findings of the mission are presented here in four sections. The report's section one presents a background to the political transition in Nigeria; followed by section two - synopsis of observations and recommendations for action. Section three dwells on the economic and political consequences of three decades of authoritarian military rule. Section four presents the issues and contending views in democratic development in Nigerian polity.

The issues of the Nigerian political liberalisation and transition from military to civilian rule and eventually democratising Nigeria can be summarised and clustered into six major areas. These are the economic entitlement regional and class anomalies, Graft and grand corruption, the *demilitarisation* of civil society and development of political culture, the contending views on the constitution of May 1999 and the co-ordinates of power, The Niger Delta question, and The de-politicisation of the Nigerian Armed Forces.

As one of the world's largest producer of crude petroleum, Nigeria is a vast country rich in natural resources. Yet, a substantial share of its huge population remains poor. Although more than \$200 billion has been generated by the exploitation of oil resources, per capita income is roughly the same today as it was in the 1970s. What has gone wrong? A big part of the explanation is that the country has been one of the most politically unstable in the Nigeria: six coups d'etat and ten different governments in the three decades of independence. Nigeria personifies the paradox of scarcity in the midst of plenty, claims the Labour Policy Research Group. They continue to say that the same paradox is broadly reproduced in the strengths and weaknesses of associative movements in Nigeria, and the contestation that take place between

the state and civil society over social space, legitimacy, domination and resistance. Yet, the trends show a resurgence of civil society movements since the mid-1980's when Nigeria's economic and debt crisis became intractable. Although reality does not provide the opportunity to neatly classify governance into the UNDP categorisation, here is an attempt to do so in the Nigerian case.

1) ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE ISSUES

- a) Despite its vast development potential, **Nigeria remains a primary petroleum-producing economy**. Nevertheless, much of the national income it has generated has been wasted. Agriculture, trade and mining contribute little or nothing to job creation. The World Bank assessed the changes in poverty during 1985-92 using a relative poverty line - two-thirds of mean household per capita expenditures. This line is slightly above the dollar a day (international poverty line). For extreme poverty, the study used one-third of mean expenditures per person.⁷ A Participatory Poverty Assessment⁸ found that people were well aware of the many government programmes that had been set up to benefit local communities. Nevertheless, they claimed that these programmes had been plagued by problems. Many projects had been abandoned, a large share of public funds was unaccounted for, and people and traditional community leaders had not been involved in projects. Within a life span of something like three decades, the Nigerian State has exhibited an enhanced degree of coercive power, resulting in a pervasive military ethos. It has led to the emergence of self-labelled military oligarchies through a long and painful process of 'ideological' schooling.
- b) Many Nigerians point to the fact that the introduction of the **Structural Adjustment Programme** and its attendant economic and political consequences had an unforgivable impact on the repression of Nigerians. Some of the consequences of SAP revolve around the "sharp decline in the quality of life arising from inflation, unemployment, (which stands at 10 million Nigerians now) and shrinking incomes. It has also resulted in the reduced state welfare spending, mass retrenchment of workers in the private and public sectors, reduced household incomes, rising criminality and the state's repression of all attempts to resist SAP." The major connection between structural adjustment and poverty in Nigeria is that it raised the misery/deprivation index of most Nigerians. In this regard, the Human Development Report in the foreword underscores the fact that, after a decade of crisis and adjustment, "majority of Nigerians are at present worse off than they were at the time of independence in 1960." While SAP might not be primarily responsible for this sad state of affairs, it has clearly been unable to stem the crisis. Perhaps the most visible aspect of state-civil society struggles in Nigeria occurs in the political terrain.
- c) **CORRUPTION AS A MAJOR GOVERNANCE AGENDA FOR NIGERIA'S TRANSITION**: One major obstacle to efforts to install and consolidate democratic system is the all-powerful, highly centralised and hierarchical bureaucratic structure. Built over the last thirty years, the organisational imperative of the massive bureaucratic machine is to command and

⁷ Based on this methodology, the World Bank claims that overall poverty fell from 43% in 1985 to 34% in 1992 precisely during the period of structural adjustment. The condition of the extremely poor worsened, however. One reason is that while average expenditures per person were increasing, their distribution was worsening. The Gini coefficient index shot up from 0.387 to 0.449 during this period. The richest 20% of the population enjoyed a big increase in consumption and the poorest 20% a marked decline.

⁸ The 1996 Nigeria Human Development Report disputes the claim that overall poverty decreased during 1985-92. It points out that whereas the poorest 40% of the population spent 75% of total expenditures on food in 1985, they had to spend 90% in 1992. Moreover, measures of private consumption did not take into account the significant drop in public spending on social services such as education and health. Since 1992, income poverty and human misery have been on the rise. The absolute number of the poor jumped from about 35 million in 1992 to 44 million in 1995.

control and is preoccupied with its own survival and enrichment. The state has proved to be the main channel for personal wealth accumulation and securing privileged position in society. As the result of the socialisation of the mineral resources (petroleum crude), state power was appropriated to the political elite or bureaucratic bourgeoisie, that mainly constituted well-educated top officials and high ranking officers. It was characteristic of this group that it did not only exert control over means of production but also utilised its position in the state apparatus to provide itself with an economic basis by indulging in corruption and nepotism. As the winner takes all and the loser is consigned to the political and economic wilderness, all the brutality and corruption of bitter fights ensure in every political competition. Consequently, the bureaucracy will no doubt fight aggressively in order to obtain its patrons in positions of political power by any means possible.

2) **POLITICAL GOVERNANCE:**

- a) **THE LACK OF A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE** also imposes serious threats to democratic development in the Nigeria. Practices such as free elections, the formatting of political parties, free and open discourse on public issues are all 'foreign concepts' that need to be installed in the minds of the majority of the populace. While many countries set themselves to attain the basic ingredients of the liberal democratic model, *ethnicity* and the *right to self-determination* have come to be espoused as principal sources of political partisanship in Nigeria. This finds expression in the quest for a **SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE**. On another plane, other shortcomings can be observed in the pro-democracy groups in civil society. General trends can be observed in ideological polarities among the civic organisations that stood for democracy such as the mass pro-democracy movements that have turned their attention to the same system that they initiated many years ago. In addition, confusion is generated in the dearth of distinction between political parties and pressure groups. The emergence of numerous fragmented political groups make difficult to articulate a coherent political alternative to the three main political parties that constitutionally dominate the political arena today. The difficulty arises in the nature of democracy itself. One cannot promulgate political culture development for the emergence of ideologically contesting major coalitions. This complex issue is further complicated by the donor-dominated agenda.
- b) A major obstacle to efforts to install and consolidate democratic system in Nigeria is the all-powerful, **HIGHLY CENTRALISED AND HIERARCHICAL BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE**. This is further exacerbated by corruption and economic adjustment programme, which antedated the current democratisation process by almost two decades. The organisational imperative of the massive bureaucratic machine is to command and control and is preoccupied with its own survival and enrichment. Citizens openly profess that the powerful *militocracy* is unlikely to abandon its privileged position and control of the state apparatus to democratically elected political leaders or respect the institutional restraints of democratic rule without further and bloodier struggle.
- c) **RULES AND INSTITUTIONS - POLITICAL PARTIES, ELECTIONS AND CONTENDING VIEW ON THE CONSTITUTION OF MAY 1999:** On the issue of the adoption of the new constitution, many in the interviews held that the constitutions could be faulted on many grounds. They claim it centralises power to the Abuja establishment, denies power to the States and local governments, and is based on faulty assumptions of the Military regime. In addition, civil society should ideally be given optimum opportunity to debate as widely as possible any proposed change in the constitution in order to reach a consensus. It should be possible to fulfil the aspirations of the people to participate fully in the introduction of such a basic and important document as the constitution. Similarly, there is a consensus on the

relationships between the co-ordinates of power that the Executive has unbearably commandeering powers and hence the need for reforms. Many conferences and workshops are being held in this area. There is a need to continue dialogue on subject although a deliberate and clear agenda is necessary to be set. Arenas of capacity building to be considered include inter alia: continued dialogue on the constitution and possibilities for its revision, selected studies on the constitution and other meta-rules that regulate citizen life and state activity, training of legislators, rebuilding a corruption free executive and judiciary literally form scratch.

3) SOCIAL GOVERNANCE ISSUES

- a) **THE MILITARISATION OF SOCIETY AND POLITICAL CULTURE - COMING TO GRIPS WITH AN ALTERNATIVE AGENDA.** Civil society is that private sphere of life, which is counter posed to the realm of the state. It is made up of voluntary, autonomous, professional, or non-professional associations, which have arisen out of the self-organisational efforts of various social forces. Many Nigerian we interviewed perceive Nigerian civil society as the vanguard of democracy. As a counterweight to the power of the state, it is further claimed that it will ensure accountability. The matter, nevertheless, is a more complex. The question is how does civil society transform itself from a state of fear and political indifference to organised and well managed force in the political, economic and social agenda of the nation. Within the Nigerian context, civil society as represented by ethnic forces has embodied a resilient reactionary force with “anti-society” social force to the degree and extent of its penetration and subversion by successive authoritarian States. The imperative is therefore to transform civil society through empowerment to be autonomous and democratic to effectively serve the broad interests of the people. Groups in the NGO community believe that a lot has yet to be done.
- b) The Nigerian civil society remains relatively weak, being largely fragile in terms of its structures and organisation. It is limited to large cities, is more visible and vocal in southern Nigeria, and revolves around one or a few vocal individuals. It is susceptible to fractious politics driven by the military that never wanted its unity and arising from personality differences, ethnicity, the struggle for resources, corruption and problems of accountability, as well as ideological/tactical differences. Yet, the same civil society contains strong groups that cannot be easily written off. These groups have defended their autonomy and carried out broad democratic struggles directing at empowering the people to demand for and obtain their rights.⁹ For without democracy, the people cannot be empowered to reduce poverty, and without organisational power, they cannot win the war for democracy, which pitches them against the forces of the authoritarian state.
- c) **ETHNICITY AND DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION - THE CALL FOR SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE:** The single most important influence over how political devolution and democratic decentralisation is being conceived is the politics of ethnic self-determination and self-government. The struggle of minorities¹⁰ and the particular form of political consciousness acquired at the inception and in the course of that struggle, have made ethnic-based devolution the linchpin of the thinking of the new political order in Nigeria. Consistent with this strategy, social forces are calling for a sovereign national conference to undertake a major restructuring of the nation-state, cutting it up into a score of regional governments based on ethnic identity. Nevertheless, this is not to suggest that the strategy is uncontroversial or uncontested. On the contrary, it has provoked a lot of controversy and

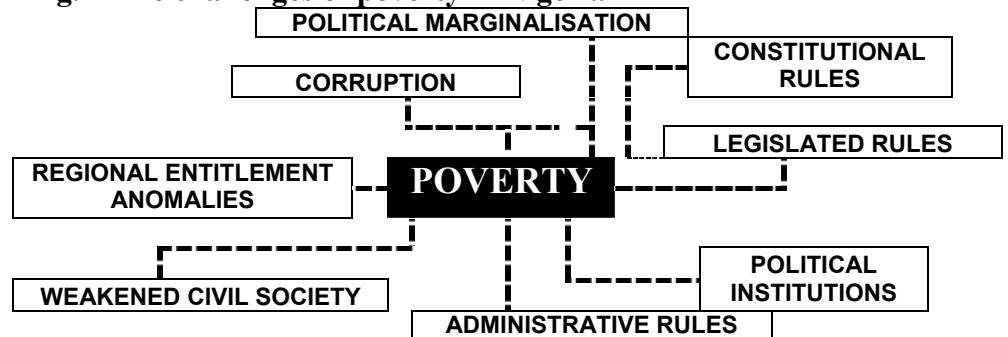
⁹ The persistence of poverty disempowers the people, and makes them hungry but willing accomplices in their own marginalisation, exploitation, and pauperisation. Thus, at a broad level the processes of poverty alleviation cannot be separated from popular empowerment through democracy as the most viable path to Africa's development.

¹⁰ such the as Ogoni people, disseminated world-wide by the killing of Ken Sara-Wiwa and colleagues

criticism. Partisans, allies, and supporters of the movement towards ethnic decentralisation seem to be sure that the ethnocentric approach to political devolution and reform is sound, and, indeed the only way to a new democratic order. On the other side, individuals and groups critical of the strategy and accompanying process are equally convinced that, left unchecked, the strategy would lead to the disintegration of the Nigerian State.¹¹ Ethnicity has indeed become a force to be reckoned with and social scientists have increasingly been forced to address it. How much it has deep historical roots and how much it is an ideology of the elite, legitimised on occasions by the very social scientists that presume to investigate it remains problematic.¹² Historians, looking at the issue from a relatively longer perspective, generally tend to question the permanence of the ethnic factor. Conversely, the democratisation process and its attendant political pluralism seem to have the potential of accentuating ethnic identity. Thus, the preoccupation with "self-determination" of ethnic and cultural communities represents a larger issue having to do with the restructuring of the polity as a whole. The question Nigeria currently faces is thus whether ethnicity threatens to bring about a basic restructuring of State systems or whether the issues it raises would turn out to be "*transient phenomena, likely to disappear soon enough as they get 'satisfied', partly perhaps through their very articulation*".

- 4) **ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE ISSUES:** As the result of the wealth/poverty distribution imbalances, ethnic-based movements have flourished, especially in the **Niger Delta region**, which produces all if not much of the oil wealth of Nigeria. The

Fig. 4 The challenges of poverty in Nigeria



single most important influence over how political devolution and democratic decentralisation is being conceived is the politics of ethnic self-determination and self-government; now fuelled by the execution of Ken Sara-Wiwa and his compatriots. Nigeria has to come to grips with an alternative agenda for ethnicity and democratic representation. An important issue that figures here is the environmental havoc that haunts this delta and the conflicts that emerge out of it.

Section V

DEFINING AN AGENDA FOR GOVERNANCE

I conclude by providing alternative ways of weighing up the transition process to a stable and sustainable democracy, but opening up issues for debate. They are by no means exhaustive and complete, but an attempt at initiating/fuelling in country debate with issues that may reflect the

¹¹ Chief Rotimi Williams, a senior Nigerian Lawyer who presided on the drafting of the 1979 constitution in his interview to Africa Today - August 1999 issue warns. "I believe that it is necessary for us to sit down and agree on how to structure the federating units within Nigeria. If we can do that, I believe that Nigeria will remain one country. But if we fail, I fear that such is the force of ethnicity that Nigeria will unfortunately break into pieces like the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia. I believe we can and must have a solution"

¹² For an argument on the mass basis of ethnicity, see Eghosa E. Osaghae, A Re-examination of the Conception of Ethnicity in Africa as an Ideology of Inter-Elite Competition, African Study Monographs, 12 (1) (June 1991), pp. 43- 60. Martin Doornbos calls ethnicity "the resilient paradigm" ("Linking the Future to the Past", Review of African Political Economy, No. 52, 1991, p. 53), thereby implicitly underlining its epistemological, more than its objective, value.

root causes of the zero-sum political game. The nuclear thesis of the transition agenda must be "the endowment of institutions in civil society and state conducive to democratic transition?" It is recommended that an in-depth analysis of the issues be undertaken, tools, and protocols for analyses developed and a democratic development framework for Nigeria.

The proposed outputs of the framework include *inter alia* mapping and relating to CSOs in representative societal formations in Nigeria, for a social mobilisation and capacity building agendum, review of constitutional, legislated and administrative rules and political institutions. A major consideration is the development of a profile of how corruption is entrenched in the Nigerian polity and strategies for a panacea, including predicting the consequences of fighting it. An attitude survey of the military and an aptitude assessment of its loyalty to the constitution will culminate in a national strategy to keep the army where it belongs. Strategies to overcome the impact of regional anomalies and a role for local control of resources are also recommended. On the state of economic governance in Nigeria, poverty and its impact on political transition, unemployment, violence and the opportunities and challenges to peace, entrepreneurship and capital accumulation and flight and their influence on democratic sustainability need to be considered.

	<i>Synopsis of issues and observations</i>	<i>Action</i>
EQUITY	The most urgent task for democratising forces in Nigeria is the resolution of the unbearable class differences and poverty in Nigerian society . The differences between the rich, which border on philistine filth, and the extreme poor, have to be tackled politically. The entitlement of the poor to national and local resources, of which Nigeria is richly endowed with, must be discourses upon as a matter of urgency. <u>Economic reform, entrepreneurship development, employment promotion, and poverty alleviation</u> must be high in the agenda of the Fourth Republic.	A major component of the follow through agenda is the comprehensive assessment of resource endowment entitlement and regional anomalies. SAP must be carefully evaluated to promote new policies.
CORRUPTION	<u>Corruption</u> is an urgent agenda that must be tackled immediately. In discussion with many Nigerians, they point to the bureaucratic set-up that is characterised by a complicated net works of patron client relations, with a patron giving a decent position in the government in exchange for a clients political support. Clientelism in this form is extremely widespread and spans out in waves from the centennial figure of the system. Relatives are among the first to be privileged followed fellow villagers and members of the ethnic group and lastly those from other ethnic groups but who should prove life long loyalty. The ruling elite makes every effort to maintain control over the state apparatus and government job is regarded as collateral for political support or at least for not opposing it. <u>Urgent attention must be given to this serious national epidemic.</u>	An important study in the corruption arena is to develop a national profile on how corruption is entrenched in the Nigerian polity and strategies for a panacea including predicting the consequences of fighting it.
NIGER DELTA	As the result of the wealth/poverty distribution imbalances, ethnic-based movements have flourished, especially in the <u>Niger Delta region</u> , which produces all if not much of the oil wealth of Nigeria. The single most important influence over how political devolution and democratic decentralisation is being conceived is the politics of ethnic self-determination and self-government; now fuelled by the execution of Ken Sara-Wiwa and his compatriots. Nigeria has to come to grips with an alternative agenda for ethnicity and democratic representation. <i>Ethnicity and the right to self-determination, expressed in the</i>	A comprehensive, but not a controversial assessment of the explosive into the Niger Delta Region is timely and pertinent with a view to inform the different stakeholders on the

call for a sovereign national conference, have come to be espoused as principal sources of political partisanship in Nigeria. The call for **Sovereign National Conference** has been objected to on grounds that you cannot have two political institutions governing a transition period - a democratically elected one and a sovereign national conference being proposed by the Nigerian elite.

options for change. The study must include the role of the oil multi-nationals in the region.

CIVIL SOCIETY

The *militarisation of society* and political culture must be urgently retrenched. A new popular and democratic culture developed through civic education and politicisation of society. The militarisation of Nigerian politics meant that autonomous civil society would threaten the hegemony of the interventionist. For this reason, war was declared by the venal state on those sections of civil society which oppose/resist its economic and political programmes, and criticised corruption and repression. Thus, the combination of military authoritarianism since 1985 and the harsh conditions unleashed by SAP have meant that civil society in Nigeria is thriving under hostile conditions. There is a need for an in-depth analysis and investigation of these issues.

A capacious assessment of the civil society and associative movements is in order to determine its autonomy, complexity, capacity, and cohesiveness. This work must culminate in mapping and relating to CSOs.

CONSTITUTIONAL RULES

Constitution, the co-ordinates of power and civil society. On the issue of the adoption of the new constitution, many in the interviews held that the constitutions could be faulted on many grounds. They claim that civil society should ideally be given optimum opportunity to debate as widely as possible any proposed change in the constitution in order to reach a consensus. It should be possible to fulfil the aspirations of the people to participate fully in the introduction of such a basic and important document as the constitution. Similarly, there is a consensus on the relationships between the co-ordinates of power that the Executive has become unbearably commandeering and hence the need for reforms. The capacity of the legislature to articulate the constitutional, legal, economic and political governance issues also needs to be supported. The judiciary and the executive would also require capacity building programmes aimed at enhancing their effectiveness

Drafted against a backdrop of national and international pressure on the military regime, and predictably short of full democratic rights; the constitution is in need of further dialogue and development. It must prove that it is a living document. Capacity building for the co-ordinates of government will be a major output. The views and aspirations of the Nigerian Military and paramilitary forces are important in the transition to civilian rule. An attitude survey and aptitude assessment of the military rank and file will be a sine qua non

THE ARMY

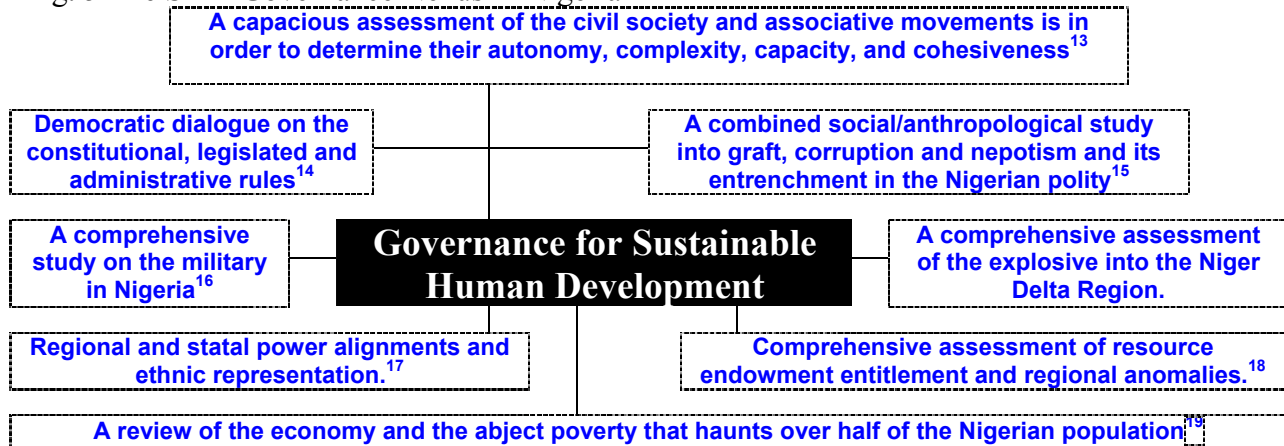
The **de-politicisation of the Nigerian Armed Forces** is a paramount agenda in the minds of many Nigerians that we discoursed with. The Nigerian Armed forces have too long been involved in the country's political affairs. Often with credentials, that has only painted it as corrupt and renegade doing what it is not supposed to do. It has aborted three democratically elected republics in the last four decades and has been in power for 27 years since 1960. Getting the military out of politics will be a major challenge for the Fourth Republic. The international community has a distinctive role in supporting this agenda.

Issues for further dialogue and research!

The seventy or more definitions it had evolved since the Stockholm conference notwithstanding, Sustainable Development is understood as the ability of the future generations to inherit a defined amount of assets that the current generation has benefit from the past. In short we use resources in a way that we do not foreclose the ability of future generations to use the same quality and quantity of resources. But the idea of exploiting resources today in ways that do not foreclose on the future's options to use the same resources have been contested as lacking

empirical validity. There are claims that suggest that exploitation and development of all forms of capital resources at sustainable levels is impossible, therefore the premise of sustainable human development makes little policy sense.

Fig. 5 The SHD-Governance Nexus in Nigeria



Many argue that “effective policies are possible under conditions of uncertainty, but they must take such decisions making is a continual series of surprises and failures”. What sustainability does require... is attention to the management of systems under uncertainty,” Since our knowledge of the systems we deal with is always incomplete, human adaptation to political, social and economic stresses will form the foundations for flexibility for adaptation to surprises. Natural dynamics are shrouded in uncertainty”. Sustainable development “acknowledges the existence of true uncertainty rather than ignoring it, and includes mechanisms to safeguard against its potentially harmful effects”). “Because everything in ecosystems constantly changes.”

We can hence argue that sustainable development must attain coherence and integrity even as it comes into play in varied contexts of activity. While it may be tied to the initiatives and leadership of assignable organisations or groups in its emergence and development, it nonetheless gains currency as a relatively autonomous system that other, competing; political actors can also participate in and operate. As a set of distinctly general categories and mechanisms of development thought, discourse and practice, sustainable human development takes the diversity of particular ideas and activities into itself and makes them a vital part of its conceptual and institutional economy. It mediates and channels specific actors and their activities by means of an objectification

¹³ **Outputs:** CSOs mapped out in representative societal formations in Nigeria, Strategies for relating to and methodologies for social mobilisation developed, and capacity building agenda articulated and disseminated, possible piloting of village level projects

¹⁴ **Outputs:** Public opinion polls and survey results on the faults of the constitution, workshops to build consensus and dissemination of the outputs

¹⁵ **Outputs:** Develop a profile of how corruption is entrenched in the Nigerian polity and strategies for a panacea including predicting the consequences of fighting it.

¹⁶ **Outputs:** An attitude survey of the military and an aptitude assessment of loyalty to the constitution

¹⁷ **Outputs:** A strategy to overcome the impact of regional anomalies and inputs into constitutional changes

¹⁸ **Outputs:** A poverty and good governance background and a role for local control of resources

¹⁹ **Outputs** include the state of economic governance in Nigeria, poverty and its impact on political transition, unemployment, violence and the opportunities and challenges to peace, entrepreneurship and capital accumulation and flight and their influence on stability.

and generalisation that works on and through them. It attempts to present the dearth of current ideological rectitude by asking

- ◆ Does sustainable human development enter societal and gubernatorial transition processes in Africa as an **external ideology, constructing and deploying its concepts in sterile abstraction from the immediacies of indigenous traditions, beliefs and values? In the case of Africa in particular, do ideas addressing generational justice come into play in total opposition to, or in co-operation with historic national values and sentiments?**
- ◆ Do we equate the articulation of partisan ideas and agendas with the production of broad-based concepts, norms and goals that should govern leadership of development strategies?
- ◆ Do sustainable human development processes signify new kinds of socio-political and agroecosystems development activities - activities mediated and guided by objective and critical democratic standards, rules and principles?

In this light, openness of sustainable human development process can be understood as a dynamic two-way operation. Generic forms on particular contents and particular contents on generic forms in which the deployment of the conceptual and institutional machinery of sustainable human development is at the same time the representation of *specific needs, interests, motivations, claims, rights and obligations by individuals and groups*. Going beyond structuring or rearranging national and regional actors and institutional activities in their spontaneous, often turbid reality, this operation should result in their transformation into forms of transparent agency and practice within a political system. Current discussions and analyses of sustainable human development-related empowerment and their management are generally marked by several limitations. These include:

1. A tendency to narrow sustainable human development thinking and practice to the terms and categories of immediate, not very well considered, social action.
2. Inattention to problems of sustainable human development articulation or production of endogenous systems and processes within locally grounded socio-politics rather than simply as formal or abstract possibilities. This also includes the ambiguity as to whether civil society exists in the strength its historical mandate signifies and is it an agent or object of democratic change and the role of the state?
3. a nearly exclusive concern in certain institutional perspectives on sustainable human development with generic attributes and characteristics of societies and organisations and consequent neglect of analysis in terms of specific strategies of organisations
4. Inadequate treatment of the role of international agencies the global and indigenous dimensions of sustainable human development.

The fundamental problem for the leading parties and political groups is not one of simply changing or improving the position and status of "nationalities", or, in simpler terms, ethnic groups, within. It is the radical transformation of the values, traditions and institutions of the nation-state itself in their historic and contemporary forms. Leaders and activists of the leading parties believe they are wrestling at once with the question of the self-determination of nationalities and the problem of Nigerian unity connected with it. For the activists of the Niger Delta, Nigerian unity under not only the military autocrats but also all previous civil regimes was deeply flawed. A forced unity, they claim, it was established and maintained at the expense of nations, nationalities and peoples. By the subjugation of ethnic communities, by economic

exploitation, by political tyranny, and by cultural domination which devalued and suppressed the languages, customs, and religions of diverse peoples in the country.

To be continued...

GCA Indicators

Assessing Development Support for Governance in Nigeria

PRINCIPAL UNCERTAINTIES

These categories, which focus predominantly on governance as it relates to economic development, are rule of law, financial accountability and transparency, budgetary policies and priorities, administrative and bureaucratic consistency, political openness and tolerance, participation and communication, and favourable environment for private enterprise. The following issues present themselves for dialogue.

RULE OF LAW	
legal protection of constitutionally defined rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Fundamental rights enshrined in a constitution or its equivalent? ◆ Legislation protecting such rights been passed and is it enforced? ◆ Legislation protecting and enforcing such rights outside of the control of the executive branch. Are there known or recorded instances of such legislation being overruled by executive orders or other legislation granting the government sweeping powers?
Independent judiciary, with a range of legal expertise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Does the legal profession actively promote its independence, and is there an independent bar association? ◆ Are there regulations or legislation protecting the independence of the judiciary and are there recorded or known instances of executive branch interference with the exercise of justice? ◆ Is the career structure for members of the judiciary based on merit, and is remuneration commensurate with the qualifications required? ◆ Are the training opportunities commensurate with the need, and do an adequate number of legal professionals trained in required aspects of the law exist?
a functioning court system, staffed by trained professionals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are there courts at a provincial or local level, or just at the national level? ◆ Are there sufficient training opportunities for court personnel, and do sufficient trained personnel exist? ◆ Are court records kept, and easily accessible? ◆ Is there any attempt to incorporate traditional or customary law into the legal system?
a system of civil security and a professional police force exist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Does the concept of security extend to civil security for all citizens? ◆ Is there a professional, politically neutral police force with a training and career structure? ◆ Are there recorded or known instances of widespread abuse or harassment of citizens by police and/or security force? ◆ Are there means of redress for citizens who suffer such abuse or harassment?
people generally informed of their rights and have access to the legal system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is information about rights generally available in an easy to understand fashion? ◆ Do advice centres or other civic institutions staffed by paralegals exist, or is there some other means by which citizens can obtain information about their rights? ◆ Is there a system of legal aid, or a way in which poor people can obtain legal services? ◆ Do customary or traditional rights correspond to legal rights, particularly in the case of women?
the enforcement of contracts by the courts immune to political interference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are there instances in which contracts have been enforced in the courts? ◆ Are there recorded or known instances in which the government has interfered with court enforcement of contracts? ◆ Are there legal specialists in contract law? ◆ Are contracts generally understood to be legally binding?
all budgets and public expenditures made public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is there a general budgetary process, which takes place over a specific time frame? ◆ Are budgets for all sectors made publicly available in a timely manner? ◆ Is there a system of recording public expenditures in all sectors? ◆ Are public expenditures recorded and such records publicly available?

<p>all government expenditures audited, and audit reports made public</p> <p>an independent auditor general's office, staffed with trained professionals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are government expenditures audited at all administrative levels (e.g. local, provincial and national)? ◆ Are government expenditures for each sector audited? ◆ Are governmental audits to ensure compliance, or do value for money audits also exist? ◆ Are audit reports made public in a timely manner? ◆ Is there an independent auditor general's office, or anything, which approximates to this? ◆ If it exists, does it have any power, or is it frequently overruled? ◆ Is it staffed by sufficient trained and qualified professionals to perform its functions adequately? ◆ Are there recorded or known instances of members of the auditor general's office being the subject of bribery, harassment, or other undue influence to suppress, withhold or alter information?
<p>legal and regulatory frameworks to control corruption and rent seeking</p> <p>XI. Are all revenues accruing to the government or the central bank entered into official accounts?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are there laws against bribery and rent seeking? ◆ Are there regulations in governmental departments to make corruption more difficult? ◆ Is there a system of checks and balances to ensure that such regulations are adequately enforced? ◆ Are there recorded or known instances of corruption and rent seeking at senior levels, which have gone unpunished? ◆ Are there publicly available official accounts, and are there regulations requiring that all governmental revenues are entered in a timely manner? ◆ Is there a standardised system for ensuring that all revenues are entered into such accounts? ◆ Are all levels of expenditure entered into such accounts? ◆ Are there known or recorded instances of central bank revenues not being entered into official accounts?

BUDGETARY POLICIES AND PRIORITIES

<p>I. Are all government expenditures on budget?</p> <p>government spending on military and security greater than social sectors</p> <p>the executive branch have broad discretionary use of funds that escapes public accountability</p> <p>all government departments and ministries responsible for developing their own budgets</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is there a central, comprehensive budget, which includes all governmental expenditure, or are some sectors "off- budget"? ◆ Are government budgets and expenditure reports publicly available? ◆ Are expenditure reports consistent with budgets in terms of budget line items? ◆ Are government expenditure reports disaggregated by sector and geographic region? ◆ Are military and security budgets made public? ◆ Are military expenditures made public, and are they consistent with budget estimates? ◆ Is security and military spending consistent with perceived need? ◆ Is a higher proportion of public funds spent on the military than on social sectors? ◆ Does the government have access to sufficient funds for which it does not require legislative oversight to undermine public accountability? ◆ Are there known or recorded instances of the government using such funds to finance projects or procure goods or services which have failed to gain legislative approval? ◆ Are there recorded or known instances of such funds being used to buy support for the government, or finance the party in power? ◆ Are there known or recorded instances of government officials using such funds for personal profit? ◆ Do all government departments and ministries develop their own budgets based on analysis of need, or are they allocated a fixed amount to program? ◆ Do government ministries and departments have a chance to argue for additional resources, or influence the way funds are allocated? ◆ Are there opportunities for government ministries or departments to generate their own resources, for example through user fees? ◆ Are there incentives for government ministries and departments to develop more cost efficient ways of doing business, or if they save money are it taken away from them for re- distribution to other sectors?
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| decentralisation of resource generation and allocation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are provincial and local authorities able to collect revenue and program if for there own use, or are all revenues passed to the central government? ◆ Do local authorities develop their own budgets, or are local budgets centrally planned and funds allocated? ◆ Can local authorities develop their own budgetary priorities and program funds accordingly? ◆ Are local government budgets, revenues and expenditures made public and subject to audit? |
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ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUREAUCRATIC CONSISTENCY

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| I. Is there a civil service, with appointments based on merit? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is there a civil service with minimum entry requirements, or are large sectors of the population guaranteed a job i the public sector? ◆ Is there a clear system of promotion based on merit, with checks and balances to ensure that this is implemented, or is it assumed that promotion is based on other factors? ◆ Are specific functions clearly described, and chains of command clearly delineated? ◆ Are there widespread recorded or known instances of promotion or appointment because of patronage or bribery? |
| II. Are governmental officials subject to the rule of law? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are there regulations prohibiting acceptance of bribes or kickbacks? ◆ Are such regulations enforced or are they widely circumvented? ◆ Are there recorded instances or public officials being brought to trial for misconduct? ◆ Are there widely known instances of officials being ◆ Guilty of law breaking but not being prosecuted? |
| III. Is the compensation for civil servants comparable to that of other sectors? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is the salary paid to civil servants similar to that which they could earn in other sectors, or is it significantly lower or higher? ◆ Are there alternative employment opportunities for civil servants? ◆ Are the benefits and access to government structures that the civil service affords significant attractions? ◆ Is the civil service the preferred profession for whatever reason? |
| IV. Is civil service career development independent of the executive branch or political party in power? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is there a system of political appointment at all levels of the civil service, and is such system publicly known and acknowledged, and political appointments generally known? ◆ If there is a publicly acknowledged system of political appointment, is it felt to be excessive and undermining of the career structure? ◆ Are most senior positions held by career civil servants, or are they political appointments? ◆ Is the party in power able to allocate positions to its members without ◆ Legislative approval of competence? |
| V. Are the military and security forces under civilian control? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is there a military government, or are a number of government ministers or other high-ranking officials also a member of the military? ◆ Do laws apply to the military and the security forces the same as to other citizens or they subject to special military law? ◆ Are there instances of the military or security forces being held accountable for their actions? ◆ Does the legislature approve military and security actions, or do only the military, or the military and the executive branch decide such actions? |

POLITICAL OPENNESS AND TOLERANCE

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| I. Are political parties allowed to legally and constitutionally function? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Can political parties exist, and can they generate revenue? ◆ Are there regulations governing what political parties can and cannot do, and do these apply uniformly to all political parties? ◆ Are all political parties allowed to campaign in all geographic areas? ◆ Is there legislation, which effectively impedes political parties being formed, because it requires certain minimum numbers, funds, or geographic representation? |
| II. Is their constitutional and legal provision for freedom of speech, media, assembly and association? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are these "freedoms to" broadly permitted, or are they subject to a variety of restrictions which effectively curtail public liberty? ◆ Are special permissions required before such freedoms can be implemented, and if so are they applied impartially to all interest groups? ◆ Is there an independent press and media? ◆ Is there governmental censorship of the press, or are there recorded or known instances of press freedom curtailed due to fear of governmental redress? |

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| <p>III. Is there an elected legislature, which is responsible to the electorate?</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are members of the legislature elected through open ballot? ◆ Does the legislature understand its role, or does it either generally acquiesce to governmental demands or consistently try to oppose the government? ◆ Are elected officials required to spend a minimum amount of time in their electoral district? ◆ Do members of the legislature know there systems in place whereby public opinion can be made? |
| <p>IV. Does the legislature have oversight over governmental policy?</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Can the executive branch implement decisions without legislative approval of broad policy measures? ◆ Do members of the legislature have sufficient access to information and technical resources to enable them to make informed decisions, for example, is there a research service or library available and do they have technical staff? ◆ Is the legislature responsible for drafting legislation, does it approve legislation drafted by the executive branch, or does it do both? ◆ Is there provision for individual members of the legislature to introduce new legislation or amendments to existing legislation on specific subjects? |
| <p>V. Do opposition groups have legitimacy, and do they play a role in the political process?</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is the concept of a "loyal opposition" generally understood by both the opposition and the public? ◆ Is there provision for opposition groups to be involved in the political process, for example by members of minority parties being elected to the legislature? ◆ Does the dominant national party also automatically control local government, or are local government officials elected? ◆ Do opposition parties have clearly articulated political platforms, or are they dominated by individuals? |

PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNICATION

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| <p>I. countervailing intermediary civic organisations that function freely and openly legislative decisions made public processes for popular participation exist NGOs financially and operationally independent of the government? NGOs and institutions legally allowed to exist and free from governmental control</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is the non-governmental sector well developed, with organisations serving a variety of sectors of the population, rural as well as urban? ◆ Are there organisations which function as political pressure groups or which lobby for specific interests? ◆ Do labour unions and professional associations exist and do they promote the rights of their members? ◆ Do independent institutions such as policy or political and economic think tanks exist? ◆ Are legislative records kept and decisions published? ◆ Are sessions of parliament or the legislature open to the public? ◆ Is there press and media coverage of the parliament or legislature? ◆ Is there a system of disseminating legislative information beyond the capital city or major urban centres? ◆ Are there established and recognised ways and means for the public to voice concern or express opinion to policy makers? ◆ Are such things as opinion polls or attitude surveys undertaken? ◆ Are there means by which communities can express their development priorities at the local level? ◆ Are local government officials elected? ◆ Do NGOs receive subsidies from the government? ◆ Do most NGOs have independent boards of directors, and operate according to a constitution or other set of binding principles? ◆ Does legislation permitting NGOs to earn revenue, collect membership contributions, or receive donations from the public or local or foreign institutions exist? ◆ Are most NGOs self-financing? ◆ Are NGOs legally allowed to exist, and are there any restrictions placed upon them? ◆ Are there known or recorded instances of governmental interference with non-governmental organisations? ◆ Does the government encourage the formation of non-governmental entities and seek their opinion on key issues? ◆ Do NGOs act as intermediaries between the government and their members? |
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FAVOURABLE ENVIRONMENT FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

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| constitutional and legal provision for private ownership of property | <ul style="list-style-type: none">◆ Is legislation conducive to the private ownership of property, or does it make it difficult and only possible in certain circumstances?◆ Is private ownership of both property and land for any purposes allowed, and can such property and land be sold or otherwise passed on by the owners?◆ Are there property and land ownership records, which can be publicly consulted?◆ Do the regulations and administrative procedures, which need to be followed, facilitate or impede private ownership of property and land? |
| constitutional and legal provision for private investment | <ul style="list-style-type: none">◆ Is provision made in the constitution for private investment, and does legislation conducive to private investment exist?◆ Is private investment permitted in all sectors, or is it controlled?◆ Is the regulatory environment conducive to small-scale business, the informal sector and women entrepreneurs, or does it in effect discriminate against them?◆ Is information about investment options easily available and is the tax structure conducive to small-scale private investment? |
| III. Are there political conditions on access to credit? | <ul style="list-style-type: none">◆ Is the amount of money available for credit controlled by the government?◆ Are the restrictions on credit eligibility such that only a small percentage of the population qualifies?◆ Is credit generally available, to both men and women, in rural as well as urban areas through a variety of mechanisms, or is it restricted?◆ Are there governmental restrictions on what credit can be provided for? |
| IV. The banking system's ability to support private investment | <ul style="list-style-type: none">◆ Is there a functioning banking system?◆ Is the banking system subject to arbitrary political manipulation?◆ Are there governmental restrictions on lending for private sector investment or purchase of property or land?◆ Do government regulations on interest rates or tax on private deposits exist, and do they negatively affect private sector activity? |
| V. regulations governing investment, and import and export | <ul style="list-style-type: none">◆ Are there administrative regulations governing investment and import and export procedures, and are these publicly available?◆ Are the regulations supportive of, and conducive to, private sector activity, or are they designed to exercise control over it?◆ Are the regulations consistent, or are there instances in which one set of regulations are contradicted or overruled by another set?◆ Are the regulations uniformly enforced, or are there known or recorded instances of their being waived in certain instances? |
| VI. the implementation of government regulations and licensing procedures | <ul style="list-style-type: none">◆ Is there a facility for "one stop" procurement of licenses or other required documents, or is it necessary to visit a variety of different departments or offices?◆ Are officials generally familiar with regulations, and able to expedite the process, or are they uninformed and need to seek guidance on a case-by case basis?◆ Are there known or recorded instances of bribes or other payment being required to obtain licenses or other documents, even though regulatory procedures have all been followed?◆ Is it possible to obtain licenses or other documents within a relatively short time frame, or does it take a long time and require repeat visits by the person applying for the license? |