

An Assessment of Administrative Law and Governance System in Nigeria

GABRIEL IZOKPU OIKHALA

Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Nigeria

Abstract. The stance of administrative law is to keep the powers of public administration within legal framework; protect the citizens against abuse of powers; and promote good governance. However, a cursory look at the present status of governance in Nigeria showed that many public administrators often breached administrative law. This trend has led to an increase in governance crisis with the flurry of insecurity, hardship and other socio-economic encumbrances in Nigeria. This paper assessed the stance of administrative law on governance system in Nigeria with a view to determining the state of governance in the country. Data were sourced from relevant textbooks, journals, newspapers, and other publications. The data obtained was analysed through descriptive method. Adopting the legal approach as theoretical framework, governance is identified as the primary function of government; public administration implements government policies, programmes, and projects on all governance issues; and administrative law is the government valid instrument for keeping the powers, and actions of public administration under legal bounds. The paper found the stance of administrative law as very supportive to governance system in Nigeria. It argued among others that the environment created by the present political system in the country was unsuitable for utilisation of administrative law on governance issues; leaving in an epileptic state. The paper suggested that government leadership and followership should undergo a rebranding exercise for a positive change in order to maintain a political system, which will encourage the application of administrative law to thrive towards issues of governance in Nigeria.

Keywords: Law of Public Administration, Government and Governance, Separation of Powers, Rule of Law, Control of Administration

1. Introduction

The issue of governance is increasingly attracting global attention. The interests of political, administrative and economic governance generate stem from the fact that the intricacy of the modern life and activities cannot be separated from the influence of machineries of political governance. Notably, the government occupies essential position in both national and individual life. It functions to integrate the collective interests and aspirations with the intent of achieving cohesion. In fact, the political forces are indispensable to the relevance and sustenance of rule of governance, good order, national integration and development of any country. Therefore, the struggle for political control that occupies what and which, interest is protected often commands great attention (Chibueze, 2009).

The scope of government captured in this paper is in tandem with section 14 (2) (b) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which recognised it as responsible for security and welfare of citizens. This scope is wide and all encompassing. In other words, the security and welfare as the constitutional functions of the Nigerian government cover a wide range of governance issues. Among others, it includes the functions to integrate the collective interests and aspirations of people from different ethno-religious milieu with the intent to achieve cohesion. Beyond its responsibility for stability and good order on issues of social, economic, political, and cultural facets, the government is meant to guarantee an appreciable standard of living for citizens and enabling environment for transacting lawful business. To put it differently, government administration controls and regulates socio-economic order; political stability, and generates employment opportunities, provides infrastructure, ensures organisation and utilisation of

resources to achieve the framework for common good. Drawing from the above constitutional responsibilities of government, governance is therefore, presented as a function of government designed to lubricate the political economy with the available resources in order to avert threat, and to bring liberation, peace and progress to citizens and the country as a whole. To achieve all these, public administration with its administrative law as the machineries for implementing government rules, regulations, and policies should be made to be very active and efficient.

However, there is no gainsaying the fact that governance crisis in Nigeria has presently become deepened and very worrisome. The conducts of most of the top government functionaries who have been paying attention to their self-services speak volume in this regard. In fact, such unethical conducts have even worsened to the extent that no day passes without reading from the national daily newspapers about their heart-breaking allegations of embezzling several billions of naira and constant looting of public treasury. Thus, money meant to respond to issues of security, poverty, health, employment, education, infrastructures, and other development projects in Nigeria are unlawfully being diverted by public officials for reasons best known to them. By this token, public interest in all the core sectors at the level of political, economic, social, and cultural is being breached and compromised.

As a law relating to public administration, administrative law plays vital role in controlling the lapses, arbitrariness, or indiscipline and inaction of public administration. It ensures reality, probity and proper conduct of government administration. In this sense, administrative law keeps the powers and authorities of public administrators within their legal bounds to protect the citizens against the abuse and to promote governance (Ekhatior, 2003; Goel, 2008; Adejuwon and Ehiane, 2011). With the present crystallisation of corruption and self-interest in Nigeria governing process in which government businesses are largely being transacted in the interest of few selected people in government and their cronies. With this development, both the political and their technocrats' government officials often violated administrative rules with impunity. Rather, they showed concern with laws, which suit their personal agenda. Issues are bound where government officials are sued for violating administrative rules and court order or decisions are vehemently being ignored (Akpotor, 2015; Ramon, 2020; and Adesomoju, 2020). Consequently, Oikhala and Egugbo (2019) noted that Nigerians are being depleted and pushed

into walloping in the venom of insecurity, grind of penury, stream of unemployment, agonising depression, and dreary of high level of unpleasant ethno-religious patriotism, unimaginable level of poor patriotism of cultural and national values (Oikhala and Egugbo, 2019). These uncontrollable and worrisome levels of highly corruption and infraction of the most government officials that have raised the question of relevance of administrative law in the governance process of Nigeria.

The paper assesses the law of public administration in relation to governance process in Nigeria. It determines the state of governance in Nigeria and the effects it has on national development paying particular attention to the fourth republic. Aside from this introductory part, the rest of the paper is divided into six segments. The first two parts are concerned with the theoretical foundation and conceptual analysis. The fourth part looks at control of administration; the fifth aspect is concerned with the stance of administrative law and state of governance in Nigeria. The last two parts concentrate on the challenges of administrative law and governance system in Nigeria; conclusion and suggestion for the way forward.

2. Theoretical Foundation

The theoretical foundation adopted for this paper is the Legal Approach. Frank J. Goodnow and Don Allenworth were among the first advocates to adopt it in the field of public administration (Wade, 1971; Goodnow, 2005; Adejuwon and Ehiane, 2011). The approach covers wide range of issues relating to the subject matter. Firstly, it saw law as the foundation of governance in which public administration is concerned with. In Nigeria, the 1999 constitution is the law of the land and governance processes are tied to legal framework. Therefore, no government authority is expected to do anything that is not provided for in the law of administration. On this note, decision making process and the implementation procedures of public policies, programmes, and projects are carried out in accordance with the guidelines or extant law. This implies that public authorities should be able to show legal warrant for what they do.

Secondly, it cherished controls of public administration and redress of administrative actions as pertinent to enforcing governance rules and procedures for achieving results. When the spirit of rule of law is allowed to collapse, large scale level of impunities and lawlessness are exhibited by some insensitive government authorities who are often

compromised transparency and public accountability. In the same vein, if the powers and actions of people occupying public authorities are not checked, the need for good governance shall be sacrificed at the altar of self-service interests. By this, most of them who are self-centred will be at the liberty to manipulate their powers of administration for selfish gains against the interest of the public. This assumption conformed to the saying that: "If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were governments, neither external nor internal controls of administration would be necessary."

In Nigeria, literature has showed that most people at the helm of affairs often do not respect administrative rules. There are also frequent cases of power abuse and power manipulation by many government officials. The Obasanjo administration unilaterally withheld the statutory funds of local government councils in Lagos State between December, 2004 and August, 2005 for political reasons and the Supreme Court order to release the funds was disobeyed (Balogun, 2005). Also, Nnocliri (2020) documented how the Buhari administration breached the federal character principles provided for in section 153 (1) (c) part 1 (8) (a) of the third schedule of the 1999 Constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria. The country has always witnessed violence and loss of lives and destruction of valuable properties through unethical behaviour of government administrators and causing more harm to the virus of poverty, insecurity, poor living standard, and retarding the national development aspirations. Hence, the application of the legal approach is helpful to reposition public administration to function according to legal framework in ensuring good governance. With application of administrative law in governance process, there will be a remarkable reduction of the siege of insecurity, poverty, unemployment, poor living conditions and abuses of office among others to boast governance in Nigeria.

3. Conceptual Issues

Available literatures on administrative law and governance issues showed myriad of definitions. Some unsettled issues about people and governance process especially in Nigeria made common definition of these concepts problematic. To fully realise the objectives of this paper, seven vital concepts, which cannot be divorced from the subject matter of study are selected for proper clarifications. These include administration, public administration, law, administrative law, and leadership; others

consist of separation of powers, rules of law, and governance.

3.1 Administration

Even though the term administration is as old as mankind, the subject has no uniform definition. Gladen as cited in Ogunna (1999) said administration means to care for, or to look after people; to manage affairs. It means that the administrator is a servant and not a master. Similarly, Adejuwon and Ehiane, (2011) maintained that administration exist whenever people cooperate to achieve the goals that involved in planning, organizing, command, coordination and control. For Osuofia (2006) administration involves the totality of activities of human and material resources used in directing and managing the organisation towards the attainment of specified goal in any organisational setting. In this regard, administration is concerned with proper organisation and utilisation of men and material to achieve the desired ends.

Nwachukwu (1999:2) was able to pinpoint three main elements of administration. First, he said people have to be present before administration can take place. Secondly, action must take place before administration can enter the picture. The third is interaction; the essence of administration is people relating to other people. According to Bhagwan and Bhushan (2006:2), administration consists of "doing the work" or "getting the work done by others." The above definition showed that administration pervades in all organisations. It showed that administration exist in both public and private domains. When it involves household, or club activities and individual organisation, it is called private administration, but when it is concerned with the activities of the state that are carried out by either the Federal, the State, or the Local Governments, it is public administration.

3.2 Public Administration

Although, public administration has myriad of definitions, the meaning of what it entails was already mentioned. In line with this paper, the prefix 'public' to administration is narrowed to a particular segment of organised society that deals with public affairs. With this, administration is seen from a governmental perspective. This referred to the machinery used for carrying out collective interest of the state. With this, one can say that public administration ideals with how a country's administration is organised and how it functions. To put it differently, it is seen as machinery for implementing government policy, programme, and

project. It therefore means that public administration will be concerned with the most efficient ways of organising, co-ordinating and controlling all the arms of government to achieve constitutional objectives of the government. It is in this perspective that public administration occupies the central ingredient in the whole of government operations (Laxmikanth, 2009: Bhagwan and Bhushan, 2006).

Importantly, this analysis saw public administration as law in action. Despite the fact that it is not naturally a legal subject, its foundation and activities have inclination of legal. Hence, Wilson (1941) defined it as detailed and systematic application of law. As government in action, public administration cannot perform its function in absence of legal framework. What the analysis also deduced is that government responses to demand of societal concern like implementation of palliatives and control for managing the corona virus also called COVID-19 pandemic are all done by public administration. By this, the outcome of governance is subjected to the dynamism of public administration. In other words, a country is good when public administration is effective. It is good when government administrators do the needful. And a country is good when public administration functions in accordance with operational guidelines.

3.3 Law

Various schools of thought considered the meaning of law differently. To achieve the need for this article, attempt is made to x-ray the general meaning of law so as to pave way for better appreciation of what administrative law entails. According to Austin (1954), law is the command of a sovereign to those under its jurisdiction with a sanction available for disobedience. This simply suggests supremacy of the law. It means that nobody is above the law of the land (*Status Populous Supreme Lex Est*). It also means that anybody that violates the law is duly punished as permitted by law. The element of command and sanction of law is also found in the Holy Bible, in Genesis 2:16-17 saying: "The Lord God gave the man this command. The Lord God said, "You may eat from any tree in the garden. But you must not eat from the tree that gives knowledge about good and evil. If you eat fruit from that tree, you must die" (Zonderan, 2000:332).

From the above, law is presented as a formal method of social control, which uses specialised procedures to create order. It creates rules to govern the relationship between individual. It also creates institution and processes; determines who can

legitimately use political power and how the power is to be used. This implies that public administration as the action side of government and its governance issues are functions of law. However, Akpotor (2015:2-3) noted the political influence on law and cited Gasiokwu who defined an unjust law is an ass and an idiot, which should be avoided. This can also be viewed as political assault to law and writs of equity. It can allow accused persons who stole several billions of naira to go on light punishment standing on alter of plea bargain. It also encourages application of the *nolle prosequi* (no longer willing to prosecute) that sets renowned criminals free. This has impetus

Therefore, each of the three branches of government (the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary) is involved in the process of developing and applying the law. This implies that the Nigerian political system rests on a legal foundation. Conflicts arising from political, economic, social, and cultural values are resolved in terms of law while the society is controlled by law to provide unity and coherence within the political process.

However, law has also been described to just or unjust. Unlike the unjust laws, most of the unjust laws are influenced by politics. As cited in Akpotor (2015:2-3), Gasiokwu posits: "An unjust law is an ass, an idiot and must be avoided. The law that allows several billions of naira thieves to go on light punishment on alter of plea bargaining is an ass, an idiot; and so, it should be jettisoned. The legal principles of *nolle prosequi* that sets renowned criminals free is an ass, an idiot and so should undergo legal surgery." Law is the principal method of control used by every political system. While the institutions of government can enforce law and to some extent create law; they are subject to the control of law.

3.4 Administrative Law or Law of Public Administration

The concept is also referred to as law of public administration. As Aghayere (2007:18) noted, Administrative law also defies almost precise definition. This is perhaps connected with range of contextual issues that public administration deals with. Foulkes (1976) saw it as a law relating to public administration. This suggests that it is concerned with the forms and constitutional provisions of public authorities with their duties, powers, and the procedures adopted in carrying them out. It also has to do with their legal relationship with one another; with the general public; and with their employees. In

line with this, Aghayere (2007) defined administrative law as the body of general principles, which govern the exercise of powers and duties by public authorities. From this, it can be deduced that the main purpose of administrative law is to keep the powers of those in government within their legal bounds in order to protect the citizens against abuse.

Wade (1971) looked at administrative law as a branch of public law, which is concerned with the composition, powers, duties rights and liabilities of the various organs of government that are engaged in the administration. The difference in this clarification is that it emphasised the functions assigned to each organ of government with their powers and procedures of exercising them. In Nigeria, the constitution empowered the legislature to make law and the executive implement the law while the judiciary interprets it. All these are aimed at achieving good governance with general good order for the country. From observation, the unnecessary wrangling arising from political issues and power struggle among the executive and the legislature especially in Nigeria's fourth republic has caused disrespect to administrative rules and gridlock for good governance.

For Oloyede (1988), clarified it as a branch of the law that vests powers in administrative agencies, imposes certain requirements on the agencies in the exercise of the powers and provide remedies against unlawful administrative acts or omissions. This implies that the major essence of administrative law is to give credence to the use of power by the public authorities. Therefore, administrative law prevents any misuse of power by the same body or any government employee while performing their duties. When any public authority does what he has no power to do or fails to do what he is expected to do; such an act or omission will attract sanction and whoever that is injured by such action or inaction shall be entitled to remedy (Akopotor, 1996). Hence, preventing injury of a citizen's rights and interest or to prevent miscarriage of justice is an essential function of administrative law.

3.5 Leadership

Like other concepts clarified in this paper, leadership has myriad of definitions. Although, Eghe (2006) also argued that to define certain persons to be leaders is hard, he clarified saw leadership as the strength and ability to at least being able to get things done, break more grounds, initiate new ideas, and influencing followers towards successful governing process of end results. Besides, Oketokun and

Adeosun (2010) cited the former Justice Chukwudifi Oputa saying that leadership is the purposeful direction of those that lead. The above clarifications presented leadership as not meant for ordinary people. It is not for sale or meant for thieves. But it is meant for people who are reasonably sensible and intelligently focussed. In other words; leadership is full of wisdom and inspiration to get things done correctly. In this sense, there is no gainsaying the fact that the characters exhibited by most of the leaderships in Nigeria are more of negative reflections of what leadership should not be.

The driving force of government is leadership. As Chibueze (2009:1) rightly puts it, "political stability is a function of good governance and it is an element of good leadership. Once it is guaranteed, the country's economy will progress steadily. Then, government will be seen as very effective. But, when leadership is weak, the chances of success for the government are always slimed. To put it differently, the inability of government to guarantee good governance indicates a failure on its part. Hence, the surge of insecurity and depressing state of poverty with political tension in Nigeria at the moment has painted government as a weak institution that is tied to bad leadership,

3.6 Separation of Powers

The theory of separation of power takes cognisance of the three arms of government; namely, the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary as the critical components in governance process. It states that in order to secure the liberty of citizens, each of the three main functions of law making, law implementation, and law interpretation should be distributed to a single organ of government to perform. Iluyomade and Eka (2007:7) noted that Baron Montesquieu who allegedly propounded it was well concerned with the preservation of political liberty when he wrote that:

"Political liberty is to be found, only when there is no abuse of power. But, constant experience shows us that every man invested with power is liable to use it, and to carry his authority as far it will go. To prevent this abuse, it is necessary from the nature of things that one power should be a check to another. When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person or body, there can no liberty. Again, there is no liberty if the judicial power is not separated from the legislative and the executive. There would be an end of everything if the same person or body, whether of the nobles or of the people, were to exercise all three powers."

From the above, the business of government is meant to be divided among the three arms. One arm is allowed to exercise only one function. Also, each of the three arms is to exist independently and no one arm should claim to be superior over the others. However, Akpotor (1996) and Aghayere (2007) agreed that no one of these organs should claim superiority over the others. But, in Nigeria, the executive has in the recent times, wielded domineering powers over the other arms of government. Hence, in reality, it can be argued that no water-tight separation of powers in the country. This is in line the views of Iluyomade and Eka (2007) who posited that a very rigid and complete separation of power is near impossible as it is doubtful whether any system of government has ever achieved such an end.

3.7 Rule of Law

This concept has to do with the doctrine that the “safety of people is the supreme law” (*Salus Populi Est Suprma Lex*). Although, the concept of rule of law is capable of several meanings, the paper is concerned with the useful aspect to the issue under study. Friedrich, (1940) described it as the responsiveness of government to the people on the basis of legal framework. Similarly, Akpotor (2015) said the rule of law is used to curb the misrule or the excessive use of power of the people in government. As cited in Aghayere (2007:34), Albert Venn Dicey identified three canons of rule of law. First, it means absolute supremacy of law. This suggests that the all persons are equal before the law. Second, it implies that all persons are subject to the law. In this sense, the rule of law is opposed to the use of arbitrary powers. And third, it means that the freedom of all individuals to be protected from arbitrary interference. In this case, there should be constant maintenance of law and order. To put it differently, there will be appreciable conditions of living and national development where things are done in accordance with rules.

However, in recent times, there is an increasing allegation of rule violation against many top government functionaries in Nigeria. As Akpotor (2015:111-112) pointed out, “The Obasanjo presidency of 1999-2007 was a mirage for lack of respect for rule of law and constitutionality in the conduct of governance. Under Obasanjo, the executive was interpreting court judgement in the manners suitable to it only. His third term bid made him to turn Ribadu led Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to a tool of political vendetta.” Also, Akintola (2011) noted that the then

EFCC Chairman, Nuhu Ribadu wrote letters to States’ Attorney General (SAG) asking them to cede their powers under the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to him, which is ultra vires to both the EFCC and the SAG.

Drawing from the above, it is a bit more disturbing that top government officials violate the rule of law. With this, how realistic will it be to logically pursue governance by the government whose machinery of implementing policies, programmes and projects has been infected with the unpopular culture of self-service? Is it not a mere beer-parlour discussion for government to initiate anti-corruption crusade or talk about effective public administration when administrative is politically encumbered? It is in this regards that Omolehin (2020:7) cited the Governor of Sokoto State, Aminu Waziri Tambuwal saying “people have entrusted us with their lives and property’ anything that concerns government should be that which concerns the people and not politicians.”

3.8 Governance

The term ‘governance’ covers a wide range of issues. This makes thinkers to attempt it myriad of definitions. In this part, the clarification of governance is attempted in line with the goals of this paper. Chibueze (2009) described governance as the task of government. It involves the proper utilisation of human and material resources to provide the security and welfare needs of citizens. In this sense, governance is presented as being concerned with all the functions of government. The erstwhile United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annah cited in Otu (2017:37) aptly held that governance has to do with the “observance of rule of law, effective state institutions, transparency and accountability in the management of all citizens’ affairs in the political process, and decisions affecting their lives.” In this case, governance is connected with the use of law and the manner in which political power is exercised in the management of individual and political system through the institution of government.

Olowu, Hyden-Williams, and Soremekun (1995) described governance as regime types and the process in which government carryout business; the character and relationship that exist between the government and its people. This presented governance as a benchmark for determining the environment of political, social, cultural, and economic lives of people and evaluating the responsiveness and direction of government towards the realisation of the will of the state (Pierre, 2000; Rhodes, 2012).

According to World Bank (2002) governance is the way and manner of exercising power to manage the socio-economic resources of a political system with a view to solving its development demands and the challenges of the citizens. From the above, governance is about the people. It is preoccupied with security and welfare of people in a country and government responses.

From the foregoing, the hub nub of governance is couched into development. It covers all issues of social, economic, political, and cultural facets. It tends to raise questions and attempt answers on the state the nation. But, the narrative has been that Nigeria is under the siege of insecurity; majority of Nigeria population lives in poverty; one third of Nigeria children never enrolled in school; stream of unemployment; and yet, the government tolerates institutionalisation of self-service culture in governance and questionable acquisition of many trillion-naira mansions by many public looters. This supported the view of the ASUU National President, Professor Biodun Ogunyemi cited in Oyero (2020:7) that:

“What we are trying to do now is a crash model - an experimental approach. We want to experiment with the lives of Nigerians - children of the poor. Many of us in my bracket - maybe middle class - our children don't fall into that category. And that is probably why we cannot appreciate why we need to do the basic minimum. Are we saying that we should open schools without decontaminating the schools? For a government that could go openly to decontaminate streets, to decontaminate markets? Are lives in the schools not as valuable as those walking on the streets? We need to do the basic minimum. It is not about income for teachers, income for workers here. It's about what we need to do to avert disaster.”

Substantiating, Inyang (2020:3) rightly pinpointed the Governor of Kogi State, Yahaya Bello saying that “Politicians are playing games with Nigerians on COVID-19 pandemic. Let us stop this game. Nigerians are suffering. Instead of the lockdown with its attendant negative effects on the people; why can't we turn it into employment opportunities, providing clothes for face masks to be exported to those countries that have the disease?” The above analysis has presented a fair picture of the epileptic status of governance system in Nigeria.

4. Control of Administration

The term ‘control of administration,’ is a process of devising mechanism to keep administration under a

close watch and proper check. Among others, control process makes public servants to be committed, transparent, or answerable to different government agencies in the exercise of their functions. Laxmikanth (2009) said it engenders government officials to exercise their powers and discretions within the established framework. This is related to the views of authors of the Federalist No.51 cited in Ujo (1999:54) that:

“If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to be government, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government, which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulties are this, you must be first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place allows it to control itself.”

The above view fairly captured the status of human imperfection. It is an indication that without control measure, the commitment of public servants to duties will go below epileptic. Hence, quite numbers of control mechanism particularly the internal and external types are in myriad of kinds. Whichever variety that is applied is meant to enforce rule of law, promote commitment, transparency, accountability, and prevent disservice of people entrusted to carry out the functions of government. With regards to this paper, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial control mechanisms are captured for discussion.

4.1 The Executive Control

As observed by Monterio (1996), executive control of administration is important for the positive development, enforcement of standards, and safeguards in the operation of large departments within government institutions. Gladden (1953:18) identified political direction, budgetary system, and recruitment system as the three essential control of administration by the executive. The political direction plays role in the policy making. In Nigeria, the chief executive determines the general lines of administrative actions. A minister at the federal level or a commissioner at the level of the state is the political head of every ministry with an oversight power of direction, control, and supervision in accordance with the provision of the constitution.

The executive control via budget preparation, sources of income determination, and provision of the various amount of expenditure to every government department as permitted by law. In other words, all departments of the public sectors with regards to their financial and manpower needs are often being directed by the executive. Besides, the executive

exercises control over administration via its power to hire and fire public servants as directed by law. In Nigeria, the President is obliged to seek the approval of the Senate and this has almost become a mere formality in making very sensitive key appointments, but the executive is vested with exclusive power it removes a person of bad character from public service (Ekhaton, 2003:107).

4.2 The Legislative Control

The legislature exercises control over administration to hold it accountable and responsible to the people (Laxmijanth, 2009:202). By this, it controls administration through law-making process. The legislature could create a new department to give effect to a specific law enacted by the Parliament. Bhagwan and Bhushan (2006) maintain that the legislature controls administration when it creates new powers, functions, procedures, and changes for administration. Its budgetary control makes it possible for administration to exercise caution on public expenditure. Apart from the passes of annual budget and authorises expenditure, it ensures that no money can be spent by the executive or other arms of administration without authorisation of the legislature. To put it differently, the legislature exercises control of the national purse via close analysis and definition of the activities that every department may undertake with cost implications. This is synonymous to the saying that; “one who plays the piper dictates the tune.” When the budget is before the parliament, the members get an opportunity to review the performance of the extant administration. Thus, the debates and discussions are to examine and scrutinise the activities of the various governmental agencies to control their excesses and activate them for efficiency (Goel, 2008).

4.3 Judicial Control

The power of judicial control of administration is embedded in law. The judiciary is recognised as the guardian of the rights of people. It protects these rights from every possibility of individual and public encroachments (Goel (2008). In the word of White (1983:321), “it is an accepted axiom that the real kernel of democracy lies in the Courts enjoying the ultimate authority to restrain the exercise for absolute and arbitrary power.” Therefore, without some kinds of judicial control administrative over authorities and their actions, they may violate rules or commit excesses (*ultra vires*), and their conducts may degenerate into arbitrary burdens that would be inimical to governance. Ekhaton, 2003) maintained that the judicial control over administration ensures

legality of the officials and their actions. Aghayere (2007:51-54) identified constitutional and statutory review alongside with public and private remedies as possible methods employed by judicial control of administration in Nigeria.

4.3.1 Constitutional Review

By virtue of section 1 (1) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the supreme law of the land is the constitution. Section 6 (1) vested the powers to interpret laws on the judiciary. It is within the purview of the courts to declare as unlawful any legislation or administrative act, which is contrary to the commandment or prohibition of the constitution. Also included in this jurisdiction are the actions, orders, rules, or regulations of all government agencies. In other words, the judiciary ensures proper adherence to principles of fair hearing (*Audi Alteram Partem*) and rules against interest and bias (*Nemo Judex Casua Sua*) as recognised in its section 33. When anyone believes that his constitutional rights have been violated or injured by any administrative action, he can seek and receives remedy or redress from the courts.

4.3.2 Statutory

This is where abridgement of constitutional right is not alleged and not concerned with statutory authorisation for appeal to the courts. In this case, statute may provide that in a specific type of administrative action or decision, the aggrieved person will have the right of appeal to the courts. Under this circumstance, many courses of actions are available to the injured or aggrieved person. Basically, public and private remedies are available in judicial control of administration. The public remedy is required for criminal prosecution of public officers; the private remedy is concerned with civil suit against public officers. While the government may be immune from suit, its officials are not always. They are answerable for wrongs committed in the course of their official duties. As noted in Aghayere (2007:52-53), the possible common law writs that are employed by the judiciary to review administrative actions consist of writs of certiorari; mandamus; prohibition habeas corpus and equity. These writs of remedies can be classified into preliminary, preventive, and mandatory.

4.3.2.1 Writ of Certiorari

This is a prerogative writ which is issued from a superior court to a named court of inferior

jurisdiction commanding it to certify and return to the higher court of record of a particular case. This writ is one of the most valuable and effective remedies derived from the common law. It is used to review the procedures of inferior courts officer, boards or tribunals. In this case, the administrative department is considered as a lower tribunal exercising judicial function.

4.3.2.2 Writ of Mandamus

This is an action of judicial proceedings of a civil nature in which a writ is used in the name of the state to an inferior tribunal, a corporation, board, or a person commanding them to perform certain act, which the law specifically demands as a duty of an office. In other words, it happens under circumstances of duty failure. Discretionary functions are not inclusive and hence, the particular method of performance will not be specified.

4.3.2.3 Writ of Prohibition

This is the process by which a superior court prevents inferior courts officer from exercising a jurisdiction; they have not been permitted by law.

4.3.2.4 Writ of Habeas Corpus

This is the most familiar and most important of all the common law writs. It is directed to a person who is detaining another. It commands him to produce the person being detained at a given time and place. This writ also requests the party detaining to do, or to submit to, or receive whatever the court may consider best.

4.3.2.5 Equity Writ

This writ is also called writ of injunction. It demands an act, which the court regards as essential to justice or restrains an act, which the court believes to be contrary to fairness and good conscience. This writ is concerned with preliminary, preventive, and mandatory. Thus, they are all used to prevent action before it happens; and then ruling for address.

5 Administrative Law and the State of Governance in Nigeria

Pope John Paul II once said: “A good government requires accurate controls and complete honesty in all socio-economic transactions. In no way can it be permitted that resources intended for the public good are used for other interests of a private or even criminal nature” (Chibueze, 2009). The issue raised

in this part is assessed in twofold. The first fold takes a look at how administrative law is related to the governance system in Nigeria. The second fold assesses the present state of governance in Nigeria.

5.1 The Stance of Administrative Law in Governance System of Nigeria

As a law of public administration, administrative law is an inevitable force that drives the wheel of governance via public administration. If governance is a function of government and the body of government that carries out its function is public administration; the instrument that controls and regulates public administration is administrative law. Therefore, administrative law cannot be divorced from governance system. When failure of government functions is blamed on the inept and indiscipline of public administration; it amounts to treating an ailment and leaving its causes. Administrative law protects citizens against administrative abuse of public administration and it keeps the powers of government agencies engaging in governance process within their legal bounds (Iluyomade and Eka, 2007).

Drawing from the fact that governance is well concerned with the observance of the rule of law, effective management of state institutions in transparency and accountability for proper response to citizens. The legal instrument that regulates and controls the actions, duties, powers, rights, and authorities of public administration to keep it within legal bounds while implementing policies, programmes, and projects towards addressing the issues of security, health, education, economic, technology with social infrastructures like roads, water, and electricity including the management and control of the ongoing global outbreak corona virus pandemic disease among others functions is administrative law. Viewing from this sense, it is sensible to maintain that there is a strong relationship between the role played by administrative law and the governance system in Nigeria. If administrative given enabling environment to exercise its functions, the performance of public administration will be impressive (Akpotor, 2015; and Aghayere, 2007).

5.2. State of Governance in Nigeria

Section 14 (2) (b) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria assigned the functions of security and welfare of citizens to government. These functions are fragmented to various policy frameworks, programmes, and projects to achieve the constitutional objectives. In other words, public

administration and the watch of administration law is responsible for carrying out every government policy, project, or programme. If governance process is the function of government, then, an assessment of state of government is to determine the degree of security and welfare of citizens in Nigeria at the moment. It is also an attempt to underscore the level of commitment of administrative law in making public administration to be alive to its responsibility. Besides, it is an effort to deduce the level of supports enjoyed by administrative law from the government in ensuring proper performance of its constitutional obligations.

To logically assess the state of governance in Nigeria, the level of security and welfare of citizens will be looked at. The choice is based on the fact that peace, good order, progress, and meaningful development is impossible in a country that is insecure and corrupt. Two tables were adapted to present data for discreet analysis of the current state of governance in Nigeria.

Table 1 contained data on corruption perception index while table 2 presented data on the state of local security network in Nigeria. This will show the level of government supports to administrative law or the public administration that makes things happen in government. This is in line with the common view that if government is determined and has done the needful, none of its machinery or agent that will not be effective.

Table 1 below presented a corruption perception index to assess the state of present governance in Nigeria. It provides precise information on the level of efficiency and effectiveness of administrative law and the commitment of leadership, and nature of public administration and the stance of government in its constitutional functions. The corruption perception index released by Transparency International from 2000 to 2019 was utilised because it captured almost the period of this Nigeria’s fourth republic.

Table 1: Nigeria’s Corruption Perception Index From 2000 to 2019

S/N	Year of Survey	No. of Countries Captured	Position	Number of County Below	Scores
1	2000	90	90	0	0.6
2	2001	91	90	1	2.0
3	2002	102	101	1	1.6
4	2003	133	132	1	2.0
5	2004	145	144	1	1.8
6	2005	158	152	6	2.0
7	2006	163	142	21	2.3
8	2007	179	147	32	2.4
9	2008	180	121	59	2.7
10	2009	180	130	50	2.5
11	2010	178	134	44	2.4
12	2011	182	143	39	2.4
13	2012	178	135	43	2.7
14	2013	174	136	38	2.7
15	2014	175	136	39	2.7
16	2015	168	136	32	2.6
17	2016	176	136	40	2.8
18	2017	180	148	32	2.8
19	2018	180	144	36	2.7
20	2019	180	146	34	2.6

Source: Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, 2000-2019; Ibekwe (2014); Idada (2018); Nwafor (2019); Usigbe, 2019; Adepegba (2020); and Oikhala and Osifo (2020)

Data presented from table 1 above showed depressing issues on governance process in Nigeria. Going by the data, the long and short of the story is that the state of governance under the Nigeria’s fourth republic is in a comatose. It denotes the epileptic nature of administrative law and a type of public administration that is highly institutionalised corruption self-service in Nigeria. With this, the Nigerian public authorities are working into their personal pockets at the awful detriment of public goodwill, safety, welfare, progress, and good order of citizens and the country generally. Repeatedly, both

the past and present Nigeria leaderships have always shown concerned over the deplorable status of epileptic governance and high venoms of ravaging corruption in Nigeria with little or no appreciable efforts to curb them. During his campaign rally Port-Harcourt, the Presidential candidate of the All Progressive Congress (APC), Major General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd) cited in Onoye (2015:8) expressed worries that “if we don’t kill corruption, this corruption will kill us. If you make a mistake of voting PDP, I assure you, you will regret it.” The data showed that the surge of corruption during his

ongoing tenure is even worsened. Obasanjo (2007) maintained that pursuance of government contracts has become the priority of public officers in Nigeria. But, his administration also failed in reducing the high level of corruption. Similarly, the allegation of the Minister of Niger Delta Affairs, Godswill Akpabio during NDDC public hearing on Monday 20th July 2020 said: “We all know that most of the contracts from NDDC were awarded to members of the National Assembly” showed the level of government support for institutionalisation of corruption and self-service in Nigerian public service (Adedapo, Gbadebo, and Ukaibe, 2020:5). In the same vein, Osiganjo (2016) alleged that all public institutions in Nigeria involved in corruption implicated the government insincerity in fighting the surge of corruption in Nigeria. Also, the allegation made by the National Publicity Secretary of the Peoples’ Democratic Party (PDP) Kola Ologbondiyan that was documented in Adejokun and Usigbe (2020:1&11) that it is a national embarrassment that “under an administration by the same leader who wears the medal as African Union (AU) Anti-Corruption Champion and whose government boasts of zero-tolerance for corruption, our nation now ranks as fourth most corrupt country in West Africa and one of the leading most corrupt

countries of the world;” is another testimony that Nigeria leadership needed to concentrate on how to genuinely fight corruption and selfish ambition in government service than to make noise. As revealed in this paper, the view of Gowon (2002) that no matter how much we may yearn for unity and all that; we are not going to achieve unity, peace, or development, and good governance by merely talking about them; when the culture national unity, rule of law, enforcement of law, and issues of governance are being influenced and frustrated by the Nigerian political gladiators is sacrosanct.

Table 2 below is used to present data on the state of internal security in Nigeria. The period covered was between January 2015 and June 2020. The choice was based on the opinion of Alemika (2013) that a country is good when its internal security is effective. The internal security is effective when life and property are not threatened. Besides, the internal security is effective when a country is governed according to law. Also, attention was paid to violent crimes such as the massacre of Boko Haram Islamic sect and the carnage of the Fulani herdsmen. Other banditries such as kidnapping, gender violent against women and children were all captured for reason of their regular happenings at the moment.

Table 2: Analysis of Internal Security Network on State of Governance Process in Nigeria between January 2015 and June 2020

Months/Year	Number of Death Recorded and Burnt Churches	Sources of Incident
Jan-June, 2018	1, 750 Christians, Non-Muslims	Herdsmen and Boko Haram
Jan 2015- May 2018	8,800 Christians Killed	Boko Haram Insurgents
Jan 2015-Jun 2019	1,014 Christians Killed	Security Forces
Jan 2015-Jun 2019	1, 130 Members of Shiite Muslim Set	Security Forces
Jan 2015-May 2018	Over 1,000 Churches Burnt	Boko Haram Insurgents
Jan 2015-May 2019	Over 1,209 Security Forces Killed	Boko Haram Insurgents
Jun 2015-May 2018	25,794 People Killed Across States of Nigeria	Herdsmen/Boko Haram/Bandits
Jan 2015-May 2019	15,984 People Killed in Zamfara State	Herdsmen/Boko Haram/Bandits
Jun 2015-May 2019	9,691 People Killed in Borno State	Herdsmen/Boko Haram/Bandits
Jun 2015-May 2019	5,552 People Killed Benue State	Herdsmen/Boko Haram/Bandits
Jun 2015-May 2019	1,529 Killed in Adamawa State	Herdsmen/Boko Haram/Bandits
Jun 2015-May 2019	1,520 People Killed in Kaduna State	Herdsmen/Boko Haram/Bandits
Jun 2015-May 2019	1,683 People Killed in Plateau State	Herdsmen/Boko Haram/Bandits
Jun 2015-May 2019	730 People Killed in Rivers State	Herdsmen and Armed Bandits
Jun 2015-May 2019	649 People Killed in Taraba State	Herdsmen/Boko Haram/Bandits
Jun 2015-May 2019	467 {people Killed in Cross Rivers State	Herdsmen and Armed Bandits
Jun 2015-May 2019	301 People Killed in Ogun State	Herdsmen and Armed Bandits
Jun 2015-May 2019	252 People Killed in Niger State	Herdsmen/Boko Haram/Bandits
Jan 2018 -Jun 2019	Over 2.392 People Killed in Yobe State	Herdsmen/Boko Haram/ Bandits
Jan 2020-May 2020	717 Rape Cases Reported to Police in 5 Months	Violent against Women /Children
Jan 2015-Feb 2020	11,500 Christian Killed in North East	Boko Haram Insurgents
Jan 2015-Feb 2020	12,000 Christians Killed in North Central	Herdsmen and Armed Bandits
Jan 2017-May,2 2020	2,539 Nigerians Killed in 654 Attacks and 253 Kidnapped Across Nigeria	Herdsmen and Armed Bandits
Mar 10 – June 2020	3,600 Rape during COVID-19 Pandemic Lockdown Across Nigeria	Violent against Women /Children
Jan 2020-April, 2020	1,400 People Killed Across Nigeria	Armed Bandits/Political Violence
Jan 2020–April, 2020	1,416 People Killed-Civilian 1,141; 275 Security Agents	Boko Haram Insurgents
Mar,2020 Crime Track	Killed in Plateau 92; Niger 90; Kogi 48; Benue 19; Nasarawa 4; kano 1	Herdsmen/Bandits/Kidnapping

Mar,2020 Crime Track	Killed in Delta 54; Edo; Rivers 24; Bayelsa 19; Cross River 12, Akwa Ibom 5	Kidnapping/Cult/Violence Bandits
Mar,2020 Crime Track	In Ondo 15 People Killed; Lagos 14; Ogun 8; Ekiti 5; Oyo 4; Osun 3	Armed Bandits/Violence/Cult
Mar,2020 Crime Track	In Anambra 18 People Killed; Abia 12; Ebonyi 11; Imo 4	Herdsmen/Violence Bandits
Mar,2020 Crime Track	In Bornu 342 People Killed; Yobe 72; Taraba 34; Adamawa 21; Bauchi 1	Boko Haram/Herdsmen/Bandits
Mar,2020 Crime Track	In Kaduna 198 Killed; Kastina 139; Zamfara 77; Sokoto 22; Kano 10, Jigawa 3	Boko Haram/ Herdsmen/Bandits

Source: Allen (2019); Ezezi (2019); Adetayo (2020); Aborishade (2020) Akinloye, (2020); Adeoye and Alagbe (2016); Idada (2018); Oikhala and Osifo (2020)

Data from table 2 showed that Nigeria is under the siege of insecurity. Apart from indication of paucity of local security implementation policy, it showed high level of disregard to rule of law. All of these implicated the irresponsiveness of government to the basic needs of people. Hence, Nigerians are forced into sleeping with their two eyes wide opened and they continue to live in fears and mercy of terrorists, bandits, rapists, and kidnapers. Governance is about government response to citizens' security and welfare. But, what will be the value of government that cannot protect its citizens? How possible is governance in Nigeria with paucity of internal security? What business can anyone transact in an unsafe environment? Which reasonable investors will be ready to establish business in a country dominated with insurgents? The above issues supported the wise saying that "it is only a mad man that stands on the path of a moving train." In other words, Okechukwu as cited in Adejokun and Usigbe (2020:1&11) said that Nigeria needed to interrogate how it conducted the business of security in the country. It needed to question why government should be investing heavily on trader moni, when there is no money to adequately fund the security agencies. As Amodu, Olatunji, Usigbe, Osadabamwen and Akintola (2020:7) documented, the President of the Senate, Ahmad Lawan, said "as we represent people here, we must not shy away from what affects their lives. The reality is that today, the security of our people is the issue that concerns almost every single Nigerian." This is how best to admit the fact that the state of insecurity should be given a better and purposeful urgent attention. If this ugly trend is urgently addressed, it is not the present depressing state of governance that will be worsened, but the survival of Nigeria will be threatened.

6. The Challenges of Administration Law and Governance System of Nigeria

The forces militating against law of administration in governance system of Nigeria are just like a deep forest with very deep-rooted trees. But, when the issues confronting the enforcement of administrative

rules in relation to governance process in Nigeria are raised, many thinkers used to identify corruption, indiscipline, poor observance and enforcement of law, poor accountability and transparency and so forth. Even as these claims are not meant for debate; the focus in this part is to attempt discussion on the issues considered to be more pathetically significant.

One of these worrisome factors, which obstructed the enforcement of laws relating to governance system, is the desecration of cultural and national values including the public service in Nigeria. The politicians have recently turned Nigerian streets into a battle-field in the pursuit of their political agenda. There is no day passes without a report of political killing and these notorious killers are being shield by their sponsors (political godfathers). Thus, it has all been tales of woes, imperfections, and regrets for common Nigerians. Its effects have caused the current state of insecurity, corruption, hardship, and loss of cultural and national values. Worst still, those elected leaders who persuasively preached the gospel of peace, rule of law, security, progress, eradication of poverty, employment opportunities, good order and enabling environment for equal opportunities and good governance are the least committed to such ideas. In the sense of it, many politicians can move through twenty-one different political parties in twenty-one years just to hijack governance and siphon public treasury into their own pockets without any slightest touch. Hence, Nigeria has become where a politician will be canvassing for electorate support in a campaign rally with a promise that "once you join the ruling party, your sins are forgiven" (Nwafor, 2019). When the political gladiators are turning Nigeria into a theatre of fiasco, corruption, vendetta, injustice, self-help, abuse law and due process among others, how will it possible for administrative to be effective? Or will such environment promote a purposeful public administration? With above situation, the dream of administrative law for a purposeful governance and national development are being compromised. The syndrome of tribalism and nepotism is another factor that militates against enforcement of law of

public administration in governance process of Nigeria. Today, the syndrome of “me first” is fast eroding the culture of national unity in Nigeria. This personal interest has interjected the public interest that public administration is known for. In fact, it is not difficult to find in Nigeria’s environment, the overbearing of ethnic-divides, religion-divides as well as the spirit of “man-know-man” in Nigerian public service. The effects of all these have not to only make the role of administrative law a burden of woes to the governance process; but it has slowed down the pace of development efforts in Nigeria.

The depressing state of economy of Nigeria is a huge challenge of law of public administration on governance issues. Available literature showed that governance and economy cannot be divorced. Both determine the pace of the development or retardation. If the economy will remain stagnant, it will reflect on the machineries of governance. When a country state of economy is under depression and the citizens are being subjected to suffer from basic needs. Thus, to wallop in a stream of insecurity, unemployment, poverty, underemployment, low capita income, poor quality of life, and hectic and recurrent economic recession are indication of bad governance and a status of depressing economy. This is in tandem with view of President Muhammadu Buhari cited in Usigbe (2019:7) that: “when I drive around the country, what upsets me more is the status of poor people in this country. You see young, the so-called Almajiris with torn dresses with plastic bowl. They are looking basically for what to eat.” Except the level of hardship is addressed, the possible for proper administration of law of administration in governance process is always counter-productive as people struggle between hand and mouth for survival.

The absence of true leadership and followership in Nigeria is another titanic challenge to law of public administration in the governance system of Nigeria. At the moment, there is no gainsaying the fact that many leaders are being consumed with the paraphernalia of public office and dazzled by the glamour. What will be the result of governance in where a leader is appealing for public looters and other criminal elements to join a ruling party for their sins to be forgiven? Or what type of governance is feasible when religion and traditional leaders continue to accept donations and award chieftaincy titles to honour people alleged for corruption. Also, what nature of governance is possible when electorates now cast vote on the basis of vote-buying? Or when the law allowed a plea bargain for looters of public funds, or amnesty for boko haram terrorists; and immunity for people mismanaging the

Nigeria economy? All these are in line with the view of Yar’Adua (2007:4) that “nobody in Nigeria deserves the right to be protected by law when looting public funds.” But, there cannot be leadership without followership. The character of most of the Nigerian followership is so gullible and docile. They are uninterested to challenge the looting habits of their leadership. Instead, they allowed the leaders to deceive them cheaply with inconsequential gifts of even food items and a mere stipend to throw their conscience into the dustbins to support bad leaders to continue to loot the public treasuries for at the detriment of good conscience, common good and good governance in Nigeria. Whatever happens, it is unreasonable to excuse leadership from the centre of blame when issues of breakdown of law of public administration and lapses on governance in Nigeria are being experienced as shown in this paper. The integrity of leadership lies on its ability to apply due process to get things done and secure the goodwill of the citizens and to utilise the human and natural resources at the disposal of government.

On a final note, the failure of government in Nigeria is a serious challenge for administrative law with regards to governance process in Nigeria. The inability of government to guarantee enabling environment has compromised the function of administrative law towards governance process in the country. Therefore, proper implementation of policies, programmes, and projects designed to achieve the security and welfare of Nigerians are being undermined. If a government is not of the people and for the people; that government labours in vain even if it is by the people. Good government requires accurate controls and complete sincerity in transacting the affairs of Nigeria. What effectiveness is possible for administrative law towards a governance process when the government permitted that resources intended for public good be used for other interests of a private or even for settlement of boko haram terrorists? Or is there any hope of effectiveness for administrative law for governance when a government allowed the fraudulent use of public funds and deprived the citizens of the basic services in Nigeria.

7. Conclusion and the Way Forward

In recent times, the governance crisis in Nigeria has begun to develop into endemic proportion that is drawing global attention. There is no day passes now in Nigeria without hearing allegation of one form of administrative abuse or another against many public authorities. Funds budgeted for palliatives, infrastructures and other developmental projects in

Nigeria are continuously reported to have been cornered into individual pockets. However, the situation even become more sad when a government that is unable to fund its security agencies to curb the frightening insecurity; fails to provide employment opportunities for the teeming unemployed youths; and unable to provide the essential amenities required to improve the suffering of the masses decided to tolerate the siphoning of funds from public treasury and questionable acquisition of mansions worth about several trillions of naira by a privileged public servants. The governance process has been weighed down with such sorrowful venoms of intolerable corrupt leadership as well as the defective nature of all institutions of governance in Nigeria. In turn, these have incidentally manifested into the heighten struggle for power in quest to satisfy individual interest. Besides, it has led to the atrocious level of insecurity, stream of poverty, surge of corruption, disregard of administrative rules and prevalence of high state of depression or charming economic recession in Nigeria. The paper therefore, concluded that the functions of administrative law had ingredient and potential for a purposeful governance system in Nigeria. However, it was deficiently applied for reasons of leadership and followership failures to produce a friendly political environment, which will accommodate the utilisation of administrative law on governance issues in Nigeria; hence, governance is in an epileptic condition. There is a common saying that “when the head is sick, the body becomes weak. What is feasible in a country with fraught and epileptic institutions of leadership and followership is to have a police state whereby a selected ruling class will conspire with the docile and gullible followership to undermine the popular interests and encumbered the structures of governance.

Based on the conclusion of this paper, the way forward is very simple and straightforward. The way forward is twofold. The first is for Nigeria to have a good leadership. The second is for Nigeria to have a good followership. To practically solve the functional issues of administrative law and governance process in Nigeria, both institutions of leadership and followership should urgently undergo a fruitful rebranding exercise for a positive change.

A good leadership is known for its great courage and resilience to get things done correctly and produce results against all odds. This is why a good leadership is always result-focused on proper functioning of things in the polity. This is also why a good leadership is very creative to easily detect new ideas for purposeful governance. Hence, a good leadership

does not compromise the truth. In other words, a good leadership does not witch-hunt, victimise, or stomach any grudge and other elements against political opponents or those who criticise his actions. Because, a good leadership is honest and upright, it operates people-oriented system of government where transparency and accountability are the watch word. With this, there will be no public sector that will be defective in performance.

There is a need to urgently reposition the institution of followership in Nigeria. Every society deserves the kind of leader it gets. Hence, all actions of leadership are supported by followership in one way or the other. A bad follower would prefer to support a bad leader. Therefore, followership across the various religion bodies, traditional institutions, and other social groups should stop shielding bad leadership. A leader that has made millions of unfulfilled campaigns promises over and over again should not be supported for re-election. The followers should resist political godfatherism. Apart from the havoc it causing through the unholy act of ritual killings, kidnappings, other carnage and hooliganism, which have recently desecrated human and cultural values, the funds budgeted for security and provision of other socio-economic welfare of citizens are being diverted into the pockets of political godfathers. Worst still, the political godfathers deprived the followership from enjoying their voting rights, stewardship and accountability from the leadership. The followership should stop being economical with truth. It is a person that wears a shoe that knows where it pinches. It is the followers that know the level of hardship, insecurity, joblessness, poor healthcare, malnutrition, and many others. The followers should urgently wakeup from their slumbering and take bull by the horn by withdrawing support from leaders who are responsible for their suffering. They should know that no one borrows waist to dance and everyone dances with the waist he has. For this reason, the followers should not involve in any illegal means of self-help, violence, protest, and election-boycott to present their election their grievances. The voter card should be utilised to vote out bad leadership in Nigeria.

References

- Aborishade, S. (2020). 3, 600 rape cases recorded during lockdown - says Minister. *The Punch Newspaper Tuesday, July 14*
- Adedapo, A. Gbadebo, B. and Ukaibe, C. (2020). Lawmakers go most of NDDC contracts – Akpabio. *Leadership Newspaper, Tuesday, July 21*

- Adesomoyu, A (2020), Kyari: NBA Chairman, others, sues Buhari, LGF for violation of COVID-19 regulations. *The Punch Newspaper, Thursday April, 30*
- Adejokun, S. and Usigbe, L. (2020). Nigeria falls to 146 on corruption index. *Nigerian Tribune, Friday, January 24*
- Adetayo, O. (2020). Nigeria recorded 717, Rape incidence in five month - IG. *The Punch Newspaper, Tuesday June 16*
- Adeniji, G. (2020). No state is safe, secure anymore, says Obasanjo. *The Punch Newspaper, Saturday, June 27*
- Adejokun, S. and Usigbe, L (2020). Nigeria falls to 146 on corruption index. *Nigerian Tribune, Friday, January, 24*
- Adejuwon, D. K., and Ehiane, S. O., (2011). *Public Administration: An Introduction*. Lagos: Mozec Publications
- Adeoye, G, and Alagbe, J. (2016). Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen kill over 3,000 under Buhari. *The Punch Newspaper, Sunday October 16*
- Deegan, A. (2020). Nigeria ranks 146 in corruption index, slips two places. *The Punch Newspaper, Sunday, February 23*
- Dirigible, S. (1999). *Basic Approach to Government*. Lagos: Joja Educational Research and Publishers Limited
- Aghayere, V.O. (2007). *The Law Relating to Public Administration in Nigeria: An Introduction*. Benin-city: Imprint Service
- Akinloye, B. (2020). Fulani Herdsmen killed 2,539 Nigerians in 654 attacks between 2017 and May 2, 2020: Report. *The Punch Newspaper, Thursday, June 7*
- Akopotor, S.A. (1996). *Administrative Action and the Law*. Lagos: Oshioke Yakubu (Nigeria) Enterprises
- Akopotor, S.A. (2015). *Politics and Law: African Perspectives Revised and Expanded 6th Edition*. Benin-City: Mindex Publishing Co. Ltd
- Alemika E. O. (2013). *Criminal Victimization, Policing, and Governance in Nigeria*. Lagos: Cleen Foundation
- Allen, N. (2019). How Boko Haram has regained the Initiative and what Nigeria should do to stop it. *Commentary/Council on Foreign Relations Nigeria Security Tracker/Armed Conflict Event and Location Dataset, Tuesday, December 24*
- Allenworth D. (1973). *Public Administration: The Executive Public Policy*. USA: J.B. Lippincott Company
- Amodu, T. Olatunji, J.S. Usigbe, L. Osadabamwen, O. and Akintola, K. (2020). Insecurity: Reps want service chiefs removed. *Nigerian Tribune, Thursday, January 30*
- Balogun, S. (2005). Nigeria: Local Government Funds: Obasanjo, a lawless leader says AD. *This Day Newspaper, Thursday, March 3*
- Bhagwan, V. and Bhushan, V. (2006). *Public Administration*. New Delhi: S. Chand and ‘ Company Ltd
- Chibueze, E.I. (2009). *Governance and Economic Development*. Lagos: Pat-De-Askido Ltd
- Ekhaton, V. E. (2003). *Rudiments of Public Administration*. Kaduna: Joyce Graphic Printers and Publishers
- Eneanya, A. N. (2010). *Public Administration in Nigeria Principles, Techniques and Applications*. Lagos: Concept Publishers
- Erezi, D. (2019). Death toll in Kaduna killing rises to 130 as police arrests 11 suspects. *Guardian Newspaper, Wednesday, February 19*
- Foulkes, D.(1976). *Introduction to Administrative Law*. London: Butterworth and Co. Limited
- Friedrich, C. J. (1940). *Public Policy and the Nature of Administrative Responsibility*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Goel, S. L. (2008). *Public Administration: Theory and Practice*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publication Ltd
- Ibekwe, N. (2014). Nigeria is World’s 15th Most Corrupt Nation - Transparency International. *Premium Times Newspaper, Thursday, December 4*
- Idada, W. (2018). *Public Policy and Development in Nigeria (Edited Vol.)* Benin-City: Ever Blessed Publishers
- Iluyomade, B.O. and Eka, B.U. (2007). *Cases and Materials on Administrative Law in Nigeria, Second Edition*. Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press Limited
- Inyang, I. (2020). COVID-19: Let us stop this game. Nigerians are suffering – Gov Yahaya Bello. *Daily Post Newspaper, Thursday, July 2*
- Laxmikanth, M. (2009). *Public Administration: For the LIPSC and the State Civil Services Preliminary Examination*. New Delhi: Tata McGraw Hill
- Montesquieu, B. L. ((1948). *De l’Esprit des Lois*. Geneva: Chez Barrillot and Fils
- Nwachukwu C. B. Ozuzu, C. B (1999) *Contemporary Public Administration*. Owerri: Chitolynn Printers and Publishers
- Nwafor, S. (2019). Nigeria Ranks 144/180 on TI’s corruption perception index. *Vanguard Newspaper, Tuesday, January 2*

- Nwafor, S. (2019). "Once you join APC, your sins are forgiven, Oshiomole says as PDP lambasts him." *The Punch Newspaper, Thursday, January 18*
- Nwafor-Orizu, I, Okolo, M.C. and Tochukwu, E.K. (2018). Political Restructuring in Nigeria: The Need, Challenges and Prospects. *International Journal of Academic Research in Public Policy and Governance. Vol. 5, No.1, 26-49*
- Obasanjo, O. (2007). Presidential Opening Speech: A Paper Delivered at a Retreat for Members of the Federal Cabinet and Permanent Secretaries held in Abuja on August 21-24
- Ogunna, A.E.C. (1999). *Public Administration in Nigeria: Theory and Practice*. Owerri: Great Versatile Pub. Ltd
- Oikhala, G.I. and Osifo, L.O. (2020). Ethics and Public Service in Nigeria: An Appraisal, *Revue des Sciences du Langage et de la Communication, ReSciLaC9:453-470*
- Olowu, D.,A. Hyden-Williams, A. and Soremekun, K. (1995). *Governance and Democratization Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books
- Oluyede, P. A. (1988). *Nigerian Administrative Law*. Ibadan: University Press Limited
- Onoyume, J. (2015). "If we don't kill corruption it will kill us – says Buhari. *Vanguard Newspaper, Thursday, March 12*
- Osibanjo, Y. (2016). All Government Institutions are Corrupt. *Punch Newspaper, Friday, October 21*
- Osuola, M. C. (2006). *Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Public Administration*. Lagos: T-Excel Press
- Otu, M. T. (2017). Administrative Law and the Challenge of Good Governance in Nigeria under Democratic System of Government: the Exigency of Legal Reforms. *International Journal of Scientific Research in Humanities, Legal Studies and International Relation, Vol. 2, No.1, 33-50*
- Oyero, K. (2020). School reopening: FG experimenting with poor Nigerians' lives says ASUU. *The Punch Newspaper, Wednesday July 1*
- Ramon O. (2020) Lawyer sues SGF over Social Distancing at Kyari, Burial. *The Punch Newspaper Thursday, April, 30)*
- Wade, H.W.R. (1971). *Administrative Law*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Wilson, W. (1941). The Study of Administration. *Political Science Quarterly December*
- Transparency International.(2018). Transparency Ranking of Nigeria. *Daily Trust Newspaper Monday, March 5*
- Tonwe, D. A. (2008). *Public Administration: An Introduction*. Lagos: Amfitop Books
- Usigbe, L.(2019). Nigeria's level of poverty upsets me – Buhari. *Nigerian Tribune Newspaper Newspaper, Wednesday May, 15.*
- Yar-Adua, U. M. (2007) President Inaugural Speech at Eagle Square, Abuja: Tuesday May, 29
- Zonderan, T.B.S. (2000). *The Holy Bible*. London: Trinitarian Bible Society