

**PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE: A  
CASE-STUDY OF PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING IN LAGOS,  
NIGERIA**

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**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the academic requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Political Science) in the School of  
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**2016**

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to Almighty Allah, the One who taught man by the pen, who taught man what he knows not (Al-Aleem), the Omni-potent (Al-Jabaar), the most-Beneficent (Ar-Rahmon), the Most Merciful (Ar-Raheem) the Almighty God, the uncreated creator.

To all the true callers to the path of felicity, dead or alive, to the people of the state of Palestine for all their sufferings, neglect and toil and to all the oppressed peoples of the world. My heart is with you.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To have completed this colossal task on my own would not have been possible without the wonderful complement from several people who have assisted me in one way or the other from the beginning to end. First, I would like to acknowledge the enormous intellectual guidance and strong contribution from my supervisor, Doctor Narsiah Sagie. Your mentorship, friendship, comrades, comments and critique of this thesis has been of inestimable value.

Also, worthy of recognition is the Amiable Professor Sabine Marshall, Academic Leader Reserch (ALR) who introduced me to Dr. Narsiah around August, 2013. Also, recognised is Dr. K. Mtshall, who sat on the Chair that did the initial approval of the proposal. Professor Radhamany Sooryamorthy for his crucial suggestions on the very first questionnaire drafted by me. Also recognised are the two external reviewers that did a review of the research proposal, namely Dr. Gunasekharan Dharmaraja, for his no hold bare criticism, that drew out tears from my eyes and Dr. Anne Staton for her objective criticism and encouragement which served as a soothing to the former. The two some I have never met. Appreciation also to Dr. Shenuka Singh (Chair), Humanities and Social Science Reserch Ethics Committee, for granting the clearance in good time for me to pursue this project.

I also owe a lot of gratitude to my parents, (Late) Abdul Ganiyu Okanlawon Muse and Mrs. Shakirat Ashake Muse for ensuring that I succeed academically despite all the obvious limitations. They ensured that I had a solid, quality and the highest level of education possible. I am the product of your ceaseless prayers. I also wish to thank and appreciate my gorgeous and intelligent wife, Mrs. Sa'adah Ibitoye-Muse. I would not have wished for a better wife. Thank you so much dear.

I also want to specially appreciate the timely and generous financial support from the Here and Beyond Co-operative Saving Groups (H & B) Epe that enabled me carried out this project with little or no stress.

My profound appreciation also goes to Alhaj A.W.O Muse, my father, Alhaj I.A Oladosu, and Alhaja W.O Muse also to my Grandparents, (Late) Alhaj Nurudeen Saaka Muse and Alhaja Nuseerat Pedro-Muse, I am extremely grateful to you all for all you have done in my life.

My gratitude also goes to Mrs. Basirat Muse-Ajumobi, Maryam Muse-Saba, Azeezat Muse-Sodique, and Mr. Bahir Oladosu. Thanks for being there for me always.

To my Provost, Michael Otedola College of Primary Education (MOCPED), Prof. Olu Akeusola, the Registrar, Mr. Bola Shittu, Dr. Arimiyau Sa'adallah, my HOD, Mr. Afolabi, B.A, Bright Ighorjeh, Alhaja Hassan, A.K, Mr. Sebiomo Bola, Wale Salau and John Ajayi. To you all I say a big thank you.

To my wonderful gifts from God, Abdur-Rahmon, Abdullah and Muhammad Muse, whose rights were denied in the course of this research project. You all have been a source of strength and inspiration to me at all times. May you grow up and even surpass me in all ramifications.

To the Muslim Students' Society of Nigeria (MSSN) - Shomolu Area Council, Lagos State Area Unit, Epe Area Council where I cut my teeth and which I was privilege to lead at some point, I am indeed grateful for your of prayers and support all the time.

I am hugely indebted to Abdul Lateef Ashir, Zunurayn Abdul Raheem (abu soffiyah), Dr. Zafarran Adeniyi, Lukman Alatishe, Abdul Wasiu Gazali, and Ahmad Ajala. The mentorship of Late Musa Akosile and Shuaib Abdul Mumin can't go unnoticed. May Allah admit them into paradise.

Also worthy of reference are my colleagues at the of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa; Dr. Ridwan Ayetoro, Dr. Azeez Olaniyan, Engr. Nurudeen Ajayi, Abdul Hameed Ojugbele, Dr. Lucky Azuelime, Dr. Abdul Hakeem Onapajo, Saka Moshood, Abdul Rahmon Mogbonjubola, Rosa Konjo and Darlington Kachuckwu.

Special thanks also go to my Host in South Africa, Prof Joan Prisloo and her partner Mr. David Haloweas. What a wonderful memory of you both.

Sulaimon Muse June 30, 2016

## **ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS**

ABCD-Action Based Community Development

ACU- Assembly of Canton Unity

AAI-Action Aid International

AIDS- Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

AG-Action Group

AU-African Union

APRM-African Peer Review Mechanism

BH- Boko Haram

CAA-Community Action Agencies

CAC-Citizen Advisory Committee

CBA-Community Based Association

CBO-Community Based Organization

CCBD-Community Capacity Building Development

CBP-Community Based Planning

CBPR-Community Based Participatory Research

CD-Campaign for Democracy

CDA- Community Development Association

CDD-Community Driven Development

CE-Community Empowerment

CED-Community Economic Development

CIA-Central Intelligence Agency

CLA-Community Landlords Associations

CM-Community Mobilization

CP-Community Participation

CP-Community Practice

CP-Commissioner of Police

CSO-Civil Society Organization

DCE-Deliberative Civic Engagement

DDP-District Development Plan

DPBF-Direct Participatory Budgeting Fora

DPP-Direct Popular Participation

EFCC-Economic and Financial Crimes Commission

ENG-Engineer

FBCD-Faith Based Community Development

FCC-Federal Capital City

FCT-Federal Capital Territory

GEN.SEC-General Secretary

GSM-Global Satellite Mobile Network

HIV- Human Immunodeficiency Virus.

IAP2-International Association for Public Participation

IGP-Inspector General Police

IGR-Internally Generated Revenue

LG-Local Government

LGA-Local Government Areas

LGA-Local Government Authority

MDA-Ministry, Departments and Agencies

MEND-Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta

MDG-Millennium Development Goals

MTEF-Medium Term Expenditure Framework

NCNC-National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons

ND-National Diploma

NCE-National Certificate of Education

NDPVF-Niger-Delta Peoples Volunteer Front

NHRC-National Human Rights Commission

NGO-Non-Governmental Organizations

NPC-National Population Commission

NPC-Northern People's Congress

OPEC-Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

PB- Participatory Budgeting

PBC-Participatory Budgeting Committee

PRO-Public Relations Officer

PR-Public Relations

PRSP-Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

PTA-Parents Teachers Association

PT-Partido dos Trabalhadores-Workers Party

RF-Resultant Framework

RNC-Royal Niger Company

SW-Social Work

UK-United Kingdom

UN-United Nations

UNCHR-United Nation Commission on Human Rights

UNDP-United Nation Development Programme

UN-GCUG-United Nation Global Campaign on Urban Governance

UN-HABITAT-United Nations Human Habitat

USA-United States of America

VAP-Village Action Plan

WRTP-Wisconsin Regional Training Partnership



## **ABSTRACT**

Since the earliest period of human history, communities have sought to improve their lot through self-help efforts, otherwise known as community development activities. These community development activities are today organized on a broader level and are not limited to the village level alone, they have become part of citizens' lives at the village, local government, state and national levels. This accounts for one of the reasons why they are linked with ethics such as the definitive control by the citizens, a great extent of freedom by individuals and groups, a considerate extent of governmental decentralization and wide spread citizenship participation in the mode of participatory budgeting.

The main objective of this thesis is to assess the extent to which Participatory Budgeting (PB) is fostering the efficient and democratic allocation of resources and citizens' involvement in the planning and management of their localities in Nigeria; and identify the reasons for the non-effectiveness of participatory budgeting in the country. Using largely qualitative and secondary data supplemented with primary data, the study examines the underlying assertions of the existence of participatory budgeting in Nigeria and its influence of on the vulnerable citizens of the country; it, addresses the dearth of literature on participatory budgeting particularly in Nigeria as a sovereign nation.

With the achievements recorded in participatory budgeting in Brazil, it became a general device for promoting the principles of transparency and accountability in governance. Besides, participatory budgeting mechanisms are now frequently being incorporated into many other human developmental efforts, in order to bring about the deliverance of desired services among the citizens and the communities for the achievement of the real goal of participatory budgeting, which is to bridge the gap between the rich and the vulnerable citizens in the community. However, theoretically and practically, participatory budgeting as it is, cannot be said to be adequately suitable in all intent and purpose to a single strategy, as participatory budgeting approaches signify a variety of tactics and ingenuities that are laden with their own unique features which are continuously evolving and growing in leaps and bounds. Hence, this thesis is established on the theoretical framework of representative democracy and participatory democracy. Thesis of this nature is pertinent because, a lot of literature abounds on the potentials of participatory budgeting in Nigeria, no substantive study has been carried out on the actual implementation and operationalization of participatory budgeting in the country.

Findings from the thesis show that participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government suffers from: lack of awareness by the citizens of what participatory budgeting is all about, negative perception of government initiated programmes or intervention, such as participatory budgeting and polio eradication programmes as anti-people, lack of funds and

over-dependent on financial hand-outs from unreliable central government, lack of qualified personnel from the Local Government office to drive the participatory budgeting process, incoherent legal framework and political interference, non equality of representatives, (in terms of wealth, income, and dominant racial groups or ethnicity), solving different problems with the same paradigm, that is, through the CDAs, the dichotomy between city-based participatory democracy and community-based participatory democracy, and the management of scarcity, corruption-leading to extra-budgetary spending, lack of transparency and accountability, political parties- more than any other stakeholders, determine the flow of participatory budgeting, the ruling political parties always have the final say, influencing the outcome of decisions taken by the other stakeholders as far as participatory budgeting is concerned.

The thesis therefore recommends that: the emergence of the representatives of the CDAs should be more democratic in nature, coupled with a better engagement of the citizens, with the use of social media platforms devoid of interference from the palace/traditional rulers and political elites, the creation of enabling and conducive environment for participatory budgeting to thrive with mass enlightenment by the government, the central government should provide sufficient resources at the appropriate time for the participatory budgeting agents to carry out their activities, regular and routine training programmes must be put in place in order to improve the level of competency and qualification of the Local Government officers, roles of civil society in terms of checks and balances on the participatory budgeting process must be well-delineated and defined, presently they are conspicuously absent, corruption, can be reduced to the barest minimum if appropriate agencies are activated in their monitoring assignments on the participatory budgeting processes.

The thesis concludes that there is potential for improvement on participatory budgeting in Nigeria with better commitment from the members of the community development associations and government at all levels of the federation. This is crucial in order for government to deliver qualitative life to more citizens, thereby bridging the gap between the privileged few and the vulnerable masses which will engender better socio- economic development of Nigeria.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND**

#### **1. Introduction**

Public participation in democratic governance refers to the interests, activities and involvement of people in the day to day running of government. These activities and involvements have been characterized by various scholars in different ways. For instance, such democratic participation is called political participation and community/social project participation (Gaventa & Valderrama 1999); public participation (Bierele & Cayford 2002) voters' participation (Karp & Banducci 2008); (Neshkova & Guo 2012) and citizens' participation (Sharpe 2013). All these postulations are related to those activities through which political parties, civil society, labour unions, traditional leaders, academics, religious groups, student associations, community-based organizations and other stakeholders participate in the selection of public office holders or leaders directly or indirectly, and in the formation of public policy for good governance.

Participatory budgeting in Nigeria was formally launched by the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo in 2001 (UN-Global Campaign on Urban Governance 2002). Therefore, the scope of this study shall cover participatory budgeting between 2002 and 2013 in Nigeria, with particular focus on Epe Local Government Area of Lagos State, Nigeria, in view of the prominence of Epe Local Government in the political history of Nigeria. Epe Local Government also represents one of the only two Nigerian cities of Lagos and Abuja, where participatory budgeting is currently being practiced. These are the reasons for choosing Epe Local Government as the study area. Furthermore, the period under study - 2002 to 2013 - represents 11 years of Nigeria's incursion into participatory budgeting.

The period under review allows for a clearer and better analysis and explanation of the formulation and implementation of the participatory budgeting in Nigeria. In doing this, the study examines the practical operationalization of participatory budgeting in Nigeria, with a particular focus on the Epe Local Government Area of Lagos. This approach, therefore, reflects the resonance of participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government and

other parts of Africa. The period of 2002-2013 has been chosen because it shows a clear analysis of the participatory budgeting concept, in terms of changes in the implementation by successive democratic governments in Nigeria, and the impact in bridging the gap between the rich and the vulnerable poor citizens in the country.

This becomes particularly important considering the variation in leadership style with regard to participatory budgeting implementation and articulation. This study, therefore, investigates the operationalization effectiveness of participatory budgeting in Nigeria. This is done by examining participatory budgeting and its effects on the vulnerable poor citizens in Epe Local Government Area of Lagos, Nigeria. This study primarily attempts to answer the questions of efficiency and effectiveness of the participatory budgeting process in Nigeria.

## **2. Reasons for research**

The purpose of every academic study is to achieve a goal or a set of goals stated as research objectives. To achieve a set of objectives, the researcher must essentially identify what gaps need to have been filled by the end of the research. By identifying and filling research gaps, the researcher contributes to the body of knowledge in his/her area of study. This study, titled: “Public participation in democratic governance: a study of participatory budgeting in Nigeria”, is not an exemption. Globally, many scholars have carried out studies on public participation in democratic governance (See Almond & Verba (1963); Arnstein (1969); Lijphart (1999); Bielele & Cayford (2002); Lipset (2004); Karp & Banducci (2008); Neshkova & Guo (2012) and (Sharpe 2013). Given some examples of exceptions such as Heller (2008); Gaventa & Valderrama (1999), most of the earlier works did not devote adequate emphasis to Africa or Nigeria, which informs the Euro-centric nature of most of these works, even in the modern period.

Consequently, a clear gap in research that this thesis focuses on concerning Nigeria is in relation to the participatory budgeting in line with Adamolekun (2008); Adesopo (2011); Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni (2012); Popoola (2013); Gideon (2014) and Umo (2014). This emphasis is considered worthwhile, as it will expose the participatory budgeting profile of Nigeria. Hence, this study examines the practice of participatory budgeting in Nigeria.

This becomes pertinent as most research efforts on participatory budgeting practice have

focused primarily on the Latin American experience (see Santos (1998); Baiocchi (2001); Avritzer (2002); Baiocchi (2005); Bairele (2006); Shah (2007); Sintomer (2007); Herzberg & Rocke (2008); Aragon & Sanchez (2008); Sintomer et al., (2010); Pateman (2012); Omar (2013); Omar (2013), Touchton & Wapler (2013); Goncalves (2013); Baiocchi & Ganusa (2014). Hence, this study will augment the existing knowledge on participatory budgeting research efforts in Nigeria. Fundamentally, this part has not been dealt with decisively by researchers as far as Nigeria is concerned.

The outcomes of this research will be worthwhile in participatory budgeting enquiry within and outside Nigeria. This is in view of the fact that a good number of the current efforts in the area of participatory budgeting in the Nigeria have been researched on basically on short term basis, describing a variety of mechanisms in relation to participatory budgeting (see Adamolekun (2008); Adesopo (2011); Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni (2012); Popoola (2013); Gideon (2014) and Umo (2014)). These past efforts may, therefore, not be functional enough to provide adequate research effort in comparison to a period of eleven years covered by this study.

The researcher is not aware of any similar work that has been done on the subject matter of public participation in democratic governance vis-à-vis the participatory budgeting process or strategy in Epe Local Government Area of Lagos, Nigeria. The findings will be useful for the analyses of participatory budgeting in other sub-Saharan African Countries and beyond. It will also add to the body of literature currently insufficient on participatory budgeting, particularly in Nigeria.

### **3. Needs for research**

From the literature available, it may be argued that the present models of the participatory budgeting process are grossly inadequate for Nigeria as a country, and cannot adequately cater for the needs of Nigerians, for several reasons;

Most of the models have been imported from Latin America, which did not consider the diverse nature of the African continent in terms of history, culture and language (See Santos 1998; Avritzer 2002; Bairele 2006). Participatory models have been successfully influenced by the government in one way or the other (See UN-HABITAT 2009). The models have not

engendered the much needed popular participation of the people, leaving them to explore violence as an alternative (See UN-HABITAT 2009). The meetings of the communities are irregular, with little or no opportunity for any meaningful inputs, besides lack of continuity or follow up on issues (See Smith 2006). Unnecessary intervention by the military in the political governance of the people has also added to the limited space for public participation and participatory budgeting in particular (See McGowan 2003; Siollum 2009).

Arnstein (1969); Gaventa & Valderrama (1999); Shah (2007); Touchton & Wapler (2013); Goncalves (2013); Baiocchi & Ganusa (2014) have also identified other reasons for the failure of the present models of public participation. These include: lack of objectivity by the political leaders, ethnocentric and tribalistic tendency of the political actors, lack of gender sensitivity; rigging of elections-leading to conflict and violence, extra-budgetary spending by government officials and the non-inclusion of Community Based Organizations (CBOs), the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the local people in the budgetary process. The gaps, therefore, exist in the study of public participation in democratic governance. Using the participatory budgeting model, they can be address, with more focus on the African continent.

The potential outcome will be the possibility of using public participation to enhance the growth and development of democratic governance. A better model of public participation in democratic governance could also be established and a new political culture and political orientation, which will make citizens demand better governance from their government. This is because the basic assumptions behind this research are: first, there is a need for more robust political participation among the growing populations in the country. Second, the more the public participate in politics, the better for the growth, development and maturity of the democratic culture, values and norms of the people. Third, mass public participation of the people confers legitimacy and authority on the government. Lastly, public participation encourages citizens' loyalty for an enduring democratic system and democratic governance. Moreover, there is a dire need for more effective and efficient participatory budgeting, as this will eventually close the socio-economic gaps between the rich and the vulnerable citizens, hence the focus on participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government, which is one of the rural communities in Lagos State, Nigeria.

The research is going to be exploratory in nature and it will lead to better understanding of the targeted problem and will be worthwhile in exposing the nature, depth and extent of problems associated with participatory budgeting approach, and thus serve as a useful foundation for similar research efforts in the future.

#### **4. Background and Outline of Research Problem**

This segment offers an important background to the thesis, concentrating on relevant matters in three different topical areas. These relevant matters are comprised of public participation, democratic governance and participatory budgeting.

These three issues provide the framework on which this study is built. The first issue-public participation, which covers the meaning, models, and essence, is a fundamental part of participatory budgeting research. It explores the meaning and the important components of public participation, its essence in the community, considering the main purposes that public participation serves and the influential effects of these purposes on individual citizens in the community. These main purposes are consultation, participation, information, citizenship education and training (Arnstein 1969). This is because of the importance of public participation in the community; hence public participation has been recognized as being a vital part in community development efforts (Shah 2007).

The second issue, democratic governance, is concerned with an exposition of the important background issues around democratic governance and various opinions of prominent scholars, with particular interest in democratic governance, public participation and citizens' engagement. Doing this is important in strengthening democratic governance and democratic structures such as the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, in order to prevent the emergence of despotic and autocratic leaders.

The third issue-participatory budgeting and its origin, context and models focuses on the commencement and creation of participatory budgeting, the various institutions of participatory budgeting-including the steps that are involved in creating them, and conditions that necessitated the emergence of participatory budgeting. All of these form the basis of argument in Section Three of this chapter, which is labelled as participatory budgeting.

#### **5. Public Participation: Meaning and Models**

Public participation in democratic governance comes in different shades and shapes, such as: involvement in campaigns, holding public or political offices, being a candidate in an election, analyzing political issues, dissemination of party propaganda, membership of pressure groups, contributing money towards party activities and so on (Neshkova 2012). As argued by Termel, Kaudenburg & Mors (2014), public participation that does not take into consideration the issue of consultation with local inhabitants cannot be said to be functional. In essence, the main concern of public participation is the constant and continuous deliberation, consultation and discussion with the citizens/people. The ultimate goal is citizen empowerment and citizen control of governance systems.

Today, most modern governments spend a lot of resources to ensure the participation of their citizens in the electoral process, so as to serve as a form of legitimacy for the party after winning the elections, and in order to have the support of more members of the public while implementing their policies and agenda (see Sassen 2003b & Cavalcanti, Schlapter & Schmid 2009).

A strong relationship has been found to exist between public participation in democratic governance and citizens' engagement (Gaventa & Barrett 2012). This has been achieved to a certain degree with the use of diverse techniques to increase public participation in governance. These strategies include, but are not limited to, normative theories of public participation that focus on issues of competence and fairness, such as citizen advisory councils, citizen panels, public surveys, public forums and citizen juries (Hendricks 2002); inclusive citizenship (Kabeer 2005); (Coelho & von Lieres 2010) and citizens' engagement (Gaventa & Barrett 2012).

Other participatory techniques include: community conversations, community dinners, deliberative democracy forums (Carr & Halvorsen 2001); innovative citizen participation strategies (Leighninger 2002); large group interaction model, e-government initiatives (Cuthill 2003); representative democracy (Wiesen 2003); participatory budgeting processes (Kroning 2004); town hall meetings, participatory democratic model (Aragon & Sanchez 2008); consensus conferences, deliberative polls, empowered participatory governance, countervailing power, participatory publics and fourth power (Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke 2008).

## **6. Democratic Governance: Themes and Issues**

Linking public participation to human rights and democratic governance, Gaventa & Valderrama (1999) assert that the concept of public participation is related to rights of citizenship and to democratic governance. Hence, focusing alone on the study of the concept of participation without a complementary study on democratic governance will be inadequate. The World Bank (1995), cited by Mishra (2012), states that democratic governance is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of the country's economic and social resources for development.

According to Oluwatusin & Abolarin-Egbebi (2015), democracy is essentially a contested concept, which does not lend itself to any universally accepted definition, owing to the ideological, cultural and historical contextualization that underpin it. This explains why all adherents of diversity of political philosophies and ideologies insist on being labeled “democratic”, because democracy is associated with goodness. Democracy is a form of government that has its historical roots in the Ancient Greek city-states, where all adult males were accorded equal opportunity of directly participating in decisions that affect the governance of their society. The “direct” democracy obtainable in the Greek city-states was possible because of their small size, both in terms of population and geographical territory (Adegboye 2013).

Democracy has thus become a form of representative government, in which a few are elected to stand on behalf of the majority of the people based on so-called equal and universal franchise (Fung 2006). Thus, democracy can only be effective and meaningful if the people are fully engaged in making decisions about the way they are governed (Adegboye 2013). Therefore, it is imperative in a democracy that the generality of the people participate fully in the decision-making process and the people must be provided with available and reliable information. This is the reason why Lincoln described democracy as “government of the people by the people and for the people”.

According to Omotosho (2015) democracy is rule by the people. He contends further that democracy is a system in which people decide matters as a group, and the term is typically used in the context of a form of government in which all the citizens have a vote (Omotosho 2015). This conception depicts democracy as people-oriented, people-driven

and people-deciding governance, which recognizes the sovereignty of people's decision against the dictatorship of a monarch or an oligarchy characterized by oppression, repression and coercion, which is already giving way to modern governance process and practice (Adaja 2013).

Omotosho (2015) further views democracy from three perspectives, namely: as a concept, as an ideology and as a system/process. As a concept, Omotosho (2015) argues that it is a terminology in the dictionary of political science used for issues interpretations, such as describing what the term is from the perception of a group or system. As an ideology, it is a practice suggesting a people's way of governance life, and as a system, it is a mechanism serving as a working tool to achieve a viable governance process within the principle of the 'General Will'.

## **7. Participatory Budgeting: Origin, Context and Models**

Fung and Wright (2003) classify public participation into two eras, the 19th century and the 21st century. "The 19th century public participation is referred to as the liberal democracy or the representative democracy, while the 21st century saw the emergence of participation budgeting"(Fung & Wright, 2003, p. 3). Participatory budgeting is one of the models or strategies of public participation in democratic governance that was first developed and implemented in Porto Alegre, the capital city of Grande do Sul, Brazil in 1989, inhabited by about 1.3 million people (Santos 1998). In 1998, the coalition of left parties led by the Workers' Party, or Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), gained control of the municipal government of Porto Alegre and went on to win successive elections in 1992 and 1996. Their most substantial reform measure, known as "Participatory Budgeting (PB)", was an attempt to transform the patronistic, vote-for-money budgeting reality into a fully accountable, bottom-up, deliberative system driven by the needs of city residents. The meetings, known as "neighborhood associations", are mostly attended by the youth, health clubs and interested inhabitants of the city, but only the inhabitants are allowed to vote. The meetings are coordinated by the municipal government in collaboration with the community delegates. The Mayor accepts or rejects the budget proposal or sends it back to the participatory budgeting council for further amendments and revision (Santos 1998).

More importantly, scholars have postulated a comprehensive account of the implementation



of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre in Brazil (see Santos 1998; Baiocchi 2001; Avritzer 2002; Baiocchi 2005; Bairele 2006; UN-HABITAT 2009).

Participatory budgeting is one of the models or strategies of public participation in democratic governance that was first developed and implemented in Porto Alegre, Brazil since 1989. It is a process of decision making based on general rules and criteria of distributive justice, approved by regular and institutionalized organs of participation in which the popular classes have majority representation. Participatory budgeting is a form of community participation in democratic governance that has to do with the redistribution of resources in favour of the more vulnerable social groups by means of participatory democracy. It is a means of reducing the predominant nature of the state over the civil society, through the distribution of resources and the definition of investment priorities (Aragon & Sanchez 2008).

Participatory budgeting is the involvement of the ordinary citizens in the budget allocation process. It allows the participation of the non-elected citizens in the conception and/or allocation of public finances. It is a means of reducing bureaucratic bottlenecks that are synonymous with most governments-including the local government-and replacing them with the popular administration of the people. Participatory budgeting is a process of democratic deliberation and decision-making and participatory democracy, in which the ordinary people decide how to allocate part of municipal or public spending projects and are given the power to make real decisions about how money is spent. Participatory budgeting, if strictly adhered to and is based on mutual trust, can benefit local governments and citizens equally. In some cases, participatory budgeting has even increased people's willingness to pay taxes. A detailed case study of eight municipalities in Brazil analyzing the successes and failures of participatory budgeting has suggested that it often results in more equitable public spending, greater government transparency and accountability, increased level of public participation (particularly by marginalized or poor residents), citizenship learning and education (Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke 2008).

As postulated by Santos (1998), participatory budgeting involves the following basic steps:

1. Community members identify spending priorities and select budget delegates.
2. Budget delegates develop specific spending proposals, with help from experts.

3. Community members vote on which proposals to fund.
4. The city or institution implements the top priority proposals.

The emergence of participatory budgeting has been necessitated in order to bridge the huge gap between the rich and the poor, and reduce the level of poverty and inequality, through deliberate redistribution of resources in favour of the vulnerable groups in the society (Santos 1998). It also aims to bring the government closer to the people and improve the quality of service delivery, so that the rural people do not need to move to the city if basic amenities, such as health care facilities, good housing, education, transportation and communication, are provided for them through participatory budgeting in their locality (Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke 2008).

To enhance the popular participation of the people through a more authentic public opinion and public will, the public are given the opportunity to decide what is best for them at any point in time (Baiocchi 2005). To reduce to the barest minimum the dominant over-centralized nature of the government over the governed and the civil society, the inputs of the civil society, with the symbiotic collaboration of the public, are accommodated in participatory budgeting (Bairele 2006). To reduce or remove totally the bureaucratic bottle necks and red-tapes that are synonymous with most public institutions, which, in most cases, work against the interest of the people, all the government need to do is approve and implement whatever the rural people have agreed on (Avritzer 2002). The emergence of participatory budgeting is to make government more transparent and accountable, and to also enhance the public participation of the local people in democratic governance (Aragon & Sanchez 2008).

## **8. Statement of Problem**

The fundamental statement of problem for this study, based on participatory budgeting process within the context of Epe Local Government, Nigeria, are as follow: Firstly, this study examines the effectiveness and the efficiency of the participatory budgeting process in Nigeria. The thesis is thus interested in knowing if the citizens are included in the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government or not. This involves the dedication of serious attention to the successful engagement and involvement of Nigerian

citizens of Epe Local Government in participatory budgeting. When this is adequately taken care of, it can help tremendously in the development and application of better participatory budgeting policies by the citizens and government of Nigeria; this will further improve the level of citizens' participation in such participatory budgeting policies in the country. The aim is also to further look at the competency of participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government in order for the researcher to arrive at a more precise and accurate position on the participatory budgeting process in Nigeria.

The second component is concerned with identifying the challenges facing the operationalization of the participatory budgeting process in Nigeria. In this respect, this study examines the problems involved in the practical application of the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. Therefore, the thesis is interested in knowing the effects of these problems on the participatory budgeting process of the inhabitants of Epe Local Government in relation to the different actors in the participatory budgeting process in Epe locality. A thorough examination of these problems/challenges will further reveal the extent of the participation and the involvement of the citizens in the participatory budgetary process in Epe Local Government. The involvement could be significant or insignificant, high or low. This will provide a strong foundation on which future involvement and participation of the citizens could be based.

The third part is to proffer lasting solutions to the problems of participatory budgeting process in Nigeria. The aim is to elicit different kinds of solutions to the problems encountered in the application of participatory budgetary process in Epe Local Government. This is important, as it provides a strong foundation for the optimal use of the participatory budgeting model in Epe Local Government. This will further enhance the application of the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. The goal of this is to look critically at the solutions to the problems associated with participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government, with a view of developing better formulation and implementation of participatory budgeting process in Epe locality, thus leading to better participation of the citizens in governance.

## **9. Research Objectives**

This thesis is basically meant to achieve several objectives, all of which focus on

participatory budgeting within the Nigerian context. Therefore, the underlying objectives for this thesis are hinged on three cardinal points of participatory budgeting process within the context of Epe Local Government, Nigeria.

One of the main objectives of this research is to investigate the effectiveness and the efficiency of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. The thesis is thus interested in knowing if the citizens are adequately included in the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government or not. This involves the devotion of serious attention to the successful engagement and involvement of Nigerian citizens in Epe Local Government on participatory budgeting. A proper determination of this fact is essential, as it will serve as the basis for the research effort. It will also help in establishing the current nature of the participatory budgetary process in Epe Local Government. The purpose is to conveniently arrive at the level of practice of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. The level may be high, average or low. This will expose quantitatively the actual nature of participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government and will further assist other research in building upon the thesis.

The second objective which this thesis aimed to achieve is to examine the challenges that are faced in the implementation of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. The sole aim of this is to find, identify and explain those problems that are faced on a daily basis by the actors and agents in participatory budgeting processes in Epe Local Government. This endeavor will not only expose the impediments in the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government, but will also perform the function of providing solutions to the challenges. The purpose is to lay down a solid platform on which participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government could be made more effective. What informed this is the need to have a better and more effective participatory budgeting, compared to what currently obtains in Epe Local Government.

The third objective of this thesis is to provide solutions to the problems of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. This research effort is therefore interested in bringing about pragmatic and practical frameworks geared towards solving these problems. This will help in facilitating better participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. The researcher is therefore concerned with the activities of the various agents of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government, and the extent of participation of the various

agents in participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government.

## **10. Research Questions**

In line with the objectives of this research, the research questions for this thesis are established on three major aspects of participatory budgeting process, with focus on Epe Local Government, Nigeria.

What is the current practice in participatory budgetary process of Epe Local Government? The thesis is focused on establishing the current nature of the budgetary process in Epe Local Government. The purpose is to conveniently arrive at the effective and the efficient level of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. The level may be high, average or low. This will expose quantitatively the actual nature of participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government, and will further assist other research in building upon the thesis.

Subsequently, what are the challenges faced in the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government? This thesis is also interested in examining the challenges that are faced in the operationalization of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. The sole aim of this is to identify and analyse those problems that are faced on a daily basis by the actors and agents in participatory budgeting processes in Epe Local Government. This endeavour will not only expose the impediments in the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government, but will also perform the function of providing solutions to the challenges.

Lastly, how can participatory budgeting be made more effective in Epe Local Government?

The main purpose here, is to proffer lasting solutions to the problems of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. Based on this point, the research question is focused on determining how participatory budgeting can be made more effective in Epe Local Government. The purpose is to lay down a solid platform on which participatory budgeting could be made more effective in Epe Local Government by providing workable, practical and pragmatic solutions to the identified problems of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. This is informed by the need to have a better and more effective participatory budgeting, compared to what currently obtains in Epe Local Government.

## **11. Structure of Dissertation**

This thesis is divided into six chapters. This chapter, chapter one, deals with the introduction, which includes the background details that are relevant to the entire study. It further contextualizes the focus of the study and defines certain concepts that are relevant to the thesis. Therefore, chapter one has the following components, which connect and elaborate the entire research idea of the thesis. These components are: the introduction, statement of problem, research questions, research objectives and importance of the topic, as well as an overview of the thesis.

Chapter Two of the thesis deals with the general/global review of relevant literature on public participation and participatory budgeting based on the following items: the concept of public sphere, public participation in democratic governance towards a convergence, the global overview of public participation in democratic governance, literature survey on public participation in democratic governance, the concept of public participation in democratic governance: rationale, public participation in democratic governance : assumptions, essence and critique, the concepts of budget and budgeting, participatory budgeting as a typology of public participation in democratic governance, the concept of participatory budgeting, the historical background and spread of participatory budgeting practices-international experience, a survey of participatory budgeting models in Latin America - Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Venezuela and India, general summary and critique of participatory budgeting in Latin America, Asia and Europe and survey of participatory budgeting models in other parts of Africa.

Chapter Three of the thesis, which forms the second segment of the review of relevant literature, is concerned with public participation and participatory budgeting, with specific attention devoted to the Nigerian context/contents, as well as the theoretical framework of the thesis. The chapter is therefore based on the following issues: the dynamics of public participation and participatory budgeting in democratic governance in Nigeria, the intricacies

of participatory budgeting and constitutional provisions on urban governance in Nigeria, the relationship between participatory budgeting and urban governance in Nigeria, Community Development Associations (CDA) – A Participatory Budgeting Agent in Lagos State, the structure of urban governance in Nigeria at the state level and local government administration in Nigeria; it also discusses the theoretical framework of the study, which was developed from the reviewed literature. Chapter Three also discusses the Theory of Deliberative Democracy (TDD), while also examining the relevance, strengths and weaknesses of this theory within the framework of participatory budgeting.

Chapter Four deals with the study area and research methods. This chapter contains all the vital ingredients expected in a research of this magnitude, such as: the socio-political and economic history of the study area for this thesis: the study area has been classified into two; a look at Nigeria as a country and also a focus on Epe Local Government, such as the location, the population and structure of governance. Other areas of focus are the research design and the research population; which focuses primarily on the object that is being studied or focused on, which may be an individual, groups, persons, countries, objects or any other entity that a researcher wishes to draw scientific inferences about. It also has to do with data collection and data analysis; this is mainly based on two major sources; the primary sources and the secondary sources. The data analysis section of this chapter adopts both the qualitative and quantitative method of data analysis, otherwise known as the mixed method. Chapter five concentrates on data presentation, analysis and interpretation, while chapter six contains the summary of findings, recommendations and conclusion of the thesis.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **1. Introduction**

The previous chapter provided the foundation for the research and stated the aims of the research. This chapter will review the pertinent literature and will explain the theoretical framework that informs the study. A literature review can be described as the content of a scholarly work that has to do with current knowledge, findings and theoretical and methodological inputs into a particular subject or topic (Baglione 2012). Hence, this study explores scholarly works and contributions that are directly related to the thesis. The aim of any literature review is to locate the current study within the frame of literature and provide context for the desired reader; therefore literature reviews form the basis for research in nearly every academic field (Lamb 2013).

Organizationally, this chapter will focus on the global overview of public participation in democratic governance, the concept of public sphere, the rationale for public participation in democratic governance, features of democratic governance and public participation in democratic governance: assumptions, essence and critique, participatory budgeting as a typology of public participation. It will also look at the concept of budget and budgeting, participatory budgeting, the historical background and spread of participatory budgeting practices: international experience, general survey and critique of participatory budgeting in Latin America, Asia and Europe as well as a summary of participatory budgeting models in Africa. In a study of this nature, there is a need to provide a global outlook on the issues at stake. Thus, this thesis examines the global overview of public participation in democratic governance, with an indepth focus on the concept of public sphere.

#### **2. Public Participation in Democratic Governance: A Global Review**

The contemporary public sphere, particularly in literature, has its origin in Germany. It should however, be noted that the Roman empire, the Greek empire and others empires in the ancient times had been engaging in the public sphere, where all qualified male adults with some level of resources and payment of taxes would come together to discuss freely pertinent



issues in the community. The public sphere is an area or a space where individuals come together to freely discuss and identify societal problems, and through that discussion, influence political action.

It is a discursive social space wherein individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, reach a common conclusion or judgment. It can be seen as a theatre in modern societies, in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk and a realm of social life where public opinions can be formed and analysed (Frazer 1991).

Therefore, the public sphere simply put, is the full and effective participation and engagement of the citizens in governance. It is the involvement of majority of the citizens in the-day-to-day running of the government. Public sphere is quite different from the public; while the former deals with institutions that characterize the participation of the people, the latter encapsulates an assemblage of a group of individuals (Habermas et al., 1964).

It is common to speak of 'transnational public spheres', 'diasporic public spheres', 'Islamic public spheres' and even an emerging 'global public sphere' (Frazer 1991). A general theme among these talks is the existence of discursive and participative fora that go beyond both nations and states.

As enunciated by Frazer (1991), therefore, the public sphere is directly relevant to public participation for the following reasons;

- Communication flows: Public sphere and public participation are both interested in the proper flow and channels of communication in their processes. Communication constitutes a necessary tool if public participation and the public sphere are to attain their objectives.
- Inclusiveness and fairness: A well planned public participation and public sphere must be all-inclusive; in essence all interested and qualified stakeholders must be duly accommodated in such participation and discussion.
- Critical scrutiny: Public sphere and public participation must pass the test of critical and analytical scrutiny.

All suggestions and opinions must pass through critical examination and evaluation before they can be accepted by stakeholders.

- Legitimacy of participants: Both paradigms are also interested in having the right caliber of delegates or stakeholders at their meetings. Legitimacy confers eligibility, authority and responsibility on such stakeholders. Hence, only stakeholders that are legitimately competent are allowed at such fora. The under-aged, mentally derailed, people with severe ill health and others in that category are not legitimately qualified to be at such fora.
- Mobilizing: The two systems also serve as mobilizing agents, particularly in the mobilization of the civil society. They are platforms for the government, the state and the civil society to converge and discuss issues of common interest.
- Accountability: Both public sphere and public participation also serve the purpose of holding public officials accountable. They constitute the medium through which public officials are subjected to critical examination, thus ensuring that they are held responsible and accountable for the consequences of their actions and inactions (see also Burkhalter, Gastil & Kelsheew 2002).

The public sphere in this context shall be examined and evaluated in line with (Habermas, Lennox & Lennox 1964) as follows; as a social life, as history, in terms of principle, representation, and the liberal model of public sphere. The public sphere connotes social life wherein public opinions are easily formed.

In this case, there exists free access to all qualified citizens. It should be noted, however, that the public sphere also exists in engagements wherein private individuals also assemble to form a public body. It also includes the freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions about matters of general interest. In this case, newspapers, magazines, radio and television also constitute the public sphere.

The public sphere forms part of democratic governance, as the government does not exist in a vacuum but resides right in the public. It comes with free access to information and the use of mass media. The public sphere is not the same as the public; that is individuals who assemble.

The public sphere to (Habermas, Lennox & Lennox 1964) refers to the institution which comes into being through the participation of people. It however does not simply mean a crowd. It is interesting to note that the state and the public sphere do not overlap, as one might suppose from casual language use. They constitute a contradictory brand to each other as opponents.

Public participation is also a political principle. It is recognized as a right in democratic governance otherwise referred to as a right to public participation. The term 'public participation', often called P2 by practitioners, is sometimes used interchangeably with 'popular participation', the practice of stakeholder engagement (Co-intelligence 2012). Generally speaking, therefore, public participation seeks to encourage and facilitate the involvement of those potentially affected by or interested in a decision. This can be in relation to individuals, governments, institutions, companies or any other entities that affect public interests. The principle of public participation with effect to democratic governance holds that those who are affected by a decision have the right to be involved in the decision-making process. Public participation implies that the public's contribution will influence the decision. In essence, public participation cannot be divorced from democratic governance, as only democratic governance is best suited and positioned to guarantee such right of participation by the citizens.

Furthermore, public participation is also viewed as a way of empowerment and as a vital part of democratic governance. Therefore, in the context, participatory processes both public participation and democratic governance are veritable tools for the facilitation of collective thoughts, citizen engagement and inclusiveness, which oftentimes shape the desire for the participation of the whole community or society. Public participation and democratic governance are also considered as part of people-centered or human-centric principles, which have emerged in developed countries over the last thirty years, and have had some effects on education, health, public policy, international relief efforts and development programmes.

Therefore, public participation and democratic governance are part of a people first paradigm shift.

In this respect, public participation may challenge the concept that big is better and the logic of centralized hierarchies, advancing alternative concepts of more heads are better than one and arguing that public participation can sustain productive and durable change (Co-intelligence 2012).

Consequently, in Africa, the roles of public participation in democratic governance, economic and human development have been enshrined in the 1990 African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation. This was as a result of the desire of the stakeholders for the establishment of the International Association for Public Practitioners in order to respond to the increasing interest in the practice.

This led to the eventual establishment of the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2). The practice is well established globally and the International Association of Public Participation now has affiliate organizations across the globe (IAP2 2012). Furthermore, public participation is a designed mechanism for the attainment of redistribution of power that allows the vulnerable citizens that have been perpetually excluded from the political and economic processes to be deliberately included in the future (Arnstein 1969).

Public participation is also a means of ensuring the active participation of more citizens in governance in order not to leave the essence of governance in the hands of few practitioners. Hence, the need to include and integrate the less privileged citizens into the mainstream political and economic processes, could be said to be the birth of public participation. Eight types of participation in A Ladder of Citizen Participation (1969), often referred to as "Arnstein's ladder", have been identified as: Citizen Control, Delegated Power, Partnership, Placation, Consultation, Informing, Therapy and Manipulation.

In the same vein, Fung (2006) presents another classification of participation based on three key questions: Who is allowed to participate, and are they representative of the population? What is the method of communication or decision-making? And how much influence or authority is granted to the participation?

Public participation in democratic governance refers to the involvement of the people in the day-to-day running of the government (Gaventa & Barrett 2012); (Gaventa 2013) and (Neshkova 2014).

These activities have been variously referred to in the literature as: citizen advisory committees (CACs), community action agencies (CACs), neighborhood councils, neighborhood advisory groups (Arnstein1969:2); public participation (Bierele & Cayford 2002:7); voters' participation (Karp & Banducci 2008:312); public participation (Neshkova & Guo 2012:267-269) and citizens participation (Sharpe 2013:9) (as a form of representative democracy) among others.

They all relate to those activities through which political parties, civil society, labour unions, traditional leaders, academics, religious groups, student associations, community based organizations and others participate in the selection of public office holders or leaders directly or indirectly, and in the formation of public policy for good governance. Public participation in democratic governance has taken up a new dimension (Eriksson 2012).

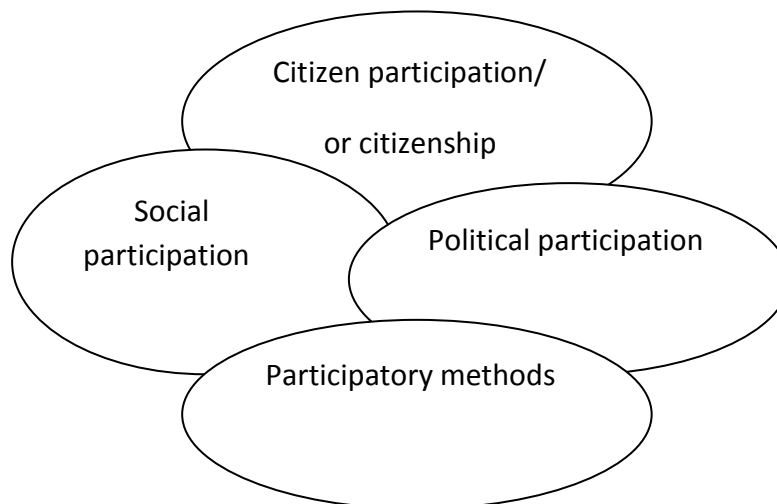
These new methods of citizenship participation come in forms of electronic participation in the manner of form-based hearing, voter-communicative vouchers and electronic town hall meetings that are showing the direction to the new politisation of personal knowledge. According to Abelson et al., (2001), these new methods of citizens participation are linked with the idea of deliberative democracy, defending public deliberation and rational discursive decision making. Public participation in democratic governance could also mean other things Mellor (2002). These include: community involvement, public consultation, public research and public relations. All these terms suggest the involvement of people in the decision making processes, and they imply different levels of public involvement in the process of governance. Governance is the process by which people collectively solve society's needs; through the instrumentality of government.

Public participation refers to the methods and techniques through which people take part in public life, even if their roles are relatively passive or seemingly powerless. It is a way in which communities can participate and become involved in governance, using different methods and processes and in varying degrees. By taking the appropriate actions, local governments can help to facilitate this. Furthermore, public participation can range from minor and infrequent comments to active and powerful influence.

Gaventa and Valderrama (1999:2-3), opine that there is a glaring intersection between the concepts of community participation and citizenship, both in developed countries and the developing countries.

In essence, the two concepts are two sides of the same coin, and one cannot be looked at in isolation of the other. According to Gaventa and Valderrama (1999:2-3), public participation could be classified into two: political participation and community/social project participation. Political participation is the traditional form of political involvement, such as voting, political parties, lobbying and other related activities; while the community/social project participation represents an attempt to look at public participation from the developmental point of view. These include the participation of the civil society groups, or in which citizens have been beneficiaries of government programmes. Thus, public participation is not only limited to voting in elections, but also takes into consideration the involvement of the citizens in community efforts and endeavours.

Diagram of public participation



**Adapted from Gaventa & Valderrama 1999:2**

**Figure 1**

Furthermore, public participation in democratic governance comes in different varieties and shapes, such as: involvement in campaigns, holding public or political office, being a candidate for election, analyzing political issues, dissemination of party propaganda, membership of pressure groups, contributing money towards party activities, and so on (Oyediran et al., 2002). In other words, public participation in democratic governance does not just exist in the abstract, it denotes real activities that involve the contribution of the citizens. In order to further engage the citizens in public participation, governments are spending a lot of energy and resources to ensure the full participation of their citizens in the electoral process, as this will confer a form of legitimacy and credibility on the party that wins the elections, and in order to also have the support of more members of the public while implementing its policies and agenda (Sassen 2003a). This also ensures a positive public opinion for the government.

Contrastingly, Stiefe & Wolfe (1994) see public participation as an attempt by the citizens to take control of public resources, insisting that public participation is simply the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in a given social situation, particularly on the part of the groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control. Public participation is, thus not only a means with which democratic practices or community efforts are sustained; but also a method employed by the citizens to actually take control of, and regulate, public resources in their own favour. Stiefe & Wolfe (1994) are also of the opinion that public participation connotes “ongoing and never-ending process and cycle through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources which affect them”. This suggest that the similitude of public participation could be imagined as being cyclical in nature and an unending activity involving the government, the citizens, the community and other stakeholders in the process.

Nie & Verba (1972) declare that public participation is always encapsulated in legal frameworks that afford the citizens the opportunity to choose whoever they wish to lead them. Gaventa & Valderrama (1999:5) portray the changing phases and shifts in public participation in the 21st century as follows; “Beneficiary to Citizens, Project to Policy, Consultation to Decision Making, Appraisal to Implementation and Micro to Macro”.

In essence, public participation is an ever-evolving and dynamic concept that remains active as long as there is need for governance and citizens' participation in governance. Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke (2008) opine that public participation serves as a mechanism for procedural fluidity, administrative excellence and due process involved in taking political decisions.

Public participation could also be said to be one of the tools used in measuring the success or failure of democratic governance, as the quality of the outcome of public participation speaks volumes of the quality of governance in such an environment (Fung & Wright 2003). Public participation in democratic governance also has to do with "lobbying of decision makers such as the municipal councilors, mayors, speakers, members of parliament, senior government officials and the municipal/council manager, participating in decision making processes such as public hearings or public consultative meetings and the petitioning of national leaders, provisional and local leaders" (Rowe & Frewer 2005).

Also writing on the subject, Gaventa & Valderrama (1999) describe public participation as a regulated, open and accountable market place of ideas involving various groups and communities.

The history of public participation could be traced as far back as to the classical Athens around the 6th century B.C. Public participation is one of the variants of democracy in which all members of the society have an equal share of formal political power. In contemporary representative democracy, this formal equality or political power is encapsulated primarily in the right to vote and be voted for. "It is generally believed that the idea of public participation and constitutional laws were created in a particular place and time, i.e. Ancient Athens 508 BCE. There exists evidence to suggest that public participation and democratic form of government, in a broad sense, may have existed in several areas of the world well before the turn of the 5th century" (Encyclopedia Britannica 2013:4).

Temkin (2015), analysing public participation and civilization in the American society, avers that the attitudes and conducts of a number of prominent or influential public intellectuals in the United States during the Great Wars, particularly those who supported American participation in the war, shared a general lack of concern with the realities of full-scale warfare.



Their response to the war had little to do with the war itself - its political and economic causes, brutal and industrial character, and human and material costs.

Rather, their positions were often based on their views of culture and philosophy, or on their visions of the post-war world. Consequently, few of these intellectuals fully considered the political, social, and economic context in which the catastrophe occurred. The war, to many of them, was primarily a clash of civilizations, a battle of good versus evil, civilized democracy versus barbaric savagery and progress versus backwardness.

In his own contribution, Bingtao (2015), with emphasis on human civilization within the context of the public economic institution, asserts that changes in the public economic institution using the demand structure of public goods could be said to be the contributing cause of the evolution of human civilization from traditional to modern. The shifts of public economic institutions between the mass democratic one and the elite constitutional one contributes to the current modern economic crisis and the stagnancy of modern civilization, and by extension, the participation of the people. In this broad sense, it is plausible to assume that public participation in democracy in one form or the other arises naturally in any well knitted group, such as a tribe. This is otherwise known as tribalism or primitive democracy. A primitive democracy is identified in a village head, whose decisions are supported by village elders or other co-operative modes of government.

In recent years, some scholars such as (Trautmann 2014; Anand 2015; Kvaskova & de Olea 2015) have exploited the possibility that advancements towards democratic governance had occurred somewhere else other than Greece, as the development of the Greek complex social and political institutions came long after the emergence of the earliest civilization in Egypt and the Near East, hence the need to focus on different variants of public participation across other political institutions and civilizations. For example, in India, a serious claim in early public participation came from the independent Republics of India, Sanghas and Gana. This existed as early as the sixth century BCE and persisted in some areas until the fourth century CE. Gana monarchy was characterized by a deliberative assembly which was headed by a monarch known as Raja (Trautmann 2014; Anand 2015; Kvaskova & de Olea 2015).

The Kingdom of Bhutan, a country in South Asia, located at the Eastern end of the Himalayas, bordered to the north by China and to the south, east and west by India and Bangladesh respectively, also lays claim to early public participation (Mocko & Penjore 2015). Nepal, the world's only Hindu monarchy, was controlled by hereditary prime ministership until 1951, and also had her early birth to public participation (Mocko & Penjore 2015). Sparta, the political arrangement of Spartans in early public participation, comprised the two Spartan Kings (monarchy), the gerousia (council of Gerontes/elders, including the two kings), the ephors (representatives who oversee the kings) and the Apoella (assembly of Spartans). The members of the Gerousia had to be over sixty years of age and were elected for life. These elders were always from wealthy and aristocratic families and were given full legislative powers (Kvaskova & de Olea 2015).

Athens is regarded by many as the birth place of democracy and public participation; it therefore remains a significant reference point. Athens emerged in the 7th century BCE, made up of largely dominating and powerful aristocracies. Many of these aristocracies were disrupted and terminated by popular revolts (Bingtao 2015). In the Roman Republic, it was ruled by Kings. However, due to social unrests and upheavals led by a group, the head of which was Aristocrat Lucius Junius Brutus, the monarchical system collapsed. Following this development, a new constitution was drafted, but the conflict between the ruling families (Patricians) and the rest of the population, the plebeians, continued. Following this, three Patricians were sent to Greece to study and report on the legislative effort of Solon and other law makers (Pieper 2015). A case for early public participation in Africa has also been made by Omotosho (2015), such as “the Ashantis in the Gold Coast (Ghana), the Zulus/the Bantu peoples in South Africa and the Mali Kingdom, under Mai Idriss Alooma. In Nigeria, examples include the Hausa/Fulani Kingdom of Uthman Dan Fodio, the Yoruba Kingdom headed by the Alaafin, the village square meeting of the elders among the Igbo and a host of others”

The emergence of public participation in India, Egypt, Greece, Sparta, Athens, Rome or the contemporary United States of America (USA) attests to the fact that there is a need for popular participation and inclusiveness of the people in governance. This is significant because it gives the people a sense of belonging in the government.

One major feature among all the old democracies is the presence of a general assembly where all citizens do come together to discuss germane issues in the community. This goes to prove that public participation in democratic governance has been with us for ages, but it has witnessed a lot of transformation over the years, culminating in the modern-day participation that is currently in operation (Almond & Verba 1963). The essence of public participation is to carry along as many people as possible and involve them in the day-to-day running of government, in order to have sustainable peace and stability, confer legitimacy on the government and encourage citizens' loyalty and the guarantee of people's welfare. Some scholars such as Potter (2009) have subjected the ancient form of public participation, mainly in form of the Greek and Roman civilizations, to critical examinations for the following reasons:

Restrictions: the so-called civilization laid down some stringent hurdles that must be overcome before the citizens could actually take part in their public discussion and deliberation. These restrictions were in form of wealth, resources, land and so on. This situation also clearly defined and delineated the public into two: the nobles and the peasants. This is definitely not a real popular participation of the citizens as encapsulated in the concept of public participation.

Furthermore, the welfare of the majority of the people was not adequately catered for. Welfarism in the Greek city-state was merely for the rich at the detriment of the poor. The peasants were subjected to untold hardship and deprivation, lacking basic human needs such as shelter, clothing, food and, more importantly, freedom and liberty. Thus, the noble merely legislated for themselves and negotiated their own welfare. This cannot be said to be popular citizens' participation.

Peace and stability: which comes as a result of popular participation of citizens was absolutely absent in the ancient public participation models. Wars continued to ravage the communities, as the nobles became insatiable with their wealth and sought to expand their land ownership. A well articulated public participation with exhaustible deliberation might well have prevented the occurrence of such wars, but that was not the case in those civilizations.

The rural people who were supposed to be the actual beneficiaries of popular participation designs were actually left out of the assembly. They were never part of the discussions or deliberations. Hence, they became disenchanted from the public sphere and were perpetually annihilated from participation.

The works of Almond & Verba (1963); Lijphart (1999); Lipset (2004); Baclija (2013) and Karp & Banducci (2008:315) also attest to the Euro-centric nature of some of these works, even in the modern period. According to Almond & Verba (1963), structural and historical factors are the most determinant factors in the level of public participation in the Germany, Italy, Mexico, the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (USA). They established three main typologies of public participation: mature participation (1), parochial participation (2) and subject participation (3). In the final analysis, they submitted that the best among the three is the mature participation and the worst is the parochial participation, while the subject participation strand stands in between the two. In essence, the main goal or objective of any worthy democratic structure that will enhance public participation is to achieve the level of mature and mass participation of the citizens in governance.

According to Karp & Banducci (2008), who were more detailed in their analysis of public participation with focus on twenty six democratic countries (Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Israel, Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Mexico, New Zealand, Hungary, Japan, Korea, Russia, Ukraine, Canada, United Kingdom, United States and Australia), public participation practiced by these countries can be classified into proportional representation, mixed member proportional, mixed system and plurality system. They are of the opinion that only Australia qualifies as the country with majority system. In order for the majority system to be of huge success, it must also put in place a veritable, strong and enduring structure to accommodate the minority, particularly in the parliament.

Lijphart (1999), in his robust work, he focuses on public participation in thirty-six countries, and came up with the idea of consociationalism as the most reliable solution to public participation for countries with diverse religions, languages, culture and historical background. In effect, mutual consensus and agreement has to be reached by the political actors, not necessarily resorting to voting in all situations. He asserts that this will engender better public participation by creating more space for participation, considering the diverse history and origin of the people. It is equally important to point out that, while consociationalism is a good system in multi-ethnic and multi-lingual societies, it could also discourage the public from participation, as their votes may not count, and could be reduced to negotiation, political horse trading and concessional agreements among political elites.

In carrying out a critique on public participation efforts of Almond & Verba (1963), Lipset (2004), argues that the idea of structural and historical factors are not sufficient and cannot adequately explain public participation without a very sound education. Lipset (2004) emphasizes that the level of education of a people to a great extent determines the level of their participation. Lipset (2004) criticizes the work of Almond & Verba (1963) as Anglo-American-biased, ethnocentric, over prescriptive and lacking in objectivity and empirical strength. Lipset (2004) submits that out of the five countries examined by Almond & Verba (1963), only United Kingdom and United States have the capability for long term democratic stability and participation. A crucial issue not, however, addressed by Lipset (2004) is the question of what type of education is needed to improve the level of participation of the people. In truth, an educational system that is basically built on how to read and write may not be adequate for better public participation. On the other hand, a system of education that is based on making positive impacts on individuals, making the people to be active, loyal and obedient citizens and making them to be politically conscious will enhance better participation of the citizens.

Baclija (2013) approaches public participation from the gender perspective, focusing on the participation of women in the United States and Slovenia. She agrees with Lipset (2004) that education plays a very strategic role in citizens' participation, particularly among the women, before delving into gender equality in public participation.

Baclicja (2013) is of the opinion that inadequate education among women will definitely count against them when they have to compete with more intelligent, well educated, wealthy and influential men in the political space. To Baclicja (2013), having interest in political participation, or joining the right political organization alone may not actually guarantee adequate participation, except when it is well mixed with an all-round education. The Latin American intervention on public participation came from the efforts of Santos (1998); see also Aragon & Sanchez (2008). The authors concentrates on the Brazilian approach to public participation through the participatory budgeting model. Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke (2008) agrees with Santos (1998), Aragon & Sanchez (2008) and go further to describe the processes and methods in participatory budgeting. Beyond borrowing from the Porto Alegre experience in Brazil, they developed parameters with which to measure a truly participatory budgeting model. They proceeded from Porto Alegre, focusing on countries in Europe that have a semblance of participatory budgeting model, such as Poland, Spain, France, Italy, Portugal, Germany and England. The work of Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke (2008) actually alludes to the fact that participatory budgeting model was first established and executed in Brazil, though it has been embraced and re-designed over time in order to suit the need of countries in Europe, such as Poland, Spain and other European countries mentioned above.

Lowndes (2001); Ward & Kiruswa (2012) focus on public participation from the gender perspective; but, more importantly, Ward & Kiruswa (2012) focus on the African perspective and in agreement with Baclicja (2013), but studying public participation from the gender perspective in Tanzania. Both Baclicja (2013), Ward & Kiruswa (2012) differ, however, in that, while Baclicja (2013) focuses on the need for women to be adequately educated in the United States of America and Slovenia before going into participation, Ward & Kiruswa (2012), though not totally discarding the vital role education plays in women participation, assumes that the Tanzanian women are averagely well educated and well informed to negotiate the political space with men, but what is needed is the reform of the electoral system to favour more women participation. In other words, electoral systems as presently constituted in Tanzania could be said to be gender biased, as they tilt more in favour of the menfolk.

Ward & Kiruswa (2012) opine that for women to be more active in democratic governance, the electoral system and the intra and inter-political party arrangement must be re-designed to make them more gender sensitive and create more space for women participation. Ward & Kiruswa (2012) condemn the idea of asking all candidates, including women, to pay 1,000 shillings before they could stand for election, which ended the political aspiration and participation of most Tanzanian women. Moreover, the process and procedure used in nominating candidates from the political parties for the parliaments and presidential position must also be gender sensitive. They are also of the opinion that the imbalance of women in the parliament may actually count against them, particularly when bills that have to do with women are brought before the House for consideration.

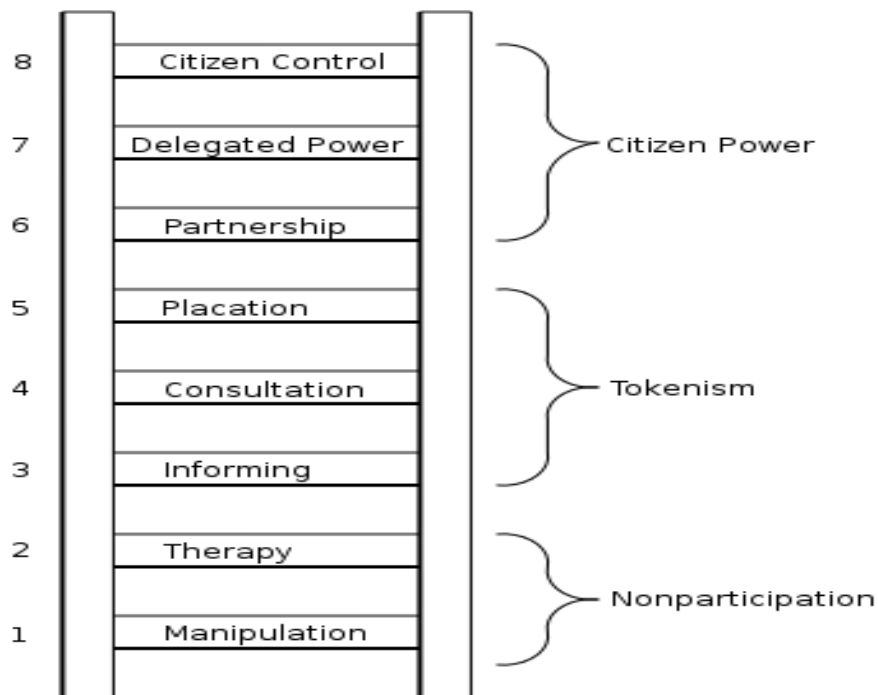
Valuable properties are always lost with violent agitations, yet the major actors still end up at the round table as witnessed in Nigeria, Kenya and Zimbabwe. In a nutshell, in as much as citizens have the right of participation, the use of violence should not be encouraged. The Alexandra Vukuzenzele Crisis is just an isolated case which may not justify the use of violence in participation. McGowan (2003), in recognition of the use of violence or force, believes that the use of force, particularly from the military through illegal and illegitimate military intervention in democratic governance, is also a means of participation. He however, submits that undue military intervention has done more damage than good to the African continent by limiting the space for public participation in Africa. McGowan (2003) argues that until African governments put a stop to military coup d'états, the space for public participation will always be slim and limited. He maintains that the countries in Europe and America have witnessed a higher level of public participation and achieved the desired matured democratic culture, because of the non-intervention of the military in the political and democratic governance of the people. In the final analysis, he submits that public participation is all about the multiplicity of ideas and multi-party system, which is against the monolithic, unitary and the autocratic nature of the military training, formations and establishment. In other words, the fact that the military government involves only a few segments of the society has made it a sectionalized government, thus, the participation of the civilians are shrunken and restricted.

According to Mazrui (2012) and Ndiva (2008), public participation in Africa has witnessed three major historical moments: a moment of colonialism, a moment of liberation and a moment of democratization. In the opinion of Mazrui (2012), Africa is still grappling with democratization and participation, and most of the African countries cannot even be said to be democratic but in a pre-democracy era, as many elections are still notoriously rigged in favour of the incumbent or the ruling parties. He agrees with McGowan (2003) that not only does military intervention limit the space of public participation in Africa, but that the constant rigging of elections by the political elites has ensured that most citizens are effectively disenfranchised, become apolitical and rendered disinterested in participation as a by-product of election rigging, such as witnessed in Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Congo Democratic Republic and the Comoros, which gave birth to electoral violence, loss of lives and property.

The African Union (AU), having realized the need to prevent further bloodshed resulting from electoral malpractices and violence, came up with the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). However, the implementation of the APRM has not been effective to say the least. Violence before elections, during elections and even after the declaration of results by the Electoral Commission is still being witnessed in Africa on a daily basis.



## Ladder of Citizens' Participation



**Adapted from Arnstein 1969**

**Figure 2**

At the level of informing, consultation and placation-the level also referred to as Tokenism- participants only wish to hear and have a voice. They have no power to enforce; they have the opportunity of advising the power brokers, but cannot enforce such suggestions and advice as the power holders continue to rule. And at the level of partnership, delegated power and citizen control, the stage also known as the citizen power. The citizens or participants enter into partnership and negotiation with the power brokers, they have power and they take full managerial power and control.

However, the work of Arnstein (1969) has been roundly criticized for the following reasons; the sensitive issues of racism, paternalism and resistance to power redistribution were not considered, the inadequacies of the poor community's social, political and economic levels were not addressed and the level of infrastructure and knowledge-base and difficulties of organizing a representative and accountable citizens' group in the face of futility, alienation and distrust were not considered. In the final analysis, the ladder of citizen participation may not actually exist in the real world. Silverman (2005) expands on Arnstein's ladder of

citizen participation by introducing what is known as “citizen participation continuum”. He suggests that more recognition ought to and must be accorded to individuals and groups that drive participation, not only focusing on the power brokers. He attempts to distinguish between grassroots participation and instrumental participation.

Fung (2006:67-68) came up with another “ladder of citizen participation” based on three critical questions:

- i. Who is allowed to participate, and are they representative of the population?
- ii. What is the method of communication or decision-making?
- iii. How much influence or authority is granted to the participation?

Other ladders of participation have been presented by Connor (1998); Wiedemann & Fermers (1993); Pretty (1995) and Rocha (1997).

According to Cornwall & Coelho (2006), there is a need for new mechanisms and methods of public participation. Cornwall & Coelho (2006) believe that these new methods of public participation are creating new forms of citizenship and contributing to tangible developmental outcomes. However, Cornwall & Coelho (2006) warn that one should not just assume that the new institutionalized space will automatically be created for change. They submit that the new space for change may be distorted by history, culture and governmental power. This has the potential of producing a radically different outcomes across various settings, in form of direct violent and non-violent actions. “The United Nations (UN) and its agencies have always been in the forefront in the shift towards decentralization and democratization of local governance. This shift towards participation as key to deepening local democracy is not only advocated by the development mainstream, but is also confirmed by the left-wing political movement as well. The examples of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre in Brazil and Panchayat Development Planning in the Kerala state in India are the most well-known of many of such cases” (Piper 2012:13). The essence of this submission is that, the UN as a global international organization has also realized the important roles being played by participatory budgeting agents and organizations in the development of the rural settlements and local governance.

Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni (2012:87), viewing participation in budgetary process in

Nigeria, affirm that the “rationality of the budgetary process and its political utility has been variously taken for granted in Nigeria by successive governments over the years. This has been largely due to unreasonable and sentimental extra-budgeting spending, which has become a way of life”. Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni (2012) declare that it is a fact of history that most of the leaders in Nigeria, in the past and even up till now, are internationally acclaimed as “Father Christmas” in all terms of emotional or primordial extra-budgetary spending. This becomes even more pronounced as a result of non-participation of the people in the budgetary process. In many cases, public funds have been donated to questionable and non-existent organizations and individuals. This is one of the major factors that account for the ineffectiveness of participatory budgeting in Nigeria. Gideon (2014), in agreement with Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni (2012), is also of the view that “the poor budget implementation in Nigeria has inevitably led to poor governance, hence the problem of budget implementation will be a thing of the past when budget implementation is reviewed periodically to ensure that programs are implemented effectively and to identify any financial or policy slip-ups”. Therefore, a principal problem affecting the effective implementation of participatory budgeting in Nigeria is the failure on the part of the government to actually implement the budget as agreed on paper by all the stakeholders involved in the participatory budgeting processes.

To Popoola (2013) (see also Lutz & Linder (2004:17), local governance comprises a set of institutions, mechanisms and processes through which citizens and their groups can articulate their interests and needs, mediate their differences and exercise their rights and obligations at the local level. In other words, the partnership or symbiotic relationship among the local government institutions, civil society organizations and private sector is important for participation, transparency, accountability, equitable service delivery and local development. It facilitates the empowerment of local governments with authority and resources, building their capacity to function as participatory institutions that are responsible and accountable to the concern and needs of all citizens. Writing on this issue, Popoola (2013) insists that the local government is also concerned with strengthening of grassroots democracy, empowering citizens, communities and other organizations such as the Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to participate as equal partners in local governance and the local development process.

He adds that what he has depicted above is still a mirage in Nigeria, as the central government has continuously failed to involve the local people in budget planning and implementation. In spite of this, extra-budgeting by successive governments in the country still persists unabated, according to Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni (2012),

Santos (1998), (see also Smith (2006); Aragon & Sanchez (2008) ; Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke (2008)), explains that decision making concerning government budget is of significant public interest, since these decisions determine how state resources are allocated and whether the needs and interests of the poorest and the most marginalized members of the public are prioritized and addressed. Government budgets, in this case the local government, are thus a focal point where the various competing demands on the state are contested, negotiated and renegotiated. The bottom line is, thus, the protection of the most vulnerable members of the public through a conscious re-ordering of priorities and needs. From the above, it is clear that the present models of public participation, particularly the participatory budgeting model, only exists on paper in Nigeria, with the exception of Lagos and Abuja (UN-HABITAT 2009). Most of the other participatory budgeting models in Nigeria represent only a semblance of participatory budgeting which cannot be relied on by a researcher, as they do not adequately cater for the needs of the people of Nigeria.

The summary of the works of the above-mentioned scholars also reveal that the present public participation process cannot adequately cater for the need of Nigerians for the following reasons: Most of the models have been imported from Europe - they do not consider the diverse nature of the country in terms of historical background, religion, culture and languages. The models have also not really engendered the much-needed popular participation of the people, therefore paving the way for the people to explore violent protests as a means of direct popular participation (DPP). Furthermore, the so-called meetings of the community people are highly irregular, with little or no opportunity for any meaningful inputs, thus leading to lack of continuity and follow up on communal problems. Also, the unnecessary intervention by the military in the democratic and political governance of the people has compounded the problem of the limited spaces for public participation, and participatory budgeting in particular. The absence of any clear - cut policy paper, stating in clear terms the roles of the stakeholders, such as the community leaders, the councilors, the

civil society groups and others has also rendered the present models of public participation ineffective. In driving home the strategic synergy between public participation and democratic governance, Gaventa & Valderrama (1999), linking public participation to human rights and democratic governance, aver that increasingly the concept of public participation is related to rights of citizenship and to democratic governance. Hence, focusing alone on the study of the concept of participation, without a complementary study on democratic governance, will be an inadequate academic effort.

World Bank, cited in Mishra (2012:3-5), defines democratic governance as:

The manner in which power is exercised in the management of the country's economic and social resources for development. Under this condition, the elements of good governance: political and bureaucratic accountability; participation by involving community and grassroots organizations in the design and implementation of public projects, decentralization of administration; creation of Ombudsman offices, establishing a legal framework for defining property rights and enforcing contracts and liabilities.

Like any other democratic country in the world, Nigeria is grappling with her own share of problems emanating from the practice of democracy. Thus, democracy has been reduced to mere ritual of elections that are conducted periodically, without any credence to the credibility, fairness, freeness and popular opinions of the people. Therefore, democratic governance can be simply justified as an interactive relationship between government and other sectors of society, be it public or private, as the case may be.

In line with the above, some of the salient features of democratic governance are as follows: the existence of more than one political party or individual power, elections come up at periodic intervals; no one holds office for life. Elections are usually conducted by secret ballot. The competitions in elections are open, free and fair. There is no room for the victimization of opponents. There are fundamental freedoms, civil liberties, freedom of speech, religion and so on. Decisions are arrived at by the majority.

There is freedom of choice of candidate for elections and support for any political party. Mass participation in elections and the election processes; a large percentage of the citizenry is involved in governance. The government is responsible to the people in all ramifications, and people can reject an unpopular candidate through the ballot or by recall. The sanctity of the ballot box is respected and guaranteed, presence of active citizen participation, presence of transparent administration, presence of robust civil societies, media and diverse interest groups, presence of an efficient and effective bureaucracy and the guarantee of welfare of most citizens (Agboola 2005; Adegboye 2013).

Fundamentally, public participation in democratic governance are laden with many assumptions, essence and critiques. This is due to the fact that, participation is a fundamental right of the people. Decisions made by the people themselves will often be better than those made for them by other people, because the people know better what they really need in their own lives. Skills acquired through participation can be extended to other aspects of participants' lives. For example, the experience of participation often leads to a general increase in the level of individual confidence and development. According to Nze (2008) "public participation in its overall context is widely used spanning politics, community development, rural area planning and development, environmental sanitation, social activities, provision of infrastructure and relatively, to physical planning and plan implementation". That is, public participation is an all-encompassing network of politics, social activities and rural development. In effect, it is a chain of activities underpinning human growth and development, wherein one sector is not less important than others. Therefore, this thesis argues that whenever and wherever there is a disconnection among the various chains of activities as described above, public participation has not taken place.

This thesis, therefore, asserts that whenever there is a breach of trust among the diverse co-operating interests, public participation is at zero level. Eriksson (2012), in agreement with Agboola (2005), declares that participation/participative politics comes into play when ideas about citizens, as active participants, as creators of the networks serving as the pre-conditions of social well-being and as producers of new knowledge and know-how, begin to be viewed in conjunction with each other. This thesis, thus, believes that public participation cannot be said to be effective when there exists no synergy between the citizens and the decision makers.

Pateman (1970) (see also Agboola (2005)) reflects that an active and participative citizenship is the pre-condition of a functional public participation. In view of the above, the thesis argues that the failure to have in place an active and participative citizenry may mark the demise of public participation, considering the fact that active and participative citizenship is the heartbeat of public participation. The civil society is the natural habitat or environment of active participation and the site for communal self-organization (Baiocchi 2005). This thesis also argues that participation has to do with the synergy between civil society and communal self – organization.

Bryson et al., (2013) submit that the essence of any public participation design depends upon the processes, and also about deliberative democracy. Hence, one of the sterling qualities of public participation is the ability of the participant to be involved actively through rigorous deliberation and consultation. This process does not only allow for cross-fertilization of ideas but it also adds values to and enriches the final decision taken by the congregation, as there is always unity in diversity. Furthermore, public participation gives opportunity for the acceptance of policies and programs, it broadens the basis for acceptable programs supported to achieving societal goals and objectives, and it is a way of generating awareness in people about government policies and programs (Agboola 2005). This thesis thus insists that one of the basic strengths of public participation is that it is agenda driven, and it helps in achieving successful implementation of governmental programs.

Additionally, it helps government to elicit vital information which might not even surface through scientific analysis of raw data, but rather there in the field. This is easily achieved through the adoption of deliberative democracy as a pivotal pillar of its sustainability. It provides opportunity for the government to achieve its main goals, so as to know the public priority at a particular time (Agboola 2005). Therefore, public participation helps in achieving sustainability of public developmental programs, objectives and projects.

Fung & Wright (2003), in the same vein, equally outline some of the sterling qualities of public participation as follows: it helps to empower the citizens; ordinary citizens are involved in the process of decision making; it helps to generate superior solutions as a result of wider deliberation; the existence of multiple strategies to solving problems, bureaucracy is removed, it provides an opportunity for the ordinary citizens to have first hand knowledge of governance and citizenship education; and it serves as an index in measuring success.

Strengthening and empowering local government has been justified not only on the grounds of making local government more efficient, but also on the grounds of increasing accountability and participation of the citizens (Heller 2001).

Wapler (2012), focusing on public participation in Brazil, argues that citizens living in communities that directly benefit from public works that are won through CSOs are empowered by credible state commitment, while citizens that are not directly affiliated with civil service organizations (CSO) continue to rely on their direct connections to government officials. In essence, the individual's means of involvement in civil society has a far reaching and positive impact on how participatory governance engagements can have greater effects on state-society relationships. According to Financio (2015), from the point of view of the field of land use and environment approvals, there is, and has been for many years, a tension between the need for expedition on the one hand, and an abiding desire to ensure that good decisions are made. One of the many means of arriving at these good decisions is through the rigorous analysis of the best available material. This is based on the thorough participation of the people. Thus, a good or correct decision can only be described as such when it enjoys the confidence of those most affected by the outcome - whether they agree with the decision or not.

Public participation has impacted positively on the quality of decision making, policy making and fast tracking more collaboration among various stakeholders such as the civil societies, the non-governmental organizations and the civic engagement of the community associations (Nabatchi & Leighninger 2015). Therefore, quality decisions and better citizens' engagement are enhanced through public participation. In line with Nabatchi & Leighninger (2015), Wijnhoven, Ehrenhard & Kuhn (2015) also agree that public participation has enhanced better opening up of government objectives and aims. Furthermore, it has acted as a catalyst in improving the engagement of citizens in public sector activities. It has equally improved our understanding of citizens' motivations to engage in the various variants of open government, particularly in innovation objectives (high or low) and managerial level (political versus administrative). It has brought to the fore issues of collaborative democracy, citizen sourcing, and citizen ideation and innovation.

Public participation is significant in that in most cases decisions that are arrived at through



public participation are popular decisions, with the effect that more people are getting more civilized, informed and more associated together. It has improved the rationale and quality of participation in democratization (Ibrahim & Mussarat 2015). It is the position of this thesis that the concept of public participation has accentuated the relationship between public and decision makers in democratic institutions. It has enhanced the rate of mobilization and equality of participation for political development and better principles for public participation. However, Ibrahim & Mussarat (2015) argue that participation of citizens in voting may not be a measure of public participation, as this has to do more with the different methods of campaign strategies employed by the political parties and the level of political culture of the region in contention.

Furthermore, the Brazilian civil society over the past thirty years has experienced a transformed relationship with the state. This is due largely to the consolidation of democratic rule, enhanced public participation, the re-engineering of the economy in the 1990s, the economic boom experienced in the 2000s, the re-allocation of public resources to the poor and vulnerable Brazilians, and the proliferation of sustainable participatory governance that has created more opportunities for thousands of Brazilian citizens to be in better position to be able to be directly involved in public policy making processes and implementation (Wapler 2012). In other words, one vital essence of public participation is the ability to bring together the state and the civil society, and provide a veritable platform for their co-existence in re-ordering the needs of the vulnerable members of the society.

Contrary to the above, Irvin & Stansbury (2004), talking from the conservative point of view and subjecting public participation to a barrage of criticisms, are of the opinion that public participation has succeeded in doing more harm than good to the democratic structures and the lives of the citizens which it claims to improve.

The bases of their criticism for public participation are not far-fetched. They are as follows: It is rather too expensive to implement, besides its being time consuming, as precious time is wasted on unending deliberations. This thesis believes that, as a matter of fact, not all issues should be subjected and can be subjected to deliberation; too much analysis often times leads to paralysis of ideas. Another issue is the difficulty in diffusing citizens' good will; the so-called goodwill and loyalty of the citizens cannot be adequately measured.

That is, the loyalty and goodwill of the citizens may not be adequately captured empirically. This is because human beings are social beings with their own different prejudices, feelings, likes and dislikes. Therefore, capturing their goodwill and loyalty as a key component of public participation becomes very difficult, if not impossible.

Additionally, there exists a lack of authority; in most cases there are no identifiable, defined or recognized authorities to be held responsible for the failure or ineffectiveness of public policies. There is usually complacency on the part of citizens, government and civil society; they often play to the gallery. This is indeed a huge setback for public participation; the policy frameworks are always available, but the drivers of these policies are not adequately recognizable and when they are even recognized, the effectiveness is missing. This position has also been corroborated by the (UN-HABITAT 2009). Irvin & Stansbury (2004) are also of the view that persistent self-interest and selfishness, particularly on the part of the government and the citizens, each one of them always sticking to their own policies and agenda, with different motives of implementation and the power of wrong decision, in an attempt to rationalize and prioritize the needs of the citizens, are usually overdone, leading to wrong decisions being taken by both the citizens and the government. This may perhaps have been avoided if those policies and agendas have not been subjected to the unnecessary test of public participation.

Subsequently, the so-called representatives of the citizens often constitute problems in citizens' participation. In most cases they do not understand the issues at stake for discussion, some only represent their personal aspirations and desires, while some even lack the required credentials, expertise and qualifications in the first instance to stand as representatives of the people, but were only chosen on primordial sentiments and emotions, devoid of objectivity and merits. Irvin & Stansbury (2004) conclude by sounding a note of warning to administrators and politicians who are thinking about engaging in the citizens' participation process to bear in mind that talk is cheap, and may not after all be effective when it comes to actual implementation.

In agreement with Irvin & Stansbury (2004), Fung & Wright (2003) also identify and criticize public participation for the following reasons. First, the successes of participation

that is, participatory budgeting in particular are difficult to sustain over a long period of time. This is because the power of the state is often jettisoned and the state power is colonized. This situation oftentimes leads to overconcentration on relatively narrow issues, such as redistributive taxation or property rights, at the expense of the state itself. More importantly, there also exists the problem of non-availability of expertise, experience and sound knowledge; and when expatriates and professionals are even available, they have no final say on the outcome of the policy programs. Hence, their task ends in mere making of suggestions and advice. Furthermore, Fung & Wright (2003) believe that participants, as one of the potent dangers of the deliberative process, often use their power to manipulate and enhance the legitimacy of their opinions and positions, which are often motivated by particularistic or personal interests. Therefore, the so-called participants are also not equal in resources, intelligence, dominant racial group or ethnicity. In sum, public participation is already derailed, as there are no equal opportunities available and open to all stakeholders.

Similarly, public participation also suffers from animosity and threats. This is due to the strategic bargaining, deregulation and disrespect for local circumstances, since they are linked to higher structures, and these structures take the final decisions. This can ultimately make public participation fall prey to clientelism, that is, customer-client relationship, in place of state-citizen relationship. Other critiques of public participation, as observed by Fung & Wright (2003), include the low level of literacy among most of the participants, the problem of centralization, techno-bureaucratic state and political democracy. Ferguson (1994), also in agreement with Fung & Wright (2003), is of the view that community engagement may not after all necessarily enhance participation. This is because the needs of the various communities are different, yet the same mechanism is employed in solving these problems, irrespective of the geographical locations. Hickey & Mohan (2004), in a more radical approach to the criticisms of public participation, believe that participation has now assumed the status of a new and modern form of tyranny. This has come into play as a result of undue emphasis on the exercise of power and popular sovereignty by the public participation stakeholders/participants, thus eroding the power of the state, as also stated above and identified by Fung and Wright (2003).

Cooke & Kothari (2001) also assert that, with all the advantages and promises of public participation, it may not realize those advantages or succeed without the fundamental

and structural support from the ruling political parties. Hence, the whole essence of public participation collapses without help from political parties. The success or otherwise of public participation is thus always subject to the whims and caprices of the governing party. They make or mar the actual implementation of the policies and goals. Moreover, public participation has been deliberately and systematically saddled with too many functions, ideologies, political theories, project developments and so on (Cooke & Kothari 2001). This has ensured that public participation is sandwiched with many issues and functions, and without any clear cut intentions that are aimed at controlling and improving the lives of the rural population and the vulnerable groups. There also exist the frequent dichotomies between participation as either a technical method of project work or political methodology of empowerment. This situation has often led to more complications and confusion among stakeholders in the participation process, as identified by (Carmen 1996; Cleaver 1999; and Rahman 1995).

Hickey & Mohan (2004) also identify the complication in participation in form of liberal citizenship (national level-political participation-substantive/communitarian-community development). Participation is also assumed to be a process where large numbers of people are represented by a relatively small group of participants. It is an organized interaction of leaders rather than members per se (Hickey & Mohan 2004). A post-modern theorist, Ploger (2001), has criticized both Habermas's and Foucault's public participation ideas on the theories about communicative planning. According to them, Ploger and Foucault focus too much and lay too much emphasis on the impacts language and modes of communication play in shaping planning practice, public dialogues, policymaking, and processes of collaboration in public participation, and neglected the power and influence of the state in such public participation. In addition, discussions on communicative planning seem to reestablish an old philosophical confrontation between Jürgen Habermas's plea for a discursive ethic and Michel Foucault's thesis of the omnipresence of discursive powers. Consequently, Ploger (2001) opines that the two theorists on public participation, communicative and collaborative planning have failed, as they refuse to deal with the questions on government and governmentality when the power of institutional discourses and the planning of legal decisional structures are discussed.

Boeder (2005), also a post-modernist proponent, has criticised Habermas' work on public

participation and the public sphere. He questions the emancipatory potentials of the model of consensus through rational debate. Boeder (2005) is also of the view that public sphere as envisaged by Habermas is more conceptual than physical. The public sphere is not a marketplace, nor is it a coffeehouse, a salon, an organization or a newspaper. Rather, the public sphere transcends these physical appearances as an abstract forum for dialogue and ideology-free public opinion, and a lively debate on multiple levels within society. Of particular interest here is the fact that the German word for public relations is *Öffentlichkeitsarbeit*, which could both be translated as “work within the public sphere” or “work on the public sphere”.

### **3. The Concept of Budget/Budgeting and Participatory Budgeting as a Typology of Public Participation in Democratic Governance**

In a study of this nature, it is significant to also focus on the concept of budget and budgeting. This will ultimately add to the body of knowledge in this regard. The budget is a financial statement that sets out the estimate of expenditure and revenue of a government or an organization for the coming year. It is a “mechanism through which subunits of government or any organization bargain over goals, make side-payments, and try to motivate one another to accomplish their objectives” (Wildavsky1976: 245). Thus, a budget is referred to as a political document that involves bargaining between various sectors of the political economy. It is a “planning device” used for the translation of “present scarce fiscal and human resources in the public sector into future government goal and programmes” (Wildavsky1976: 245). It is a coordinating device used as a tool of fiscal policy in public administration, thus serving as “a legal document that provides a vehicle for fiscal controls over subordinate units of government by the politically elected representatives of the people” (Wildavsky1976:246). It constitutes one of the policy nerve centres of government’s response to the political environment in terms of authoritative allocations of scarce societal values. The political view of the budget sees it less as a tool of public management and much more as a part of the general social decision-making process in which various participants, clientele groups, agencies and the council of economic advisers combined to determine who gets what? Where? When? How and Why?

In similar vein, Doerr (1998:45) defines the budget as a statement of expected revenues and expenditures for a fiscal period, while Nkala (2004) construes the budget as a public fiscal policy instrument which is essentially a mechanism of how fiscal resources will be mobilised and public goods and services allocated, a chronicle of choosing and prioritising public sector investment programmes to be financed, a statement on the use of public funds in the past and how future revenues will be used in the coming year.

Local government may be unworkable without the annual budget, the centre piece of the financial year. Budgets “are the ways local services are funded, and have great impact on the poorest within our communities” (Nkala 2004). For this reason, transparency and participation in the budgetary process are important. Tenets of good governance indicate that local government activities and decisions should be made openly and with the active participation of those people influenced by them. Thus budget formulation should be a democratic process reflecting the broader mandate of all stakeholders in society clearly indicating negotiated outcomes of competing and contrasting interests from different lobby groups in society. The public should feel a sense of ownership of the budget. Budgeting means fiscal planning, control and accounting.

Nnamani (2006:91) is convinced that “the budget is a powerful tool of governance and an economic template for equitable and efficient allocation of resources using the parameters defined by the constitution”. Budgeting is one of the most important areas of policymaking. Budgeting serves as an essential element of planning and controlling a country’s limited resources and subsequently provides a guide for management decisions in adjusting plans and objectives if there is an uncontrollable change in condition. Through budgets, governments indicate how much they are willing to spend on public purposes, set substantive policy priorities within overall spending levels, determine the amount that must be borrowed in order to finance approved spending levels, and thus influence the economy. A good budget helps a country from getting into debt and also promotes employment. Hence, the budget looks at the estimation of the proposed expenditures for specified purposes and periods and embodies the means for controlling the estimated amounts to be raised as well as the amounts to be spent for specified periods. In both authoritarian and democratic societies, the budget remains a vital link in the system of controlling the government.

In any of the systems, it is a means whereby the government influences social policy, moulds the economic structures, and achieves its political aims. Budgeting advocates argue that resources available are not always sufficient to service the needs/opportunities which the country would like to render; also budgeting emphasizes the relevance of the projects to be undertaken which are aimed at developing the country.

Therefore, a good budget must be simple, timely, measurable, comprehensible, reasonable and achievable (Okolo 2012). It is instructive that through the national budget, the government sets out the principle of public expenditure that will help realize the goals of economic reform programmes. Budgets are not just financial statements; they are political declarations of the commitment of the state to civil and political freedoms, as well as economic and social rights of the people. They are declarative of how the state prioritizes responses to the needs and wants of the citizens. The budget as a government tool must be rational, within an identifiable routine, process and procedures, linking together the directive principles of state policy and financial resources available for the fiscal year.

The budget process generally involves the following stages:

1. Budget formulation by the various Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs);
2. Call circulars to indicate the format for submission of the budget proposals to Ministry of Finance;
3. Submission of budget from MDAs to Ministry of finance;
4. Hearing and defense of budget;
5. Determination of ceiling for each Ministry, Department and Agency;
6. Alternatively, there may be participatory budgeting or a situation whereby ongoing projects are captured in the next year's budget;
7. Revenue forecast and projections;
8. Final preparation of budget and submission to the State or Federal Executive Council;
9. Presentation to parliament;

10. Legislative process;
11. Implementation warrant of releases and cash backing;
12. Monitoring and control;
13. Oversight (Olutoye 2013:8).

In line the concept of budget and budgeting, participatory budgeting can also be perceived as a typology of public participation in democratic governance.

Condon (2007:4) observes that public participation represents “different mechanisms for the public to express opinions and ideally exert influence regarding political, economic, management and other social decisions”. He outlines the following as some of the mechanisms: “town hall meeting, advisory committee, citizens’ jury, opinion poll, participatory design, participatory budgeting, referendum, protest and vote”. According to Martin (2014 & 2015), public participation, mobile media and political participation are mutually inclusive. Consequently, they cannot be separated, as mobile media has now turned out to be an effective means of mobilizing citizens, creating awareness and thus increasing public participation in general and political participation in particular. Although still at a relatively early stage, social/mobile media applications such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube have increasingly been adopted by politicians, political activists, public policy researchers and social movements as a means of engaging, organizing and communicating with citizens (Loaer & Mercea 2012; European Parliamentary Research Services 2014 and Starbird et al., 2015). Yet this phenomenon is spatially uneven. In rural areas, for example, the Global Satellite Mobile (GSM) network is underdeveloped, therefore citizens are left out of the loop. Similarly, in urban areas, the cell phone/internet coverage is uneven, particularly in developing countries, such as Nigeria. Thus, this makes the use of social media to be restricted among most subscribers, especially in the rural communities (Njoku 2007; Punch 2013).

Participatory budgeting is a public participatory mechanism that is used to mobilize community assets aimed at general improvement in the lives of majority of the less privileged and vulnerable citizens in the community.



Cabbanes (2015) opines that participatory budgeting (PB) entails citizens meeting to agree on priorities for part of the local government budget for their neighborhood or the city as a whole, and helping to oversee project implementation. Participatory budgeting has contributed significantly to improving basic service provision and management, with projects that are usually cheaper and better maintained because of community control and oversight. Participatory budgeting improves governance and the delivery of services; it does not often fundamentally change existing power relations between local governments and citizens.

Thus, in plain language, participatory budgeting involves the coming together of the people, prioritizing their needs, and the local government or city council supervising the implementation of such prioritized projects. This has translated to improved citizens' welfare and social needs, service delivery and cheaper project execution among the concerned citizens.

Del Prado, Florendo & Rosellon (2015) however perceives the participatory budgeting process as a means of empowering civil society organizations to engage with local government and national government agencies in local development planning. Through participatory budgeting, avenues have been created for more active citizens through the engagement of the civil society organizations. Citizens are now more than before partnering with the government to bring about development in their localities. This is perhaps one of the most fundamental achievements of participatory budgeting, if and when it is meticulously thought out and implemented. Harkins & Egan (2012), Cabbanes (2015) and Del Prado, Florendo & Rosellon (2015) also define participatory budgeting as the involvement of the local residents in deciding how to spend public funds. At the core of participatory budgeting is the delivery of social and local services to be able to meet the need of a greater percentage of the local people. It is all about support for community empowerment, enhanced localism, pluralism and community voluntarism.

Umo (2014) also believes that a participatory budget prepared by a democratic accountant will boost organizational effectiveness. Empirical evidence is in support of the fact that in majority of cases, the participatory method of budget preparation produces better results as far as the effectiveness and efficiency of organizations are concerned.

In essence, participatory budgeting is a means of bringing about organizational effectiveness and efficiency, which will come to play when corruption is reduced to the barest minimum through effective use of participatory budgeting.

Shah (2007) (see also Gaventa & Barrett (2012)), describes participatory budgeting as “representing a direct-democracy approach to budgeting that offers citizens at large an opportunity to learn about governance and government operations and to deliberate, debate, and influence the allocation of public resources”. Participatory budgeting is a “process by which citizens, either as individuals or through civic associations, can voluntarily and regularly contribute to decision making over at least part of a public budget through an annual series of scheduled meetings with governmental authorities” (Chavez & Goldfrank 2004). Wapler (2007) believes that participatory budgeting could also mean “decision-making process through which citizens deliberate and negotiate over the distribution of public resources”. Wampler (2007 & 2012) is also of the view that “participatory budgeting programs are implemented at the behest of governments, citizens, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) to allow citizens to play a direct role in deciding how and where resources should be spent”.

According to Moynihan (2007), “most proponents of participatory budgeting see it as a way of infusing the values of citizen involvement into the most basic and formal procedure of governance, especially the distribution of resources through budgeting, all in the name of fostering probity, accountability, transparency and effective distribution of resources”. For his part Wapler (2007:24) maintains that participatory budgeting “opens up obscure budgetary procedures to ordinary citizens and helps create a broader public forum in which citizens and governments discuss spending, taxation, and implementation, and it is simultaneously a policy process that focuses on the distribution of resources and a democratic institution that enhances accountability, transfers decision-making authority to citizens, and empowers citizens”.

Wapler (2000 & 2007) summarizes the goals of participatory budgeting as follows:

The participatory budgeting programmes confront social and political legacies of clientelism, social inclusion and corruption by making the budgetary process transparent and public. Social and political exclusion

are challenged, as low-income and traditionally excluded political

actors are given the opportunity to make policy decisions. By moving the locus of decision making from the private officers, politicians and technocrats to public forums, public meetings help foster transparency. Participatory budgeting programmes also serve as “citizenship schools”.

Participatory budgeting is a process of decision making that is based on general rules and criteria of distributive justice, approved by regular and institutionalized organs of participation in which the popular classes have majority representation.

Participatory budgeting is a form of community participation in democratic governance that has to do with the “redistribution of resources in favour of the more vulnerable social groups by means of participatory democracy. It is a means of reducing the predominant nature of the state over civil society, through the distribution of resources and the definition of investment priorities” (Aragon & Sanchez 2008:164). In sum, the main objective of participatory budgeting is to secure and maintain the welfare of the less privileged groups in the society. It is a bottom-up approach to public participation in society, as against the usual up top-down approach that is prevalent in most modern day systems of government.

Participatory budgeting is indeed, the participation of the common citizens and members of society in the budget allocation process and procedures. It allows the participation of non-elected citizens in the conception and/or the allocation of public finances. It is a means of reducing bureaucratic bottlenecks that is synonymous with most governments, replacing it with the popular administration of the people. In other words, participatory budgeting is a process of democratic deliberation and decision-making. It is a participatory democracy, in which the common people decide how to allocate part of a municipal or public spending on projects, and give them the power by the central government to take real decisions about how money is appropriated and spent. In effect, a strictly implemented participatory budgeting that is based on mutual trust enables the local governments and the citizens to benefit equally.

In some cases, participatory budgeting also has the potential of increasing peoples' willingness to pay their taxes, as they are personally involved in taking decisions on how the funds are disbursed.

A well-documented case study of eight municipalities in Brazil analyzing the successes and the failures of participatory budgeting has suggested that it often results in more equitable public spending, greater government transparency and accountability. It has also increased the level of public participation, particularly among the marginalized or poor residents, besides increasing the level of democratic citizenship learning and education (Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke 2008). Besides making the citizens better informed and loyal citizens who are easy to lead by the government, the government policies and programmes are well implemented without little or no resistance from the citizens, since they were mutually agreed both procedurally and in implementation. In tandem with the above, Adesopo (2011:117) is convinced that participatory budgeting is "basically an umbrella term that is used to describe a variety of mechanisms through which power or influence over public service investment priorities and economic spending can be delegated to the common man on the street". In carrying out a very sound and sustainable participatory budgeting model, some basic and fundamental steps are involved. These have been spelt out by Santos (1998:468). The four basic steps that are involved in the participatory budgeting process are:

- Community members identify spending priorities and select budget delegations to represent their interests.
- Budget delegations develop specific spending proposals, with help from experts.
- Community members vote on which proposal to fund.
- The appropriate or relevant city or institution implements the top priority proposals.

The emergence of participatory budgeting is premised on some fundamental conditions. These conditions are:

- Bridge the huge gap between the rich and the poor, and reduce the level of poverty and inequality, through the deliberate redistribution of resources in favour of the vulnerable groups in the society.

- Bring the government closer to the people and improve the quality of service delivery, as the rural people need not move to the cities if basic amenities such as: health care facilities, good and affordable housing, education, transportation and telecommunication are provided for them through participatory budgeting in their localities.
- Enhance the popular participation of the people through a more authentic public opinion and public will. The public are given the opportunity to decide what is best for them at any point in time.
- Reduce to the barest minimum the dominant and over- centralized nature of the government over the governed and the civil society. The inputs of civil society, with the symbiotic collaboration of the public, are accommodated in participatory budgeting.
- Reduce or remove totally the bureaucratic bottle-necks and red-tapes that are synonymous with most public institutions, which in most cases work against the interest of the citizens. All the government needs to do is approve and implement whatever the rural people have agreed on.
- Make government more transparent and accountable, and also to enhance the public participation of the local people in democratic governance (Santos 1998:461-510; Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke 2008:164-166; Aragon & Sanchez 2008:1-13).

Sintomer (2004) examine participatory budgeting in 24 experiences, mainly in Latin America-Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Uruguay, and some European Countries and came out with some complexities and missing links, as follows: “Direct Democracy and Community-Based Representative Democracy are always on collision in the process of practicing participatory budgeting. The problem of who takes the final decisions? What body is in charge of decision-making? Who does the social control and inspection of work once the budget has been approved?” There also exists the issue of dichotomy and collision between the city-based participatory democracy and the community-based participatory democracy.

Consequently, this affects the management of scarcity, full control of public resources and the degree of formalization and institutionalization. Transparency and accountability initiatives are fundamental to the success of participatory budgeting. McGee & Gaventa (2010) have thus, criticized the practitioners of participatory budgeting for not paying adequate attention to transparency and accountability, which form some of the core values of participatory budgeting.

This study aligns with Gaventa & Cornwall (2008) who have also criticized the existing public participation models, not only in terms of transparency and accountability, but also on account of the fact that there has not been effective and adequate mobilization of the citizens who are supposed to be the engine room of public participation actions. They are of the opinion that whatever the grand designs of public participation is, with all the necessary institutional framework without adequate attention being paid to active mobilization of the citizens, such a public participation model will always end up as a futile endeavor.

#### **4. The Historical Background and Spread of Participatory Budgeting Practices–International Experience**

A study of this nature, without focus on the historical background and spread of participatory budgeting in the international system, may not be a worthwhile adventure. Fung & Wright (2003:3) classify public participation into two eras, mainly: the 19th century and the 21st century participation. “The 19th century public participation is referred to as the liberal democracy or the representative democracy, while the 21st century saw the emergence of participatory budgeting”. Participatory budgeting is one of the models or strategies of public participation in democratic governance that was first established and executed in Porto Alegre, home to about 1.3 million people in 1989 (Santos 1998). In 1998, the coalition of left-wing political parties led by the Workers’ Party, or Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), gained control of the municipal government of Porto Alegre and went on to win successive elections in 1992 and 1996. Their most substantial reform measure, known as “Participatory Budgeting (PB)”, was an attempt to transform the clientelistic, vote-for-money budgeting reality into a fully accountable, bottom-up, deliberative system driven by the needs of city residents (Santos1998).

The meetings, known as “neighborhood associations”, are mostly attended by the youth, health clubs and interested inhabitants of the city, but only the inhabitants are allowed to vote. The meetings are in most cases coordinated by the municipal government in collaboration with the community delegates. The Mayor accepts or rejects the budget proposal or sends it back to the participatory budgeting council for further amendments and revision. Santos (1998); Baiocchi (2001); Avritzer (2002); Baiocchi (2005); Bairele (2006) and UN-HABITAT (2009) provide a comprehensive account of the implementation of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre in Brazil.

As Baiocchi (2005) submits, “Porto Alegre is a city where participatory democracy-participatory budgeting has become a way of life”. According to Sintomer, Herzberg & Allegretti (2010); Sintomer (2007); Baiocchi & Ganusa (2014), following the successes recorded in participatory budgeting in Brazil, there was spontaneous increment in the number of countries and cities showing more interest in participatory budgeting. This was implemented on a regional, national and local level. In order to further drive home the involvement of the non-governmental organizations and international agencies in participatory budgeting, Shah (2007) explains that as far back as 1996, the World Bank published a participatory source book (World Bank 1996), by 2007, the World Bank issued a report on participatory budgeting, and in 2010 in Germany, the 1st International Conference on Participatory Budgeting was held in England and in England there is a Participatory Budgeting Unit.

Thus, According to the UN-HABITAT (2009) participatory budgeting can simply be described as “a mechanism (or process) through which the population decides on, or contributes to decisions made on the destination of all or part of the available public resources”. Pateman (2012) and Omar (2013) argue the fact that besides that participatory budgeting promotes preferential bias for the poor and vulnerable members of the community, elected governments that are adopting participatory budgeting model often come to power by constructing a broader political alliance in support of the changing policies and political interests. Perhaps, these systemic and institutionalized alliances, might not have been needed if not for the adoption of participatory budgeting model.

In essence, for participatory budgeting to work effectively and efficiently, there is need for all forms of alliances and this deepens democracy and citizens' engagements.

“Participatory budgeting”, according to Touchton & Wapler (2013:2) enhances governance, citizens' empowerment, and the quality of democracy, creating a virtuous cycle to improve the poor's well-being. It increases health care spending, increase in the activities of civil society organizations and decrease in infant mortality rates”. Baiocchi, Braathen & Texeira (2012) and Goncalves (2013), with focus on the gains of participatory budgeting in Brazil, are of the opinion that the adoption of participatory budgeting in the Brazilian Municipalities has favored the allocation of more public funds that closely matched the popular preferences and needs of citizens. Moreover, large amounts of budget are channeled into investment in sanitation and health services, which were hitherto missing in the municipalities. This change has been accompanied by drastic reduction in infant mortality rate. In effect, the promotion of more direct interaction between the service users-the citizens and the elected government officials in budgetary policies will have a significant impact on how local resources are spent, particularly the living standard results. As Baiocchi (2005) opines, the problems of clientelism and corruption have also reduced drastically through the instrument of participatory budgeting in Brazil.

## Brazil

Belo Horizonte's participatory mechanism took off in 1993. Home to 2.1 million inhabitants, mostly settlers from Portugal, the main model used in Belo Horizonte was the “District Participatory Budgeting Fora (DPBF)” (UN-HABITAT 2009). Barra Mansa municipality lies between Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. It is home to 170, 503 residents, among whom 35.2% were under the age of 14. Participatory budgeting took off in Barra Mansa in 1997. The Barra Mansa participatory budgeting model was an innovation and represents a shift in participatory budgeting, in that the focus was basically on the educational needs of the children. Hence, the introduction of Op-Mirim - that is the “participatory council for children”. Learners were selected to represent their schools in the budget planning and implementation (UN-HABITAT 2009). Santo Andre lies on the South-eastern part of Sao Paulo's metropolitan region. Participatory budgeting in Santo Andre was initiated in 1989 by the Labor party. The aim was on literary campaign and environmental issues. It made use of “integrated program for social inclusion” (UN-HABITAT 2009).



## Argentina

Rosario is located in the northeast of Buenos Aires, with a population of over a million people. According to the UN-HABITAT (2009), “Participatory budgeting started in the city of Rosario in 2002, with the aim of increasing the involvement of its people by educating them to become better citizens, as a result of the successes recorded in Porto Alegre and Belo Horizonte in Brazil. The participatory budgeting in Rosario consists of an annual cycle where over 4,000 city residents deliberate on the allocation of the municipal budget. The process usually begins with rounds of neighborhood assemblies in the six districts of the city. Potential projects and local needs are identified by residents, and elections are held to select delegates to represent them at the District Participatory Council”. One of the achievements of the participatory budgeting process was that the learning experience amongst most men and women changed, not as a result of book reading, self-help or counseling, but as a result of the weekly council meetings and interactions. As a result, they became more aware of social, political, economic and cultural needs of their communities (UN-HABITAT 2009).

## Ecuador

Cotacachi is an ethnically diversified city that is inhabited by about 37,250, made up of majorly black and indigenous people. Participatory budgeting in Cotacachi started in 1995. The city was faced with the problems of high level of poverty, high infant mortality rate due to malnutrition with pupils preferring to go to the farm in order to fend for their families instead of attendance in school. All these challenges necessitated the commencement of participatory budgeting in the city.

According to the UN-HABITAT (2009), “participatory budgeting in the region started with civic participation and establishment of the Assembly of Canton Unity (ACU), an independent but largely informal forum consisting of sixteen elected representatives. The Assembly meets every year, and often organizes the citizens to deliberate on public health, women and family issues”. The major achievement recorded was that the central government was convinced to allocate part of the budget to the children and the youth.

## Venezuela

Participatory budgeting was necessitated in Ciudad Guyana as a result of large population and increasing poverty, child abandonment and the inability of children to even complete primary school education, domestic violence, teenage pregnancy and a high rate of infant mortality. The establishment of participatory budgeting scheme. Participatory budgeting in Ciudad Guyana was mainly targeted at the youth, aged between seven and twenty years. Basically, participatory budgeting in this region has two stages: namely 1st stage, where delegates are sent to France for training. 2nd stage, involves preliminary planning and implementation. It achieved the creation of employment, and reduction of child abuse (UN-HABITAT 2009).

Aside the above, there are also reports of "Panchayat" reforms in India, particularly in West Bengal and Kerala, with the adoption of village governance. Chicago, the United States of America (USA), the neighborhood governance council was adopted as a form of participatory budgeting. The strategy brought about better policing, both in the schools and communities. Also in USA, the Wisconsin Regional Training Partnership (WRTP) brought together the organized labors, large firm management and government to provide training and increase transparency in employment transitions in order to help workers assemble jobs into meaningful careers in volatile economic times. The Habitat Conservation Planning in US also focused on the protection of jeopardized and endangered species (Fung & Wright 2003:7). Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke (2008) focused on participatory budgeting in European countries such as Plock - Poland, Seville and Cordoba - Spain, Lisbon - Portugal, Berlin – Germany, and United Kingdom, France and Italy.

In France and Germany, participatory budgeting is administered by the local governments; the locals choose participants randomly through the voters list. They then consult on their needs, and these needs are then aggregated by the local government without a say or voting from the delegates. In Poland and the United Kingdom, they are relatively independent of the Municipal budget. The Municipal does not have the last word, and the final word comes from the ward committee, a commission or an assembly of delegates. This is because fund came from the public/private negotiation table and not from the local government or the Municipality.

In essence, those who participate at the negotiation table also implement the projects. Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke (2008:165-166) conclude that only Spain and Italy have a mixture of the involvement of the citizens, the municipality and the civil society as it is operated in Porto Alegre.

From the above, the following have been identified as the main problems militating against the smooth implementation of participatory budgeting as: Guo & Neshkova (2013) observes, a major problem with participatory budgeting is the entrance point of the citizens in the participatory budgeting stages. However, citizens' participation in the process has had greater effect on organizational performance at both the early and final stages of the budget processes, particularly at the stage of information sharing and program assessments. Besides, "most of the models are too myopic and narrow in what they stand to project or achieve, in some instance the focus is purely on education at the detriment of employment, in some cases the focus is on poverty reduction at the detriment of education" (Leninger 2012:25). One then wonders how poverty could be alleviated without the pre-requisite education. In a nutshell, it has to be a comprehensive package for the participatory budgeting to be effective, so that in an attempt to solve a problem another problem is not created.

Furthermore, the so-called participants at the participatory budgeting meetings cannot be said to be equal; they are not equal in terms of wealth, income, and dominant racial groups or ethnicity. What this actually creates is a situation whereby some domineering members impose themselves on other members in the communal decision making process. At the end of the day, what is supposed to be a collective communal decision becomes a one-man decision, thereby building a dictatorial group over other members. There reflects glaring lack of experience, expertise and knowledge on the part of most members, in view of the fact that they are not all literate. In most cases, even in the case of the flagship Porto Alegre, experts are usually invited to make intelligent contributions to the budget. However, the work of these experts stops at making suggestions, as the final decision and approval on what project to implement and not to implement lies on the city/municipal council.

The success of participatory budgeting realistically may be difficult if not impossible to sustain, as it is tedious, energy sapping and time consuming. It needs the total co-operation of the ordinary citizens, the civil society, the experts and indeed, the government.

In essence, the complexity demands that all hands must be on deck; the failure of the civil society or the government to co-operate means the demise of the participatory budgeting. Moreover, governments in most cases have often viewed participatory budgeting as eroding state power and an attempt to jettison their legitimacy, power and authority (Thompson 2013). There are also no clear cut, detailed and comprehensive policy frameworks on the delineation of rights, duties and responsibilities among stakeholders. The roles of the executives, the judiciary and the legislature are not well spelt out. Conduct, engagements and deliberation at participatory budgeting meetings are not adhered to, as there are in most cases no guidelines on these.

It has also been observed that what people do in participatory budgeting is to continue to solve different problems with the same paradigm. For instance, the issue of teenage pregnancy is better solved by the professionally trained health practitioners and adequate enlightenment of the citizens. However, issues like these still find their way to the agenda of participatory budgeting. The meetings only end up discussing such issues without a solution found to them, because they lack the capacity to solve such problems (Fung & Wright 2008). Another challenge is the problem of the dichotomy between city - based participatory democracy and community-based participatory democracy, and the management of scarcity, full control of public resources and the degree of formalization and institutionalization. Wittek (2014: 19) opines that factors militating against participatory budgeting, which have often undermined its application and success, are: “the problem of inadequate and improper design of the framework from inception, political resistance and manipulation from different government agencies, inadequate resources to implement the scheme, and lack of enabling economic, social, legal and political conditions to make the programme work”.

Goldfrank (2012) also points out that one of the major setbacks of participatory budgeting is that the World Bank, which has assumed the role of protagonist of participatory budgeting, has no influence on vital issues of local context and contents, that is, the bureaucratic competency of Municipal administrators, the strength of political actors that are opposed to participatory budgeting and the vibrancy of the local civil society organizations (CSOs). Goldfrank (2011); Kothari (2012) and Wittek (2014) also submit that “the local government areas which are the bastions of participatory budgeting remain over-dependent on financial hand-outs from extremely stingy and unreliable central governments.

This situation has further opened up the local government to political manipulation and inefficiency of the participatory mechanism”. Zinyama (2014:21) agrees with Goldfrank (2011) that some of the major problems of participatory budgeting have to do with the “lack of residents’ participation in policy and decision making in council budget formulation”. In other words, the residents are prone to marginalization by the government officials. There also exist massive and institutionalized financial and human resources capacity gaps. Moreover, the enabling legal and institutional frameworks in most cases do not support participatory budgeting.

Botey & Celerier (2013:20-22) opine that “the so-called participants in the participatory budgeting accountability mechanism cannot be said to be equal in their chances to have a legitimate voice”. That is, what participatory budgeting offers is not the real democracy but rather an illusion of it, hiding under the garb of local needs. However, a fundamental question unanswered by Botey & Celerier (2013:20-22) is; will local residents have been better or worse off without the introduction of the participatory budgeting mechanism particularly considering the gains from Brazil and other parts of the world where it is being presently practiced? Indeed, it is the failure on the promises of democracy by the government that has led to alternative and more affirmative schemes of popular empowerment of the citizens such as the participatory budgeting mechanism.

There have been criticisms to the effect that participatory budgeting has not included enough poor and minority residents. It has also been argued that it does not fulfill its promise as a truly democratic and empowering process (Stewart & Sinclair 2007). One of the fundamental problems of Participatory Budgeting (PB) has to do with the different stakeholders that are involved in the programme, with competing and contrasting agendas that do not conform to participatory budgeting stated aims of extending citizen participation in government (Turnhout 2010). Consequently, the expected space for citizens’ participation became a mirage. In furtherance of the above, a real major problem with participatory budgeting, as identified by Falade (2014), is that an estimated figure of 57% of the Nigerian population, for instance, are not active participants in political activities in the country. Furthermore, more than 53% of the population has no confidence in their political leaders. This negative trend of non-participation also has direct negative impacts on participatory budgeting in Nigeria.

In effect, a real threat to participatory budgeting is the inability of the government to win the confidence of its citizens. In most parts of the world where participatory budgeting has been successful, it has largely been based on the support from the citizens through the confidence they have been guaranteed by their respective governments.

Participatory budgeting has also been criticized on the basis of the fact that the political parties, more than any other stakeholders, determine the flow of participatory budgeting (Ganja 2010). In other words, the ruling political parties always have a way of having the final say and influencing the outcome of decisions taken by the other stakeholders as far as participatory budgeting is concerned. This study is not unmindful of the fact that political parties represent a significant number of the citizens. The fact remains that the unnecessary interference of the political parties may mark the beginning of the death of participatory budgeting. Wapler (2000) has also criticized participatory budgeting for a number of reasons, one of which is that participatory budgeting provides an unwarranted opportunity for the citizens to focus too much on specific public works such as drainage projects. Hence, this situation diminishes the impact of the public learning or empowerment sessions.

Therefore, most of the participants are less interested in learning about rights, about the fiscal responsibility of the government or broader social policies than they are interested in obtaining infrastructure project. Moreover, the success or otherwise of participatory budgeting depends largely on the active participation of the mayor's office, or the local government chairman in the case of Nigeria.

Although participatory budgeting platforms directly incorporate civil society actors in the policy making process, the government remains the principal actor, because the government organizes meetings, provides information, ensures that bureaucrats meet with the population, and guarantees the implementation of selected policies. Therefore, the influence of the Mayor is substantial and undeniable. In addition, there seems to be no room for long-term planning in participatory budgeting. Most of the participatory budgeting participants are merely interested in securing short to medium term public works. This situation makes it difficult to generate discussions on planning for the future of the local government.

There is also the issue of too much focus being given to local issues and local public policies. Most of the participants, including long-time political and social activists, spend their time and energy on the intricacies of local public policies, such as employment or health. Hence, it reduces the amount of time that participants are able to dedicate to regional, national or global problems.

The following is focused basically on participatory budgeting in other parts of Africa. This is in agreement with scholars on participatory budgeting such as (Navaro 2001; Souza 2001; Sintomer, Herzberg & Allegretti 2010; Sintomer 2007; Ganuza & Baiocchi 2012; and Goldfrank 2012) who share the belief in the efficiency and effectiveness of participatory budgeting even beyond the shores of Brazil in particular and Latin America in general. The focus therefore, is on the modes of operations and the challenges encountered in the process of the implementation of participatory budgeting in some selected African countries, such as Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Ghana, Sierra-Leone and Senegal. The rationale behind this is to establish the fact that participatory budgeting is not just limited to countries of Latin America, but that it does exist in other parts of the world, particularly the African continent.

#### Uganda

The main stages of participatory budgeting include the budget conference and priority stages.

The others are: the review stage, budget presentation stage, scrutiny stage, debate and approval stages, publication and communication stage, implementation stage and evaluation stage. Some of the major problems include: local executive committee having the unilateral power to pick budget conference delegates, no consultative assembly in the village, participatory budgeting is costly-staff time spent annually cannot be quantified, and some citizens view it as a mere political campaign, hence do not take part in it (UN-HABITAT 2009).

#### Malawi

Participatory budgeting in Malawi was implemented in Salima town, Kasunyn town and Blantyre. Participatory budgeting in Malawi is spearheaded by the Ministry of Finance.

The framework known as Government Graded Level Dialogues was used; it was introduced in 2006. Twenty eight administrative districts were created, headed by District Commissioners. The flows through the District executive committee meeting - area development committees - village development committee meeting - Village action plan (VAP) - the district development plan (DDP) stages (UN-HABITAT 2009).

## Ghana

According to the UN-HABITAT (2009) participatory budgeting in Ghana revolves around designing reference and capacity tools for practitioners, social groups and municipalities, in order to increase the degree of budget transparency in their respective localities. This is basically aimed at promoting responsible management of resources for the public good, and to improve public oversight of these revenues, coupled with targeted assistance to government on managing them, which in turn can help turn resources from hindrance to asset. Some of the achievements are: it brought about more transparency and accountability in governance, more oversight and monitoring by the non-governmental organizations and civil society, increased technical assistance from international organizations, and more practitioners becoming more knowledgeable on participatory budgeting (UN-HABITAT 2009).

## Senegal

Implementation of participatory budgeting flows thus: the preparation stage - the village

forum - focus groups – delegates' forum - community forum and budget vote. Some of the major problems of participatory budgeting encountered in Fissel, Senegal are: scanty resources in form of finance were meagre and were not adequate for the effective implementation of the program and at the end, salient programs were left unattended to as a direct result of scanty and inadequate resources. Moreover, there existed the problem of lack of adequately trained personnel. In essence, the workers for the programmes were not given the required training to meet up with the demands of the participatory budgeting programmes.



Closely related to the above is the fact that non-governmental organizations/civil society organizations that were supposed to partner the local government officials were not sufficient in terms of number. Thus, participatory budgeting stakeholders were left with limited number of civil societies to work with (UN-HABITAT 2009).

## **5. Conclusion**

The chapter commenced with an explanation on the concept of the public sphere, global overview of public participation in democratic governance and literature survey on public participation in democratic governance, the concept of democratic governance, rationale and critique of public participation in democratic governance. It also looked at the concept of budget and budgeting, participatory budgeting as a typology of public participation in democratic governance, the concept of participatory budgeting, origin and spread of participatory budgeting, that is, the international experience from Latin American countries, Asia and Europe, including the general summary and critique of participatory budgeting from those experiences. The chapter also concentrated on the survey of participatory budgeting models in some selected African countries, such as Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Senegal. These are in line with the central theme of the study, which is concerned about participatory budgeting. In line with the objectives of the study, the next chapter shall focus on public participation and participatory budgeting: the Nigerian dimension and the theoretical framework.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING: THE NIGERIAN DIMENSION**

#### **1. Introduction**

One vital tool or vehicle for the sustenance of viable either old or emerging democracies is no doubt, popular public participation. This becomes even particularly pertinent in the case of Nigeria, which could be described as an emerging democracy or a nascent democracy. Against this backdrop, it is significant to look into the relevance of public participation in democratic governance in Nigeria. According to Jega (2001) and Joseph (2014), Nigeria as a nation-state with diverse ethnic groups, religions, historical background, languages and culture, needs to be united. There is a dire need for national unity, cohesion and integration; and, one of the basic means of fostering national integration is to have mass participation of the populace in who governs them or not, to foster a feeling of belonging that comes from being part of the decision making process. According to Ighorjeh (2008) and Ndiva (2008), elections in Africa are usually very volatile, serious and sensitive issues, so serious that politicians would go to any length to sway the results in their favour to the detriment of the electorate. Vote rigging-unlawful interference with an electoral process is not restricted to Election Day. Electoral malpractices include pre-electoral and post-electoral fraud, besides polling day manipulation. This undemocratic attitude has often led to political violence. One of the means through which rigging of the election and political violence could be reduced is for the citizens to play an active role in democratic governance.

According to Lowndes (2001), a tool that can strengthen democracy is the full participation of women. Women form an appreciable number of most countries' populations, they serve different roles at different times as daughters, wives, mothers, mother-in-laws, grand-mothers and so on. Nigeria's percentage population of women was put at 49.36% by the World Bank (2013). This means that if a good number of women are able to take active part in the affairs of their countries, a good number would have taken part in public participation in democratic governance. In sum, the more the women participates in democratic governance, the more likelihood of curbing the emergence of tyrannical leadership through the checks and balances of the mass participation of women in democratic governance.

According to Agbude & Etele (2013), in most African countries, the political elites are interested merely in occupying public offices and enjoying the paraphernalia of office. Responsibility is usually jettisoned to the detriment of authority, ignoring the reality that with every authority there is attendant responsibility. They are not interested in having accountability as their watch word. The hallmark of a good leader is transparency, besides tolerance of opposing opinions and accountability. When more people take part in democratic governance, the leader is made to realize the fact that he/she is accountable to the electorate and the democratic structure. This will go a long way to bring about better accountability and transparency by the political elites, and more people will participate in democratic governance.

To Cohen, Vigoda & Samorly (2001), public participation in democratic governance is also relevant to Nigeria as a nation-state. It serves the purpose of psychological satisfaction, in the sense that the populace has a say in who governs them, therefore, those who are restless could take up political offices and those who are not interested in political offices can at least, also participate by voting during the elections. In a nutshell, both the active citizens and the not-so-active ones feel that sense of belonging that they are part and parcel of one geographical entity and that no one feels left out of the democratic process, democratic system and structure. Furthermore, Ndiva (2008) asserts that participation itself constitutes a human right, which must be respected by every democratic government worth its salt. In the same vein, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that was released by the United Nations in 1948 also included Civil and Political Rights as basic rights of the people. In essence the people must have a say in who governs them. It is crystal clear that Nigeria, being a signatory member of the United Nations (UN), must by the convention of the world body, protect, preserve, and respects this right, thus making public participation a relevant and cardinal issue to Nigeria as a country.

The previous chapter provided sufficient details on general/global foundations of public participation and participatory budgeting for the research, as stated clearly in the aims of the research. This chapter, which forms the second segment of review of relevant literature, is concerned with public participation and participatory budgeting with specific attention being devoted to the Nigeria context/contents, as well as the theoretical framework of the thesis, the

theory of deliberative democracy (TDD), its relevance, strengths and weaknesses within the framework of Participatory Budgeting.

## **2. Levels of Public Participation and Participatory Budgeting in Nigeria**

The level of public participation in Nigeria can be determined to some extent in her relationship with the military, as the country had spent a better part of her political history under the shackles of the military junta. It can better be referred to as having a civilian government currently and not a democratic government or a constitutional democracy. This is in view of the fact that what takes place periodically every four years in Nigeria could not be said to be elections but selection. It is on record that most of the political leaders in Nigeria today are the remnants of successive military regimes. They have only removed their army uniforms (Khaki) and changed to civilian garb. In essence, the votes of the people of Nigeria do not count, as candidates are imposed on the populace right from the political parties' primary elections (Ighorjeh 2009). The sudden death or assassination of some renowned politicians, journalists, businessmen and women in the country still hunts the country, the horror is still fresh in the people's memories. The impeachment syndrome in the Senate and House of Representatives, falsification of election results, snatching of electoral boxes, rigging of elections, political godfatherism and many other barbaric acts were the characteristic features of the 2003 and 2007 general elections in Nigeria, as a fall out of lack of security in the country (Ighorjeh 2009).

Comatose development is another challenge of Nigeria's democracy, to the extent that deliberately, the political elites, through violence, have succeeded in stifling development in Nigeria. By implication, violence affects the psyche of Nigerians and this in turn has a retrogressive impact on development in geometric progression, especially in the current age of globalization, where the world has become a global village and economic or political happenings in one region of the world have direct effects on the politics and economy of other parts of the world, which Nigeria is not alienated from (Akingbogun 2009). Today, the irresponsiveness of the Nigerian democratic structures by successive governments in the country to the welfare, well-being and safety of citizens has led to the Niger-Delta conflicts, which have also given birth to the formation of various militia groups like the Movement for

the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND), the Niger Delta Peoples' Volunteer Front (NDPVF) and the Boko Haram (BH) insurgency, headquartered in the North-Eastern part of the country, which have all been attributed partly to arms and ammunition distributed to the youths of the regions by politicians with different political views and ideologies (Hazen 2007).

The proliferation of small arms has also characterized Nigeria's democracy: small arms and light weapons such as handguns, rifles, grenades, machine guns, mortars and other portable devices are cheap, portable, readily available, easy to maintain and easy to use. More disturbing is the fact that these arms have found their way into the hands of trigger-happy, gun-totting Nigerian youths who have no prior training or orientation on weapons handling (Hazen 2007). Adeoti & Olaniyan (2014) opine that the root of the decadence in the democratization process dates back to the colonial period. The nationalists, in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa, made one fundamental error in their struggle to decolonize and democratize their respective countries. They did not allow mass participation in the political emancipation of their countries. Joseph (2014) says one of constant and critical hydra-headed malaise afflicting public participation in the political process in Nigeria is that of the cultural system denoting group boundaries in class and ethnicity. Nigerians usually predicate their participation on class and ethnicity. This problem has the tendency of beclouding the people, preventing them from making honest and objective participational judgement: it has also led to many becoming disinterested in participation. Participation is thus, based on class and ethnic considerations, and not on the Nigerian project.

Aderibigbe (2015) say, though a global phenomenon, the high intensity of poverty in Nigeria is obviously a great challenge for participation. There is widespread poverty in Nigeria, despite its great endowments. This is in spite of the efforts by successive regimes in the country to introduce different programmes to alleviate poverty. Hence, there is an established link between poverty alleviation programmes (strategies) and governance/politics. Aderibigbe blames the failure of such programmes on absence of good governance and citizens' participation. Poverty has made Nigeria to attain an unenviable status as one of the poorest countries in the world, such that no government (no matter the level), organization, community, clan or family can survive effectively without introducing one kind of poverty reduction strategy or the other.

This problem is essentially not that of lack of or inadequacy of programmes and strategies so adopted in poverty reduction efforts. Nigeria has not been known for lack in such efforts; yet she is still ranked among the world's 25 poorest nations. Consequently, the incidence of poverty has adverse effects on social and economic development of most families and communities, hence the lack of interest by the citizens in public participation, as they have to battle with extreme poverty which they face on a day-to-day basis, leaving no room for interest in participation, making them an easy tool in the hands of unscrupulous politicians.

Idoko, Agenyi & Emmanuel (2015) depict corruption as one of the social problems confronting the developmental efforts of Nigeria. This is because money and other resources meant for development are often diverted to private pockets by privileged few individuals at the expense of the entire population. The acquisition of wealth through selfish acts and greed has characterized most communities in Nigeria, and that has negated the social and economic efforts of many communities therein. Corruption in the form of election rigging, abuse of power, embezzlement of public funds, buying of voters cards, reported cases of underage voting, distribution of money at polling centres, manipulation of voters' registers, diversion of electoral materials, ballot box snatching, unlawful possession of firearms and other electoral offences are rife. This political scenario has engendered lukewarm political attitude and participation among some citizens. These and other related activities are obvious obstacles in citizens' unprejudiced participation in a political system.

Falade (2015:17-18) believe that the Nigerian political system and act of governance as presently constituted do not encourage mass participation of the people. The system is discretely skewed toward chauvinism, being continuously male-dominant and elite-driven, creating in the people lack of confidence in their political leaders, a situation that has led to mutual suspicion between the government and the citizens. This political scenario engendered lukewarm political attitude and participation among some citizens in the political system: other activities related to these are obvious obstacles for unprejudiced citizens. This ugly scenario has implications for popular participation and governance. According to Falade (2015:17-18), this is corroborated by the report of an interview conducted during the 2011 election. One of the respondents said, "My father told me not to vote when I was leaving home. This morning, my father said I was wasting my time. He said all politicians were the same and it would make no difference."

Statistical analysis of the 2011 general elections shows that only 35% of the registered electorate voted during the election. This evidence shows glaringly the level of public participation of Nigerians as far as voting at elections is concerned.

Omotso & Abe (2014) declare that one of the most enduring modes of political arrangement in the world today is federalism. Federalism presupposes that national and states/or regional governments should stand to each other in a relation of meaningful autonomy resting upon a balanced division of powers and resources. Each state/or region must have powers and resources sufficient to support the structure of a functioning government, able to stand and compete on its own against the others. The attraction for federalism borders on its perceived integrative tendency, which makes it capable of serving heterogeneous societies well in situations of crisis. Federalism, according to Omotso & Abe, does not necessarily possess the magic wand or formula that instantaneously resolves the problems and contradictions of heterogeneous societies. Rather, they argue that the socio-economic and political specificities of different societies, coupled with constant and continuous engineering, re-engineering and adjustment are needed if the goals of federalism are to be achieved.

A comparative democratic analysis of Nigeria reveals much of mixed inputs, as the country achieved independence through the collective efforts of its diverse groups, civil societies, diverse culture, women and labour groups. A palpable fear has arisen as a result of the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, complex and diverse nature of the country, a factor which has not been put into proper perspective by the political parties. Thus, a nation that is assumed or expected to be multi-party in nature, considering her various diversities, is slowly and steadily becoming a one-party state, with one-party dominance and limited government accountability. This state of affairs has tempted eligible voters and electors not to be supportive of democratic rules and structures, with low political participation, thus becoming disinterested in political participation in the country. In sum, democratic structures are in place, but the people are absent, that is, a situation of democracy without the people is gradually being created in the country.

In Nigeria, as a result of electoral problems and proportional representation based on political party affiliation and patronage, floor crossing/cross carpeting has become the order of the day. The electorate cannot be sure that the party they voted for will stay in parliament as voted for.

Moreover, individuals within political parties according to their own conscience, whims and caprices can decide to switch allegiance to another political party at will (Anazodo, Agbionu & Ezenwile 2013). According to Slabbert (2006), floor crossing/cross carpeting has generally been accepted as democratic ethos, where the jobs and opportunities are available. There may of course, be rare exceptions where a Member of Parliament believes, as a matter of supreme principle, that he or she has no other option but to cross the floor. However, such a Member of Parliament has to resign and a by-election must be held in that Member of Parliament's (MP) constituency, so that s/he could go back to the parliament as a newly elected representative of another party, but always with the voters' endorsement. In essence, floor crossing/cross carpeting is not new, but its present application in Nigeria and most African states makes voters feel alienated and powerless; they absolutely have no power to influence what is happening, except to resort to other means, thereby affecting their level of public participation.

Public participation is on the agenda globally and in Africa, as well as in Nigeria. This is because public participation can help to enhance development and service delivery, make governance more effective and accountable and further deepen democracy. However, public participation in Nigeria and most African nations are mostly mere consultations rather than formal empowerment. Furthermore, there is a significant policy development lag, more than fifty years after the country's independence, as there is no adherence to the federal constitution and other enabling legislation, which stipulates that each tier of government from the Federal to the State and Local Government derives its funding directly from the federation account. In deed, the documents only exist on paper but not in practice. This has also made the public service not to be committed to being responsive, accountable and transparent in implementing government policies and the country's constitution (Ibok 2014). This reflects the fact that public participation has been limited to forms of consultation rather than formal empowerment of citizens in political decision-making or implementation.

Furthermore, there is significant delay between the promulgation of legislation and development, never minding the implementation of such public participation policies by concerned government officials and apparatus, thus leading to frustration of ordinary citizens and sometimes direct violence. Governance at the local level plays a crucial role in ensuring the effectiveness and provision of public goods to the vast majority of the rural population.



Available facts show that more than seventy percent of the population in Nigeria live in rural areas, where the local government is constitutionally required to provide social and public services, such as roads, water supply, schools, electricity, health centres and so on (Ibok 2014). However, elected leaders at the local level who are responsible for the provision of the basic needs of the local people have been found wanting in this regard, mainly due to bad leadership, lack of accountability and transparency, lack of funds occasioned by low budgetary allocation, restricted revenue sources available to local governments and inability to effectively utilise its internal sources of revenue generation. These have impacted negatively on the provision of public goods at the local level. This situation has sharply reduced the level of participation of the local people, as their basic needs of life are not being met by the local leadership.

Local governments are supposed to serve as an avenue for the promotion of effectiveness of service delivery at the local level, and decentralization or the de-concentration of government from the centre. This becomes pertinent as the modern central government is becoming overburdened, overloaded, over-bureaucratized and under-responsive. Hence, local governance helps in overcoming these problems, and especially reducing administrative obstacles in service delivery (Adamolekun 2008). However, this is not the case in Nigeria, as the central government still dictates the approval of funds for the provision of services such as local roads, water supply, health services, and schools for local needs. This situation has had a negative impact on the participation of the rural dwellers in the local governments. In line with the submission of Wampler (2000) and as also observed by Adamolekun (2008), local communities are usually activated by problems of local concern, therefore, when these concerns are not being managed by them, the level of participation even at the local level often drops to the barest minimum. Hence, the refusal of the central government to decentralize their activities at the local government level is presently having negative impacts on the participation of the local people in governance.

Local governance is a mechanism for mobilizing and integrating the grassroots for the management and governance of local affairs, satisfaction of the needs of the local people through effective service delivery and effective mobilization of human and material resources.

This represents the view of majority of Nigerians who are of the opinion that local governance is best placed to engage with local communities in Nigeria in order to understand their needs, priorities and preferences, and in order to make well-informed choices about how resources should be spent in the best interest of the local people (Adamolekun 2008). Local councils are also best placed to manage the difficult trade-offs which inevitably have to be made when making choices about local services. Explaining these choices to the public is crucial to achieving local satisfaction. But when accountability is blurred, clear explanation becomes difficult, as local people may be uncertain as to who is responsible for addressing these local social problems. The inability of the local government to achieve the above has also clearly inhibited the active participation of the local populace in governance.

Local governance is a veritable instrument most strategically placed for stimulating grassroots development and bringing about rural transformation. Third world counties, such as Nigeria, have also come to appreciate the fact that the only meaningful and sustainable form of development is that which is endogenous, that is development which emanates from the will and desires of the people, rather than one imposed from outside (exogenous), and that the more superior developmental approach is the “bottom-up” rather than the “top-down” or directive approach that can endanger development in the continent (Eminue 1999). In Nigerian political structure, local governance or local government is the third-tier of government, after the state government at the state level and the federal government at the national level. Hence, being the last level of governance in the country, the level of participation is usually at the peak at the federal government level; it drops, at the state government level and even drops further, to the lowest ebb, at the local government level. The local government, which is supposed to be a bee hive of participation, is thus identified with the lowest level of participation.

The relationship between the Nigerian state and the military has had some overwhelming impact on the Nigerian state. This is due to the fact that the military in Nigeria, as it is all over the world, is entrusted with the protection of the territorial integrity of the country. However, the military in Nigeria, particularly the sub-sahara African countries, had for many decades jettisoned the constitutional role of protecting the territorial integrity and protecting from external aggression, forcefully taking over power in the country. Hence, military men are not just political observers but active political participants.

Consequently, in one form or the other, they have affected the public participation of the citizens in Nigeria. According to All Africa (2014), the incessant and illegal takeover of power by the military in Nigeria is one of the major reasons for the lack of public participation in the country. It is responsible for the shrinking space of public participation in Nigeria. This is because the military, by its establishment and training, rules by fiat, devoid of necessary consultation with the citizens. This situation does not give adequate room for the involvement of citizens in governance. The situation in no small measure, affects the functional and efficient implementation of participatory budgeting in the country.

This position has further been echoed by Creighton (2014:3-5), who is convinced that “the lack of participation by the citizens has not allowed for the involvement of the citizens in community decision making. This lack of participation by citizens has also led to persistent lawlessness and the breakdown of law and order in the form of ethno-religious crises, armed banditry and kidnapping for ransom due to the disconnect between the government and its citizens”. According to McGowan (2003:5), “the incessant military incursion into the body politic of most African States, through successive military coups and counter military coups, particularly in the Sub-Saharan region, to which Nigeria belongs, more often than not has had a negative effect on public participation by limiting the space for the ordinary citizens’ participation in democratic governance”. In the light of this, it becomes pertinent to take a deep look at the impacts of military regimes on public participation in Nigeria.

According to Siollum (2009:5-7), “the coming to power of Major-General Aguiyi Ironsi on the 16th of January, 1966, marked the beginning of the demise of the federal system of democratic governance in Nigeria. In actual fact, on May 24 1966, by Decree 34, Ironsi declared that Nigeria shall cease to be a federation and shall accordingly as from that day be a republic by the name of the Republic of Nigeria, consisting of the whole territory which until that day was comprised in a federation”. In essence Aguiyi Ironsi abolished all democratic structures and since then, most matters affecting the whole country were determined by the central government, as successive military regimes continued to centralize the administration of the country.

“This action removed the revenue generation power and resource control from the states by centralizing the biggest portion of the nation’s revenue. The consequence of this was that the states were left with little or no resources to manage their affairs. This made the states to depend solely on the central government for most of their capital projects and other budgetary needs” (Siollum 2009:5-7). In a true federal system, local governments are the creation of the regions or states. The central government has no business with local government matters, except to ensure that officials of the local government areas are elected through popular votes. The military has also made it difficult for the country’s political culture to develop.

This has consequences on the nature of the political parties and interest groups that exist in the country. The military succeeded in slowing down the development of virile political structures in the country. It is a common feature for every heterogeneous society like Nigeria to have an acceptable means to effect leadership change; but in Nigeria, the military has greatly slowed this development.

For a greater part of the country’s political history, particularly after the 1966 coup, the military either created political parties or registered those formed by their allies. As such, true political parties that represent shades of opinions in the federation have been prevented from coming into being, which has made many Nigerians develop political apathy towards the country’s political activities (Anazodo, Agbionu & Ezenwile 2013). According to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) (2003), “governance is the process whereby public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources and guarantee the realization of human rights. Good governance accomplishes this in a manner essentially free of abuse and corruption, and with due regard for the rule of law. The true test of good governance is the degree to which it delivers on the promise of human rights. The key question is: are the institutions of governance effectively guaranteeing the right to health, adequate housing, sufficient food, quality education, fair justice and personal security?”

“Due to the long years of military rule spanning twenty nine (29) years out of the fifty four (54) years of the country’s independence, Nigerians have been denied the benefits of good governance which have been identified above, money now play a big role in the Nation’s political system, as such as transparency, responsibility, accountability, participation,

responsiveness to the needs of the people, efficiency in public administration, and development-oriented budgeting, have been relegated to the background” (McGowan 2003:12).

According to Butler (2010), money given in return for implicit or stated favors not only have corrupting effects on the political system, but also undermines the trust and legitimacy upon which a flourishing democracy depends. The poor, who are unable to contribute to party coffers, are left to languish from the political inequality that the errant democracy has foisted on them. Furthermore, despite the importance of money, the academic study of party funding regimes in new democracies is still in its infancy.

A country like Nigeria, which is contemplating a step towards a new regime of regulation and public funding, may not draw upon any persuasive and well-grounded generalizations about available policy alternatives.

One the most painful fall-outs of military rule in Nigeria was the Nigerian Civil War, also known as the Biafran war. The Biafran war shattered the hope of many promising Nigerians, including Writer Chinua Achebe, for a more promising post-colonial future, and deeply affected his literary output. The scene of war, as attested to by Siollum (2009:5-7), was set when, in January 1966, Ibo army officers killed the Prime Minister and other top government officials and seized power. Seven months later, the insurgents were ousted in a counter-coup by military commanders from the Muslim northern region (The Guardian 2013). Before the year ended, Muslim troops had massacred some 30,000 Ibo people living in the North. In 1967, the Ibo then seceded from Nigeria, declaring the south-eastern region the Independent Republic of Biafra, and the civil war began in earnest, raging through 1970 until government troops invaded and crushed the secessionists. This unfortunate experience in the socio-economic cum political life of Nigeria as a country has been put together by the literary giant, Chinua Achebe, as follows:

42 years after the war ended, and the experience of growing up with newly converted Christians, trailblazing parents caught between the old traditions and cosmology of the Igbo people and the new Christianity. The personal glimpses into the traditional Ibo life. Events leading up to the war - the descent of the first post-independence Nigerian government into an abyss of

corruption and misrule; the role that the colonial government played in setting the stage for this descent and the first military coup in 1966 – he acquires a less personal and more straightforward recounting tone. Describing the incidence of the counter-coup of July 1966, the massacres of Igbos that followed the coup, the failed attempts at negotiating peace and the subsequent declaration of independence and the harrowing consequences that followed (The Guardian 2013).

Achebe further highlights the role played by Western countries and the international community. Consequently, he challenged the popular perception of General Gowon's "No Victor, No Vanquished" policy at the end of the civil war in 1970, which led to the successful re-integration of the Igbos into Nigeria, highlighting the egregious government policy which wiped out the savings of every Biafran who had operated their bank accounts during the war with an "ex- gratia" payment of just 20 pounds. He is also laser sharp in his conviction that part of Nigeria's problem stems from its anti-meritocratic suppression of the Igbo people, and the refusal of the country to face up to insalubrious aspects of its history, issues that he argues continue to haunt it. Of particular interest are the scraps that emerge of life in Biafra, the intense emotional connection of a people united by the fear and anger at the massacres, the ingenuity of the engineers who found ways to refine petrol or build bombs and the efforts of artists and intellectuals to contribute to building a new nation. He also describes his own forays to foreign capitals to seek their support for the Biafran dream and the eventual withering and death of that dream (The Guardian 2013).

In the final analysis, Achebe concentrated on Nigeria's journey since the end of the war, dipping into the failures of governance and the consequences, raising several questions that need to be addressed for the future.

In line with the above, it is strategically important to also focus on participatory budgeting in Nigeria. According to Pateman (2012) and Baiocchi & Ganusa (2014), since the inception of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre in Brazil over twenty

five years ago, it has brought with it a measure of deliberative public consultation, local popular control and various democratic innovations. Moreover, participatory budgeting has grown in leaps and bounds, and has been embraced in over 1,500 cities across the globe. Nigeria is one of the countries that have actually embraced this popular participatory mechanism. In Nigeria, particularly in Lagos State and Abuja, substantial work has been done that is aimed at enshrining participatory budgeting, and, as a matter of fact, participatory budgeting was formally launched by the former President Olusegun Obasanjo in 2001 (UN-Global Campaign on Urban Governance 2000)

According to the UN-HABITAT (2009):

These new initiatives have given the citizens more opportunities to better understand their obligations towards the government, particularly in the years between 2005 and 2008. Furthermore, there is also in place a structured framework of inter-dependence between the executive, legislature and the judiciary arms of government, aimed at driving citizens in form of participatory budgeting through the community development associations and civil society participation in budgetary engagement and processes. Against this background, the use of budgetary structures and reform think-tanks as a framework to initiating a new economic order has found replication in emergent practices of public accountability, and the fact that the number of people living in Nigeria's Lagos, the fastest growing megacity in the world, is expanding at more than 5% a year. The massive awareness of the active civil society in Nigeria has impacted tremendously on citizens' consciousness and interests in evolving a standard model of participatory budgeting mechanisms in public spheres, and this has also led to some noticeable changes in public accountability monitoring.

In view of the above, the Lagos State Government, through the Ministry of Agriculture, Rural and Social Development in Lagos State, which is the supervisory Ministry, set aside specific portions of the annual budgetary allocation for the facilitation of the development of the rural area under the Community Development Associations.

In terms of structure, participatory budgeting process is structured around the Community Development Associations (CDA), who are closer to the rural communities. This is followed by the Local Government and the Municipal/State Government. The allocation of funds to various CDAs is the prerogative of the Municipal Government, while the actual supervision of implementation of such projects are done by both the Local and Municipal governments. This thesis therefore argues that the CDAs are structures which are, in spirit and substance, true to the essence of participatory budgeting.

“Through the new budgetary structures that involve the participation of the community development associations and the civil societies, the citizens have become more determined to re-define budgetary strategies. This is perhaps more important, particularly with the growing incidence of the urbanization of poverty and the challenge of meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Budget Process is now being legislated to provisionally reinforce the structures such as the community development associations to fuel growth among the economically active but poor and disadvantaged citizenry, through the instrumentality of the budget” (UN-HABITAT 2009).

Jegenson & Rice (2015) define urban slum as a densely populated city exclusive suburb of substandard housing and house squatters. On a general note, UN-HABITAT Group Report (2011) observes that most slums differ in size and lack reliable sanitation services, supply of clean water, reliable electricity and enforcement of government policies. Urban slums form and grow in many different developing cities, particularly the Makoko slum in Lagos and the Kibera slum in Nairobi, for many several reasons, which include rural-to-urban migration, high unemployment, poverty, informal economy, poor planning, politics, natural disasters and social conflicts. It is easier to distinguish the slum-areas and non-slum areas, particularly in the city of Abuja, where slum dwellers are usually in city neighborhoods, inner suburbs and more commonly on the urban outskirts. Slums in the Federal Capital City (FCC) have been predominantly found in the city centers with substandard housing spread across them.

According to the UN-HABITAT (2009) “Participatory Budgeting precepts of Porto Alegre, the zero-base budgeting technique is a slight deviation from the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), which allows a more rational approach at enhancing economic growth, by placing more emphasis on programme choices and cost-benefit analysis, as the



government engages the citizens to participate in making choices over their own public priorities and resources”.

However, the Rosario municipality model of participatory budgeting in Argentina could be adopted for more efficiency, as it compares favorably with the Nigerian situation. The Rosario municipality, just like Nigeria, implements the participatory budgeting model starting from the local meetings, then participatory budgeting committee meeting and lastly approval and implementation by the city council. The inadequacy in the Rosario model is the fact that the very important part of project monitoring is completely left out of the process. It is important to note that the participatory budgeting meeting level is occupied in Nigeria by the community development associations.

For the purpose of this research, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1999) Urban Governance indicators shall be adopted. These are as follows, but not limited to “Elements of good governance; several things must be put in place for governance or urban governance to be good, and these have been generally referred to as the elements of good governance. These include: legitimacy, social inclusion, and respect for human rights, the rule of law, the division of powers, responsiveness, accountability and transparency, conflict resolution and state building”. Landell-Mills & Serageldin (1991) opine that “good governance depends on the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted by the general citizenry to be legitimate, committed to improving general public welfare and responsive to the needs of the citizenry, competent in assuring law and order and in delivering public services, able to create an enabling policy environment for productive activities and equitable in its conduct, favoring no special interests or groups”. Participatory Budgeting has also been embraced by the UNDP and other international organizations and agencies, due to the fact that PB, according to Shah (2007) may not be achieved if cardinal objectives such as good governance, transparency, representativeness and accountability as also practiced and propagated by the UNDP are not given adequate consideration. Hence, participatory budgeting could be regarded as part and parcel of the UNDP agenda. This is in view of the fact that, in as much as the focus of UNDP is on urban governance, it is also interested in rural development, in order to stem the exodus of rural dwellers to the urban settlements, so as to reduce to the barest minimum the pressure on urban infrastructure.

Social Inclusiveness is one of the core values of good governance. It emphasizes that participatory governance is a situation where all and sundry are given the opportunity to productively and positively participate in public decision making and administration, but in reality, the direct link between the people and government at the local level is often absent, hence one of the pivotal aims of participatory budgeting is the presence of an all inclusive society (Lutz & Linder 2004).

It is then logical to deduce that accountability is an offshoot of citizen inclusion in governance. Adamolekun (2008) describes accountability as “holding public officials

responsible for their actions”. Olowu (1993) specifically defines public accountability as “the requirement that those who hold public trust should account for the use of that trust to citizens or their representatives”. He goes on further to say that it signifies the superiority of the public will over private interests, and tries to ensure that the former is supreme in every activity and conduct of a public official.

Improving Budget Process is a cardinal principle in urban governance and even in the rural communities. This is in view of the fact that budgeting has gone beyond just being an annual ritual. It is a very strategic function of governance, in view of available scarce resources to the government. It is through the instrumentality of budgeting that priority projects are identified and implemented for development.

According to Adamolekun (2008), empowerment implies the degree of freedom that the citizens enjoy in calling the government to accountability. It includes the existing level of participatory process, access to information, civil freedom, the involvement of the civil society in public participation and access to basic needs of the citizens. When these are present in urban governance, it is a sign of positive development, but if it is absent, the government and the citizens must work together and provide an enabling environment for this to happen.

Safety and security are one of the major tasks any government is meant to provide to its citizens. Political, economic and social development will only thrive where there is peace, safety and security. Therefore, the number of safe areas in the community should be of great concern to government.

If the number of safe places is on the increase, we can conclude that the community is relatively peaceful, but if otherwise, plans have to be put in place to achieve this (Lutz & Linder 2004). Olowu (1993) and Adamolekun (2008) have identified other indices of good urban governance which include: electoral reforms, decentralization efforts- financial and political, encouragement of local government initiatives, structural and administrative reforms, regular feedback mechanisms and responsiveness.

The present constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is vague on the structure of urban governance in the country, powers of the states, and virtually silent on the powers of local governments. As set forth in the Second Schedule of the 1999 Constitution, most powers assigned to the states are concurrently shared with the federal government. Few powers are assigned exclusively to the states. The constitution was written in haste in 1998 by a commission appointed by the outgoing military regime prior to the holding of elections to establish the new civilian government (World Bank 2001). Moreover, Nigeria runs a federal system of government which entails the decentralization and devolution of powers and responsibilities among the three tiers of government; that is the federal government, the state government and the local government. The federal government represents the centre or the central government, while the state government represents the government at the urban centres and the local government represents the rural government. Hence, the local government is where the government is closest to the people. The rural population in Nigeria represents an estimated 80% of the population (Lawal 2000).

The executive structure at the federal level is responsible for policy making and implementation of policies and laws made in the country. The executive arm is the same as administration or the cabinet, which includes the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the Vice-President, the armed forces, which include the army, the air force and the navy, customs and immigration, civil defense corps, ministers and the federal civil service. The executive at the state level comprises the Executive Governor, the Deputy Governor and the state civil service commissions, among others (Okafor 1981). The legislature is the organ of government that is charged with the responsibility of making laws. It is also the centre of discussions about policies, programmes and ideas and the place where important decisions are made. The legislature is often referred to as the Parliament, National Assembly in Nigeria and Congress in United States of America.

In Nigeria, there are two Chambers, the Supreme is the House of Senate and the lower one is the House of Representatives (Okafor 1981). However, the states in Nigeria run a single house known as the State House of Assembly. The local government also runs a single house known as the Council.

According to the Nigerian Constitution (1999), the three arms of government are divided along the exclusive list, the concurrent list and the residual list.

- i. The exclusive legislative list: powers and functions listed here are mainly for the central government alone to exercise. These include, currency, defense, power, customs, immigration and external affairs.
- ii. The concurrent legislative list: functions listed here are to be exercised by both the central and state government. In case of a conflict arising in the course of exercising these functions, the powers of the central government will supersede that of the state government. Some of such functions are higher education, labor, roads, industrial development, insurance and research.
- iii. Residual legislative list: functions listed here are for the local governments to exercise. Some of the functions or duties are in the primary education, health or maternity centers, libraries and market-parks.

The judiciary is given the task of interpreting the laws and adjudicating among contending parties. The federal judiciary in Nigeria is made up of the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal, the High Courts, the Sharia Court of Appeal, the Magistrate Court and Customary Court. The state judiciary includes the state high court, the sharia court and the sharia court of appeal. The local government judiciary is predominantly in care of the magistrate court and the customary courts. The structure of urban governance in Nigeria is synonymous with the State structure, there is no real or visible legislative framework to actually distinguish between the two levels. While the Urban/State is closely linked together, there is a sharp division or departure from the local government or the rural communities. Hence, while the state is synonymous with urban governance, the local administration is synonymous with the rural communities where most participatory budgeting takes place. However, the approval and implementation of most projects are done at the state/urban level (Adamolekun 2008).

In spite of the above, majority of Nigerians in the states (cities) still live in slums, without access to basic services such as housing, primary health care, pipe borne water and electricity. Service delivery has therefore, become one of the most serious problems in the urban centres. In order to solve these problems, the roles of the federal government in relationship with the states must be properly spelt out and implemented. Corruption must be reduced through community-driven checks and balances which will ensure effective citizens' participation. Furthermore, the local governments should have the skilled manpower to deal with the problems of urbanization. In order to enhance accountability and reduce corruption, participatory budgeting should be properly adhered to (Omar 2013:10-14).

Substantially, there has been some gains and challenges in participatory budgeting in Nigeria since inception in 2002 vis-à-vis the massive awareness of the active civil societies and developmental agencies in Nigeria such as the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP), the civil society and the community development associations have "impacted tremendously on citizens' consciousness and interests in evolving a standard model of participatory budgeting in the public sphere, and this has led to some noticeable changes in public accountability monitoring. There has been increased local revenue collection, as citizens are given a sense of belonging and a chance to participate in the planning process. Participation and monitoring from residents, non- governmental organizations, civil societies and developmental agencies, such as the Community Development Associations (CDAs) has risen from 14% to 65.8%" (UN-HABITAT 2009).

Furthermore, "between 2005 and 2008, there has been more equitable distribution of natural and regional resources, reflecting gender analysis of women and men's work. There has also been increased differential impact of budgetary expenditure and the different constraints and opportunities available to women and men in Nigeria. Furthermore, wards, districts and local governments where agreed lists of priorities were sent to the Lagos State Government, Local Councils and non-governmental organizations (NGOS) in participatory budgeting have also increased on average of 34.2% in 2007 and 43.6% in 2008" (UN-HABITAT 2009: 63-64).

Umo (2014) is of the belief that participatory budgets prepared by democratic accountants will boost organizational effectiveness. Empirical evidence is in support of the fact that in majority of cases, the participatory method of budget preparation produces better results as far as the effectiveness and efficiency of organizations are concerned.

In essence, participatory budgeting is a means of bringing about organizational effectiveness and efficiency, which will come in to play when corruption is reduced to the barest minimum through effective use of participatory budgeting. The following have been identified by the researcher as the main problems of participatory budgeting in Lagos. First is general lack of awareness of participatory budgeting, and general lack of enlightenment, education and awareness of participatory budgeting in Nigeria. The model only exists in Lagos and Abuja, even though it is often seen by the government as an imposition on them by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), hence government is not always disposed to create awareness of participatory budgeting. It is mainly driven by the civil societies, who are viewed by government as being too radical in their approach (Zinyama 2014). There is also a lack of synergy between the civil society and communities, as it exists between the communities and civil society; hence the community dwellers that make up the community development associations are left with no other choice than to approach the central government directly. In doing this, the necessary expertise provided by the civil society is being denied. This has been counter productive, as the government is difficult to access even by the community development associations (Kothari 2012).

High level of illiteracy, particularly in the rural communities in the local governments also militates against the smooth implementation of participatory budgeting in that a good number of the attendees at the community development association meetings are illiterate and do not even have a clear perception of the issues at stake for deliberation at the community development associations meeting (Witteck 2014). Scanty resources constitute another setback in the implementation of participatory budgeting. This is against the back drop of the reality that the financial commitments and responsibility of the government are enormous, but the resources with which to implement these commitments are meagre. Hence, very important projects like electricity, water and good roads, which are germane to the lives of the vulnerable ordinary citizens are left unattended to, even when such projects have been approved for implementation by the central government (Goldfrank 2011).

Projects that have been approved by the government are left un-monitored, half implemented or not implemented. In many cases, in the official gazette documents of the government, such projects may have been entered as implemented whereas they are not implemented. The cycle of participatory budgeting stops at implementation.

There is therefore the need to establish the project monitoring committee, whose composition will include the ordinary citizens, the civil society and the city government (Wittek 2014). Many of the local government officials that are actually supposed to be facilitators in the participatory budgeting are not well equipped for the task of implementing the programmes. Most of the officials are employed with secondary school leaving certificates, hence most are not even trainable but left on the job due to patronage from the political elites and power holders (Omar 2013).

Gideon (2014) opines that the poor budget implementation in Nigeria has inevitably led to poor governance; hence the problem of budget implementation will be a thing of the past when budget implementation is reviewed periodically to ensure that programs are implemented effectively and to identify any financial/policy slip-ups. A good number of citizens exhibit apathy towards the government and any government programmes, even when such programmes are put in place to better the lot of the citizens, such as free polio vaccination. Participatory budgeting is not left out of such neglect or apathy. This is as a result of false and unfulfilled promises by successive governments as identified by (Alonge 2005).

### **3. Community Development Associations and Local Government Administration in Nigeria**

Community Development Associations in Nigeria, both in origin and conception, is a broad term applied to the practices of civic activists, involved citizens and professionals, with the aim of building stronger and more resilient local communities (Ajayi & Otuya 2006). It is the degree to which individuals (community members) are empowered with pre-requisite knowledge and skills that helps them to make self-fulfilling decisions about their future. Community Development Associations seek to empower individuals and groups of people by providing them with the skills they need to effect positive change in their own communities. These skills are often created through the formation of large social groups working for a common agenda (Lawal 2000). Community developers must understand both how to work with individuals and how to affect communities within the context of larger social institutions.

Ajayi & Otuya (2006) have recognized a number of approaches to community development, such as: Community Economic Development (CED), Community Capacity Building Development (CCBE), Asset Based Community Development (ABCD), Faith Based Community Development (FBCD), Community Practice (CP), Social Work (SW), Community Based Participating Research (CBPR), Community Mobilization (CM), Community Empowerment (CE), Community Participation (CP), Participatory Budgeting (PB), Community Based Planning (CBP), and Community Driven Development (CDD).

Community development issues have taken center stage in the developmental needs of rural communities in the third world countries, especially in Africa. The establishment of community development associations has made it easier for people to participate in the development of their communities (Ibok & Akpanim 2014). In Nigeria, community development provides a large proportion of the needed solution to the problem of the low level of participation of people in development programmes. The notion of community development owes a great deal to the effort of colonial administrators. After the 2nd world war, the British colonial office became concerned with community development, whose aim was to develop basic education and social welfare in the United Kingdom colonies. For instance, a 1944 report on mass education in the colonies placed more emphasis on literacy training and advocated the promotion of agriculture, health and other social services through local self-help. In Nigeria, community development is not new. It had been in existence, carried out by villagers, voluntary associations and various government instrumentalities long before the idea became formalized and institutionalized in 1948. For example, communities have constructed and maintained markets, roads, and water reservoirs, cleared their farmlands and cooperated in the cultivation and harvesting of crops. To prove this, as far back as 1830, the people of Abeokuta in Western Nigeria built a civic centre and the Centenary Hall through self-help efforts. Also, the Ibibio communities in South-eastern Nigeria banded themselves for social development as far back as 1928. By 1938, they were offering scholarships for overseas education to their promising sons and daughters. In 1939, they established the Ibibio State College, which was entirely supported by their pooled resources (Ibok & Akpanim 2014).



The Federal Government of Nigeria, through the National Policy on Community Development, set up the Community Development Association (CDA) under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture, Rural and Social Development.

Community Development Associations have always been part and parcel of Nigerian life from the pre-colonial to the British colonial era, the post-colonial era, the independence and post-independence era, with lots of metamorphoses in structures, personnel and operations in between. It was however institutionalized in 1948 (Okwakpam 2010, Ibok & Akpanim 2014). The Community Development Associations are put in place by the Federal Government of Nigeria in order to ensure that the communities are well organized and encouraged to peacefully embark on self-help projects. A central working committee known as a Community Association operates in the communities, supervised and driven by personnel of the Ministry of Agriculture, Rural and Social Development. Ambali & Fajonyomi (2014) submit that Community Based Associations (CBAs) such as the CDA have increased the level of participation in development projects in Kwara State, Nigeria i.e. 52.4%, which was considered to be high. The relationship between economic status and level of participation has also increased significantly. Variations in the level of participation with employment, access to water and transportation have also made statistically significant contributions. Ibok & Akpanim (2014) assert that community development association has contributed tremendously to the developmental stride in Nigeria. This has been largely facilitated by the Ministry of Rural Development, which serves as the clearing house to these associations, thereby instilling confidence in their members. The ministry has not only streamlined these associations, but has also repositioned them for effective performance. Abubakar, Abba & Bello (2014) submit that radio intervention strategy in deepening participation and attainment of community development goals is a widely held mantra, and it has been a key rationale for its adoption by many agencies to aid community development campaigns. This intervention has brought greater community development awareness to the people of the area. Nkwede & Samuel (2014) also note that Nigeria has been in partnership with the World Bank prior to Nigeria's independence in 1960. The essence of the strategy was to enable the Bank focus on community empowerment and local level development as key elements of its overall strategy for poverty reduction.

The agency's intervention in rural communities in Ebonyi State community social development projects has over the years been providing rural settlers with infrastructure such as skill acquisition, processing machine, roads, rural water supply scheme, housing, electricity, building of model communities and access to quality education. From the above, it is significant to also focus on and shed some lights on the history of local government administration in Nigeria, as a good number of the Community Development Associations exists in the local government, both in the urban and rural areas. Regardless of nomenclature, the local government is a creation of British colonial rule in Nigeria. It has over time experienced changes in name, structure and composition. Between 1930s and 1940s, for instance, the local government was known as chief-in-council and chief-and-council, where traditional rulers were given pride of place in the scheme of things. In the 1950s, elections were introduced according to the British model in the western and eastern parts of the country, with some measure of autonomy in personnel, financial and general administration (Nwabueze 1982). It was on this premise that the rising tide of progress, growth and development experienced in the local governments in these areas was based. The pace of this development was more noticeable in the south than in the north. During this period, heterogeneity was the hallmark of local government as there was no uniformity in the system, and the level of development was also remarkably different. The introduction of 1976 reforms by the military administration of General Olusegun Obasanjo brought about uniformity in the administrative structure of the system. The reforms introduced a multi-purpose single-tier local government system (Ajayi 2000).

The reforms also introduced a population criterion under which a local government could be created. Consequently, a population of within 150,000 to 800,000 was considered feasible for a local government. This was done to avoid the creation of non-viable local councils and for easy accessibility. Also, provision was made for elective positions to have the Chairmen who would serve as executive heads of local governments, with supervisory councilors constituting the cabinet. This was complemented by the bureaucrats and professionals, such as doctors, accountant, lawyers and engineers, who were charged with the responsibility of implementing the policies (1976 Guidelines). In 1991, a major landmark reform was introduced, as the legislative arm was included in the system. In addition, "the Babangida administration increased the number of local governments from 301 in 1976 to 453 in 1989

and 589 in 1991. The Abacha regime also increased the number to 774 local councils that we have today and the administrative structure also underwent some changes” (Ajayi 2000).

Furthermore, “in 1998, the Abubakar administration introduced the sole administrator system at the grassroots level, before elections were conducted in December 1998 for the posts of chairmen and councilors. In essence, it has become almost fashionable in Nigeria for the incumbent administration to introduce one change or the other in the institution. So far, the local government system in Nigeria has not been stable and this leaves its future to remain bleak, uncertain and insecure” (Lawal 2000).

The concept of local government involves a philosophical commitment to democratic participation in the governing process at the grassroots level. This implies legal and administrative decentralization of authority, power and personnel by a higher level of government to a community with a will of its own, performing specific functions as within the wider national framework. A local government is a government at the grassroots level of administration meant for meeting peculiar grassroots needs of the people (Agagu 1997). It is defined as government by the popularly elected bodies charged with administrative and executive duties in matters concerning the inhabitants of a particular district or place (Appadorai 1975). Laski (1982:411) offers an explanation on the existence, performance and relevance of the local government, that the full benefit of democratic government may not be realized unless it begins with the admission that all problems are not central problems, and that the result of problems not central in their incidence requires decisions at the place, and by the person, where and by whom the incidence is most deeply felt, that is, the local government. The local government can also be defined as that tier of government closest to the person, which is vested with certain powers to exercise control over the affairs of people in its domain (Lawal 2000). A local government is expected to play the role of promoting the democratic ideals of a society and coordinating developmental programmes at the local level. It is also expected to serve as the basis of socio-economic development in the locality. Apart from the powers and functions of the local government as discussed above, there are some compelling reasons why local governments are established and are considered very important in modern national dispensations, especially in Nigeria. These include the following: The local government administration was constituted in order to bring government nearer to the people at the grass roots.

The reason for this is not far-fetched, as it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the rural people to have easy access to government both at the federal and at the state levels (Olowu 1993). Hence, the need for the creation of government apparatus at the local areas to cater for the needs of the local people, therefore, moving the government nearer to the local people.

Consequently, the local government serves as an avenue for the indigenes of different local areas to govern themselves according to their traditions and culture. By so doing, the culture and traditions of the local people are better preserved and protected (Oyediran et al., 2002). In essence, recognition for the different peculiarities in different local areas is guaranteed and protected by laws. The creation of local governments, according to Adamolekun (2008), also gives the people in the rural areas a sense of belonging by ensuring their participation in deciding matters affecting them. This is in view of the fact that they often view the officials of the local governments as their sons and daughters. Hence, the spirit or sense of belonging is easily ignited in the local people and they are always eager to participate effectively in matters that are of communal interest to them, such as joint clearing of bush paths, joint planting, harvesting and hunting.

The establishment of the local government in Nigeria is also meant to allay feelings of insecurity and fears of ethnic domination. Owing to the heterogeneous nature of the Nigerian state, there is always a palpable fear of discrimination and domination of the minority ethnic groups by the majority ethnic groups. Therefore the need to allay the fears of the minority ethnic groups led to the decision to create for these minority ethnic groups their own little governance and administration, catering for their own needs in form of local governments (Ibok & Akpanim 2014). Perhaps this is responsible for the large number (774) of local governments at present in Nigeria. The Nigerian government, because of its federal nature, which is based on sharing of powers between the centre and the component units, also created the local government in order to avoid too much concentration of powers on one authority. The creation of local government ensures that there is decentralization and devolution of powers between the central government and the component units, which the local government happens to be (Okafor 1981).

The creation of local governments also provides the opportunity to mobilize both human and material resources in the local areas. With the local government in place, it enables the government at the centre to bring together both human and material resources for the betterment of the rural people; this may not have been possible without the existence of a well-coordinated local government (Ibok 2012). Furthermore, one of the basic reasons for the creation of local governments in Nigeria is for the government to be able to achieve rapid development in the local areas. This is because the local governments, in the eyes of the law, are equal entities (Agagu 1997). Hence, the central government gives all local governments equal treatment in terms of structure, finance, departments and personnel. This will no doubt facilitate rapid development in the local areas. The creation of local governments in Nigeria was also to serve as a link between the people at the grass roots and the central government. This link between the grass roots and the central government is also meant to serve as a means of reducing to the barest minimum the rural-urban drift and further reduce the rural-urban migration and overpopulation in the urban centers (Nwabueze 1982).

Additionally, local governments are set up to train the local people in civic education, acts of modern day governance and leadership development. In other words, it is a means of developing the democratic and leadership traits in the local people. This may not have been possible without the creation of the local government (Omotosho 1998). Observations have shown that local governments in Nigeria have not performed to expectation. Hence, scholars, such as (Lawal 2000; Duru 2004; Adamolekun 2008 & Ibok 2012), have since adduced various propositions for explaining the reasons why the system has recorded abysmal level of inefficiency and ineffectiveness vis-à-vis justification for its establishment.

According to Adamolekun (2008), besides stating the justification for the establishment of local government and its inevitable importance to the people at the grassroots level, has identified some glaring weaknesses in local government administration in Nigeria, such as non-availability of sufficient funds, mostly due to official corruption perpetuated by local government officials, inadequately trained personnel, lack of job motivation and satisfaction, fears of retrenchment, questionable manner of recruitment and other related challenges. Local government in Nigeria is home to more than 80% of the population in the country.

In view of this, the local governments are constitutionally empowered (Section 4 second schedule of the 1999 and 2011 amended constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria) to provide most social and public amenities for the rural dwellers. Consequently, governance at the local level plays a crucial role in determining the effectiveness of public utility provision to the vast rural population (Ibok 2014). Understandably, the way of governance does affect the efficiency of public goods provision, meaning that over the years certain factors have been identified as hampering effective and efficient local governance in Nigeria. These problems are:

Absent/undeveloped revenue sources, where sources of revenue to local councils are even viable, poor attitude to work by revenue agents hinders proper collection of revenue, notably laziness at the revenue points. Worth mentioning too is insincerity by some council personnel. Some revenue agents collect revenue without remitting them to the council coffers, while others are in the habit of making fake expenses they never incurred. All these traumatize the already weak financial base of the council (Duru 2004). Closely related to the above is the problem of corruption. Corruption has become the order of the day in the polity.

Corruption has eaten deep into the fabric of Nigerian local councils. There have been glaring cases of embezzlement and misappropriation of the councils' funds by the officials of the council. The most pathetic and painful is the sharing of federal allocation meant for the development of the area by unscrupulous council bosses and stalwarts. This unethical conduct has rendered local councils financially impotent, hence incapable of providing basic needs to its citizens (Lawal 2000).

Associated with the above is the problem of political interference. This has detrimental effects on local governments, as public policies of the councils are often politicized to serve selfish interests at the expense of general interest of the people. Appointments in the councils are sometimes based on political patronage and party affiliation, thereby creating room for mediocrity and non-performance (Ibok 2014).

Additionally, the frequent changes in council leadership and unstable political leadership in the local council have caused arbitrary removal of local government executives. Most

pathetic is the removal at will of elected officials and replacement with appointed care-taker committees and sole administrators. These appointees serve the interest of those that appointed them at the state level instead of the interest of the local people (Ibok 2014).

Absence of accountability, accountability is a powerful instrument for effective and efficient administration. It prevents abuse of power on the part of the chief executive and his team. Accountability ensures that the public is satisfied that the government is being run efficiently and effectively. It conjures the image that the governed are not being exploited by those in power. Although there are enough constitutional provisions and administrative guidelines to checkmate government at the local level, such provisions have been jettisoned in all ramifications as the local people no longer have confidence in their leaders because of lack of accountability, especially the common practice of sharing federal allocations meant for the provision of basic needs for the people among council executives and their patrons, a situation which has generated agitation among Nigerians, thereby some are now calling for the abrogation of local governments, which are seen as a conduit pipe for stealing council money by few criminals (Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni 2012).

As it is with all man-made institutions or mechanisms, the local governments in Nigeria cannot be dissociated from some of these problems, particularly the duo problems of participation and involvement, hence the need to shed more light on them. Holden (2010) is of the opinion that deliberative democracy will further enhance participation both at the local and urban levels of governance. Koos & Pierskalla (2015) observe that weak institutions such as the judiciary, particularly at the local level, have also weakened institutional legitimacy and capacity building and development in different countries of the world. A weak judicial system ensures that justice is sold to the highest bidder. This ultimately makes citizens lose confidence in governance and thus act against their involvement and participation at the local level. Furthermore, Shkaeva (2014), in a study of weak institutions involving the Federal States of Russia and Nigeria, also believes that weak institutions are particularly synonymous with Federal states.

Most governments today, particularly in Nigeria; the federal, state and local governments are hardly there for the people, but for the minority elite. This clearly negates the tenets of participatory budgeting, which is meant to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor in the

community by giving special attention to the needs of the less privileged and vulnerable members in the community. This steers the citizens away from participation and involvement at the local level. According to Simona & Augustina (2014), most of the problems bedeviling the educational sector in Nigeria could be traced to lack of accountability by government agencies and officials, particularly at the local level. Thus, the failure to adequately educate the people at the local level not only affects their participation and involvement but also the quality of their contributions and output at community meetings.

Furthermore, Ibok (2014) believes that it is well known in “political discourse that weak accountability is an explanatory factor for poor developmental performance of most public institutions. The performance here may be service delivery, which is the primary purpose of governance. A government that is accountable will always commit itself to developing and nurturing the capability required to ensure efficient and effective performance of the task of service delivery”. In other words, the lack of accountability by successive governments at both local and national levels affects the level of participation and involvement at the local government in particular, as people automatically become apolitical as a fall out of lack of accountability in the conduct of government officials.

According to Lawal (2000) a number of factors are responsible for the non-involvement of people in their own affairs. These include: loss of interest in the project that will not be of benefit to the leadership of the local government, illiterate and unenlightened citizens, and lack of political will by the leadership to run an open administration due to selfish interest, poverty of socio-political philosophy for change and misplaced priorities. There also exist the mismanaged of local government fund and misplacement of priorities.

In the same vein, Adamolekun (2008) has also identified unnecessary bureaucratic bottleneck and corruption as being responsible for the non-involvement of most citizens in local government affairs. High level of general indiscipline and lack of job commitment are also identified by (Ajayi 1995).

The World Bank (2001) states that the major challenge that local governments face is the political control which the respective state governors have on the local government chairmen. This is because elections of most, if not all, of the chairmen are sponsored by the state governors.



The chairmen are handpicked by the state governors, rather than elected. It is a clear case of “who pays the piper dictates the tune”. This again is seen by observers as a conduit pipe for the diversion of local government funds for the personal use of state governors. Pateman (1986) enunciates a vital problem of participation and involvement of citizens as follows: that the new phase of the democratic revolution, while it is, in its own way, a result of the democratic universalism of the enlightenment, this also puts into question some of its assumptions. Many of these new struggles do in fact renounce any claim to universality. They show how in every assertion of universality there lies a disavowal of the particular and a refusal of specificity. Feminist criticism unmasks the particularism hiding behind those so-called universal ideals which, in fact, have always been mechanisms of exclusion. This has shown how classical theories of democracy were based upon the exclusion of women. The idea of universal citizenship is particularly modern, and necessarily depends on the emergence of the view that all individuals are born free and equal, or are naturally free and equal to each other. No individual is naturally subordinate to another, and all must thus, have public standing as citizens that uphold their self-governing status.

Individual freedom and equality also entails that government can arise only through agreement or consent. We are all taught that the "individual" is a universal category that applies to anyone or everyone, but this is not the case. "The individual" is a man.

In essence, the vague idea of democratic universalism is actually a means of excluding the womenfolk from participation and involvement, as it is assumed that men and women are on the same pedestal in participation, which is not always the true picture in the real sense of participation, for all intents and purposes.

Bader (1995) also aligns with Pateman (1986), but from a broader international relations, insisting that the “international relations of exploitation, oppression, and discrimination of citizenship has always been and still is the single most important criterion of inclusion and exclusion. Notwithstanding the strong universalist language of human rights and the internationalist rhetoric in the liberal tradition ("free movement of capital"), the socialist tradition ("proletarian internationalism"), and the anarchist tradition, those exclusionary consequences have been widely ignored in the dominant theories of justice. Most recent moral theory has as its common core some version of a Universalist egalitarianism.

The exclusionary effects of citizenship are incompatible with this "egalitarian plateau". The egalitarian principle of equal liberties serves as a criterion of radical critique of all ascriptive privileges. Citizenship laws combine, in different ways, criteria of birth or descent (*jus sanguinis*) and territory (*jus soli*).

Bader (1999) identifies some of the basis on which citizens have been excluded and that are morally no more defensible than all the others, like kinship, sex, age, region, residence, language, habits, culture, lifestyles, gender, religion, nationhood, social class, membership in churches, parties, and so on. He notes that citizenship in Western liberal democracies is the modern equivalent of feudal privilege, an inherited status that greatly enhances one's life chances. This has further hindered the fair distribution of resources amongst the citizens. A just and fair distribution in an ideal, global world would most likely demonstrate an enormous gap between those ideal distributions and the existing international relations of exploitation, oppression, and exclusion. A just distribution of resources within states would imply redistribution of control over resources radically incompatible with the usual accommodation with capitalist market economies. The international consequences would be, obviously, even more radical.

Bader (1999) in Habermas (1992) identifies some of the consequences of citizenship exclusion as: (i) a lack of individual autonomy and the freedom to choose; (ii) not leaving any, or enough, room within communities or traditions for distance, criticism, rebellion, conflict, and change; (iii) ignoring all forms of structural inequalities inside communities (exploitation, oppression, discrimination, exclusion); (iv) lack of civil rights and civil culture; and (v) lack of democratic political rights and culture.

Discourse	Citizenship Status	Duties
Moral	Passive status of person Negative status or status libertatis Positive status or status civitatis	Moral duties Legal duties Status
Legal	Active status or status activus civilis	Legal duties
Political citizenship	Liberal, republican, or strong political	Moral and political duties
Ethical	Ethnic, cultural, national concepts citizenship	Ethical duties

**Table 1 Citizen-Status or Levels of Citizenship**

**Adapted from Bader 1999**

The local government is a political authority created by law at the community level to provide services of local nature to the area for which it is created. It is generally created by the law of the central government in a unitary system of government or that of a state or regional government in a federal system of government. The local government system of a state is created by an Act of the legislature, while each local government authority is created by an instrument which defines its boundaries, structure, functions and powers. Thus, the local government is a legal entity. In essence, the local government can sue and can be sued (Okafor 1981). It should be noted that National Government and National Communities are not the only kind of Government in the modern world. Every nation contains small groups with diverse population, customs, languages and needs, which may be different from those of the larger nation. Therefore, these differences can be best achieved if some degree of decentralization of power is managed (Lawal 2000).

Local Government was known under colonial rule as native administration system, when Lord Lugard was made the High Commissioner for Northern Nigeria in 1900, following the revocation of the charter of the Royal Niger Company (RNC). Lugard introduced the Indirect Rule System, which constituted a form of local administration in which the British employed the traditional rulers or the indigenous leaders of the people to rule them, with their existing traditional political institutions under appropriate direction, control and supervision of the British colonial masters (Adegbola 2012). The Native Authority was usually headed by a Chief who enjoyed legitimacy under the indigenous political system, in some cases,

supported by the Council of Elders. There was also native treasury which collected, kept and disposed local finances. Additionally, there was a native court, which dispensed justice according to the local system and tradition, subject to the avoidance of sentences that were repugnant to British Civil Laws. The structure of native administration was created largely based on necessity, but also vastly as a result of the belief of the British Colonial Authority that a country as large as Nigeria with the complexity of religions and culture requires the participation of local people to mediate the British purpose to the local population (Egwu 2001).

According to Okafor (1981), the system of Local Government in Northern states was a bit different from that of the Southern states, Lagos inclusive. In the North, the native authority represented the actual Local Government Authority which was broadly divided into four type:

- A. Chief-in-Council
- B. Chief and Council
- C. A Council
- D. Caretaker Government

Chief-in-Council: Comprised a set of autocratic Emirs (leaders/rulers) and his Councilors whereby the Chief was the executive authority. He presided over the council and even dispensed with full control in minor and emergency matters. He must consult the council on all major policy matters, but had powers to override majority decisions of the council. The Chief and Council was made up of the Chief and Councilors; the Chief also presided over the Council, but he had no power to act against the decisions of majority of the council. The third type, A Council, arose when small native authorities agreed to unite to form a federation of native authorities. In this, the Chairmanship of the Council was generally rotated among the Chiefs of the subordinate officers of the area. The fourth one, A Caretaker Government, was a form of native authority temporarily adopted and in most cases, was a district officer of the area.

In the Southern states, local authorities were democratically elected. In the Eastern states, one could identify urban country councils, which were for large areas with thick populations. This might be a town which was big enough to have a Council of its own. A country council was for rural areas that did not contain big towns. In the Western and mid states, three tiers of Local Government Councils were common. The first tier consisted of divisional councils; the second tier comprised the District councils, while the third tier was made up of the local councils. The Local Government reforms of 1976 in Nigeria officially made all Local Governments to become similar in structure, composition, finance, personnel administration and local-central relationship. That made it possible for Local Governments to have a constitutional back up and be regarded as the third tier of government in the 1978 constitution.

Nigeria currently has 774 Local Government Areas (LGAs). Each Local Government Area is administered by a Local Government Council consisting of a chairman, who is the Chief Executive of the LGA, and other elected members who are referred to as Councilors and Supervisors (Ibok 2014). According to Adamolekun (2008), the powers of Local Governments are detailed in the Nigerian Constitution as set forth in the Second Schedule of the 1999 Constitution.

These include economic recommendations to the State. The local government areas are the closest to the rural people; they also understand better the peculiarities of the local government. For instance, some local governments have arable land that are suitable for agricultural plantations, while other local governments, like Epe Local Government, are endowed with aquatic splendor for fish farming and so on. In view of this, the local governments are in the best position to advise the state government on economic benefits in their local governments. The local governments are also charged with the responsibility of collecting tax and fees from the local people, particularly the tenement rates and fees on market stalls. Administratively, it will be cumbersome for the state government to collect taxes and fees for the local government.

Local governments are also endowed with the power to not only establish cemeteries and destitute homes, but also to maintain them. The cemeteries in particular are further separated along religious lines, in line with the pluralistic and heterogeneous nature of Nigeria.

Licensing of bicycles, trucks (other than mechanically propelled trucks), canoes, wheel barrows and carts, licensing of bicycles and canoes in particular are also one of the functions of the local government. This is because these forms of transportation are predominantly prevalent in the local government areas; hence the local government is well positioned to issue licenses in that regard.

The local government areas are also given the power to maintain and regulate the markets; this is because the local governments represent the entry point for the production and distribution of agricultural products. Hence, the need to regulate not only the local markets where the goods are sold and distributed but also the bus terminals and other conveniences that are associated with the farm produce. Construction and maintenance of roads, streets, drains and other public highways, parks, and open spaces is another local government duty. In Nigeria, there are three types of road networks, “trunk A” roads for the federal government, “trunk B” roads for the state governments and “trunk C” roads for the local governments. “Trunk C” roads, assigned to the local governments, are those minor hinterland roads that are within the geographical jurisdiction of, and controlled by the local government. Naming of roads and streets and numbering of houses, roads and streets are also part of the functions of the local government. The local governments are the nearest to the people, therefore they are in a better position to read and interpret the local maps of the rural area, hence the need for them to also do the naming and tagging of such houses, roads and streets. Since the local governments control and maintain the roads, it is also pertinent that they also maintain the transportation and refuse disposal of such areas. A huge volume of refuse in the local government is not only a source of health hazard but could also derail the free flow of traffic in such an area. Registration of births, deaths and marriages are also in the domain of the local government. The reason for this is that all new-born babies belong to one local government of origin or the other. Hence, for ease of administration and population census efforts, the local governments are charged with these responsibilities.

Other functions of the local government include: the assessment of privately owned houses or tenements for the purpose of levying such rates as may be prescribed by the House of Assembly of a State, control and regulation of outdoor advertising, movement and keeping of pets of all descriptions, shops and kiosks, restaurants and other places for sale of food to the public, and laundries (Adamolekun 2008).

At this point, it is important to shed some light on community development associations and participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government. A Community Development Association, as mentioned earlier, is a community development organization that had been in existence prior the commencement of participatory budgeting in 2002. However, it has now become an integral part of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. This thesis therefore argues that the Community Development Association (CDA) forms part of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government for the reasons set out below.

Participatory budgeting is all about community development, and the only community based organization that is currently given the enabling legal framework and empowered legally according to the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to facilitate community development projects in the rural communities of communities in Nigeria is the community development association. Therefore, this legal framework establishes the relationship between participatory budgeting process and the community development associations in Epe Local Government.

Moreover, the Community Development Associations are also the only body that is legally empowered to prepare and present community budgets on behalf of various communities for both the state and local government. The reason for this is not far-fetched the local government which is supposed to do this job lacks adequate manpower and resources to do so. This situation necessitated the recognition given to the CDAs to prepare the budget on behalf of the communities for onward submission to both the local and municipal governments. Furthermore, in order to clarify this claim, this researcher actually followed the General Secretary of one of the CDAs to witness firsthand, the submission of their community budget to the municipal government after due consultation and approval from Epe Local Government officials. In view of the fact that Epe Local Government is a rural part of the Lagos Municipality, this thesis argues that participatory budgeting is a form of public participation in governance through the involvement of the citizens, particularly at the local level in the preparation of their own budget. This is because the essence of participatory budgeting is the rural area and the closest and the most relevant organization in the rural area is the community development association.

The CDA also serves the purpose of bridging the gap between the rich and the poor in the communities. This is achieved through the facilitation of various developmental projects such

as bore-hole water, clearing/grading of interior roads, and so on, that have great impacts on the socio-economic development of the citizens and the communities in general. One of the means the CDAs employ in achieving these projects, apart from the preparation of budget, is to put pressure on the local/municipal government; at times it is through lobbying and persuasion in order to achieve the desired results. These efforts in one form or the other has gone a long way in bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, because the poor now have easy access to clean water and are able to transport their farm produce with little or no effort from their various farmlands into the community markets. This is indeed one of the basic goals and objectives of participatory budgeting.

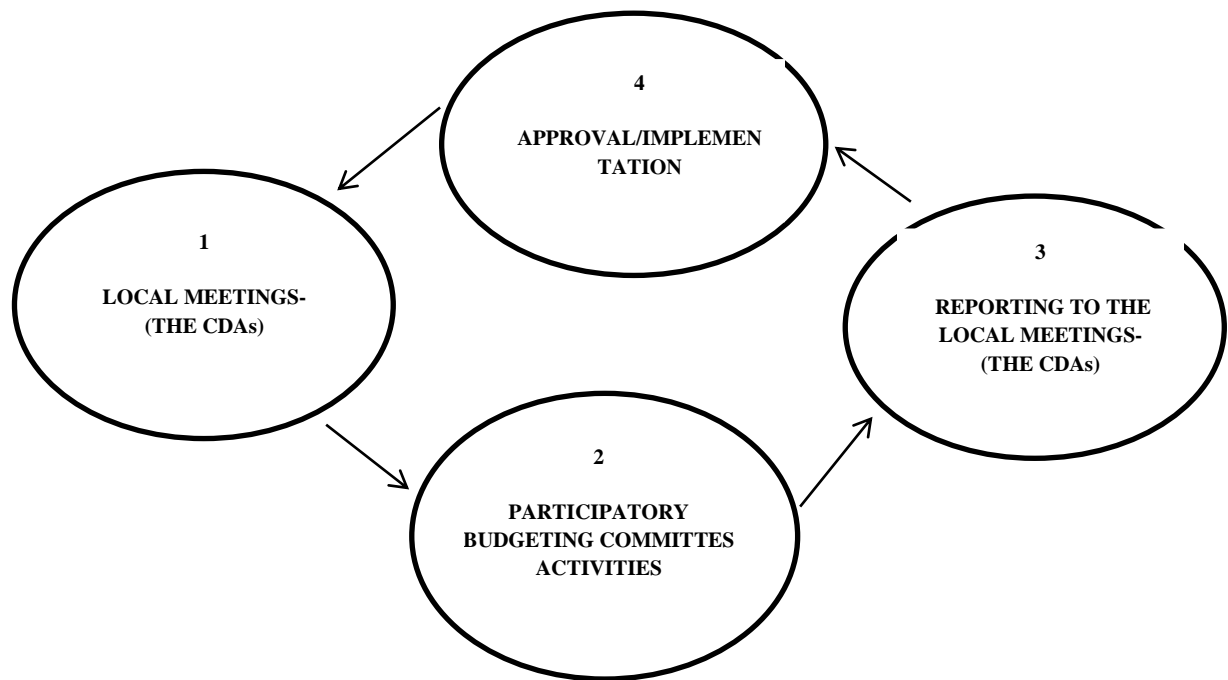
The CDA also provides a strong platform for the citizens, particularly the rural dwellers, the opportunity of discussing issues that affect them and prioritise their needs, which is also one of the basic tenets of participatory budgeting. This is in connection with the deliberative democracy theory, whose essence is about the provision of a strong platform for the exhaustible deliberation on all issues that affect the people, aimed at arriving at and meeting the prioritised needs of the people. Hence, the voice of the people is heard and respected by both the municipal/state and local government. For the purpose of this thesis, participatory budgeting is conceptualized as a mechanism, a model, or a device that is put in place mainly by the government in order to reduce the level of poverty, and the gap between the rich and the vulnerable poor people in the community, through some organizations such as the Community Development Associations (CDAs), against the inactiveness and bureaucratic bottleneck encountered in the orthodox/traditional local governance structure. It is also a means of bringing about rapid and even development among and across the various rural communities. Furthermore, participatory budgeting involves the public participation of the populace in the budgeting process of the local government. Consequently, it shall be adopted as such in this research.

To this end, Community Development Associations (CDAs) so formed are registered by the Ministry of Agriculture, Rural and Social Development. It is the policy of the Federal Government that community development associations should be formed in every community in the country (Okwapam 2010). The community development associations harmonize and manage the natural and human resources in their respective communities for development that will benefit all members of the community. The community development association



also ensures that issues of disagreement are peacefully resolved for sustainable peace in the communities. Projects, such as town halls, water bore-holes, electricity projects, roads, classroom blocks and health centres were embarked upon by the various community development associations in the country (Ambali & Fajonyomi 2014). The Community Development Association is a forum for people to articulate their views, aspirations and community needs. It is primarily aimed at helping people within a local community to identify their social needs, to consider the most effective ways of meeting these needs and to set about doing so, as far as available resources permit (Okwakpam 2010). Hence, it aims at building up and preserving society in a way that pre-supposes and reinforces a common direction of interest and cooperation in order to achieve the said aims. For this thesis, the Community Development Association should not be misconstrued as a different layer of government with specific competence, but rather as a conveyor belt for the actualization of rural development, which is in tandem with the theory and practice of public participation in participatory budgeting, particularly in the rural areas. The argument of this thesis is that no other structure in Nigeria has the legal framework to carry out the participatory budgeting process except the Community Development Associations.

## FLOW CHART OF PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING MECHANISM IN EPE LOCAL GOVERNMENT



**Researcher's Field work experience.**

**Figure 3**

Above is a flow chart of participatory budgeting mechanism in Epe Local Government, the process starts with the meetings at the various levels of the Community Development Associations (CDAs). There after a committee is usually formed to cross-check the budget and include all the items needed for the year. After the work of the budget committee, the budget committee reports back to the local CDAs meetings; here attempts are further made to put the budget into perfection. The budget is then forwarded to the local government, enroute the Lagos State Government, for the actual approval and implementation of the budget through the CDAs.

In consonance with the above, it is significant to also discuss here, the roles of the community development associations in participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government. Doing this will not only add value to the research but will equally expose some of the functions of the CDAs. "The development of the community is always through local political leaders who act as pioneers of projects, but also help in influencing and motivating the people to action. It is saddening to recall that rural community development has been neglected by successive

governments since colonial rule in Nigeria” (Ovwigho & Ifie 2004). Furthermore, “since the 1980s, Nigeria and many African countries have experienced a rising wave of revolts and restiveness by some rural communities. Government has not been able to tackle these crises because there were no reliable baseline studies on the problems of such rural people” (Ovwigho & Ifie 2004).

Consequently, the roles of community development associations subsist. Self-help projects are a good example, which are key programmes of the community development associations that are used by members of communities to mobilize, encourage and stimulate people to identify and willingly embark on projects that are of priority need to them through their own efforts in collaboration with the State and Local Governments. This becomes imperative as the state and local governments alone cannot provide the needs of all the communities due mainly to limited resources (Ibok & Akpanim 2014). The philosophy of self-help serves to complement the efforts of government in provision of basic infrastructures aimed at accelerating the rapid development of the rural communities. This is in tandem with the idea and spirit behind participatory budgeting, which is aimed at reducing the gaps between the rich and the poor, particularly in the rural communities, with the provision of adequate basic needs of the citizens. Moreover, this may not be achieved without the adequate participation of the local and municipal government in such projects. Figure 4 below is a good example of the self-help project of a community: bore-hole water project in Araromi CDA in Epe Local Government; the outcome of the participatory budgeting process and collaboration between the Araromi CDA and municipal/local government, which provided the land /fund, while Araromi CDA provided the able-bodied men who dug the well.

Figure 4 the existence of an old well in Lagbade CDA.



**Well serving more than 5,000 inhabitants dug by the Lagbade Community Development Association and Epe Local Government.**

**Figure 4**



**A modern bore-hole recently commissioned by Araromi Community Development Association.**

**Figure 5**

Town Hall Meetings are usually organized by the Community Development Associations (CDAs) to discuss the affairs of their immediate communities. Issues that will move the communities forward are usually discussed and decisions taken there (Ovwigho & Ifie 2004). Questions are freely asked and answers given. Invitees to Town Hall Meetings include community leaders, community development association members, academics, traditional rulers, political leaders, development partners and corporate bodies. This is in line with the tenets of participatory budgeting, which is equally interested in providing a veritable platform for the citizens to deliberate exhaustively in those affairs that have direct impact on their daily lives, aimed at re-ordering of the needs of the citizens in order to further bridge the gaps between the vulnerable poor citizens and the rich ones, particularly in the rural communities.



The lion share of funds for the construction of such town halls are mostly provided by the municipal government/local government as their own counterpart funding in the participatory budgeting process, while the affected CDA/communities are also expected to fund part of the expenses for the building of the town halls. It is noteworthy that in some situations, the funds do not see the light of the day as they are sometimes converted to personal use by the municipal and CDA officials. Indeed, official corruption remains a setback in the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government.

Figure 6 below shows one of the community halls in Odo-Egiri CDA, Epe Local Government.



**Odo-Egiri Community Town Hall.**

**Figure 6**

On November 8 every year, Community Development Day is usually marked by all stakeholders across the Federation. The day is set aside to serve as a feedback mechanism to the people, particularly in Lagos state, to raise awareness and consciousness among

communities and to enhance the practice of community development self-help efforts. The day is usually commemorated with Community Leaders' Forum, Town Hall Meetings, Workshops/Seminars and conference. The National Policy on Community Development also assigned the role of organization and supervision of vigilante groups (for security) to the community development associations. However, this is absent in most communities, mainly due to lack of trained personnel. The National Policy on Community Development equally assigned the role of community conflict management and conflict resolution to the community development associations, this they do in collaboration with the traditional rulers and elders in the communities (Edo State Government 2013).

Community Development Exchange Programmes are organized on the basis of inter-community or inter-local government or inter-state exchange basis. In the programme, community leaders are selected from one or more communities to visit and learn from another community within or between states. This programme is usually under the auspices of the Federal Government in order to foster national integration and unity. The community development associations also network and liaise with the state governments to give grants-in-aid to deserving communities that embark on self-help projects. The objective is to encourage them and stimulate others into action (Edo State Government 2013).

#### **4. Theoretical Framework**

In line with the tenet of participatory budgeting and community development association, which is based on participatory democracy/deliberative democracy. This section of the literature review contains an overview of participatory democracy with greater focus and emphasis on the theory of deliberative democracy. It will also concentrate on conditions for good participatory deliberation in line with the opinions of Burkhalter, Gastil and Kelshe (2002), as well as deliberative democracy theory as expounded by the Fishkin's Model of Deliberative Democracy. Subsequent parts will be based on the critiques of Deliberative Democracy, Direct democracy, Representative Democracy and its problems and failures, the relevance and linkages between Participatory Budgeting and Deliberative Theory. The aim is to explore the issues around the theoretical framework.

As stated above, the starting point here is to provide an overview of participatory democracy with emphasis on deliberative democracy.

According to Pateman (2012), participatory democracy is considered as the progenitor of deliberative democracy by most theorists. Hence participatory democracy theorists also tend to be deliberative democracy theorists. Consequently, deliberative democracy is participatory democracy regenerated. Therefore, to Mutz (2006) one of the most important maxims of both participatory democracy and deliberative democracy is that it must be small enough in number to be genuinely deliberative and representative enough to be genuinely democratic.

Pateman (1977); Pateman (2012); as well as Dinerstein & Ferrero (2012) agreed that in a participatory democracy, also called a direct democracy, every citizen plays an active role in the government. Many people believe that for this type of government to be successful, it must be in a localized region with a relatively small population. This is because large numbers of eligible citizens might obstruct the workings of the government, instigating endless debates and votes and by so doing end up not really achieving anything positively meaningful and impactful. To this end, citizens must also have an active interest in the success of their governments for participatory democracies to work as intended; this is the bedrock of participatory democracy. Furthermore, there seems to exist a dichotomy between the real policy that is participatory democracy and the real politics that is played out by the political elites.

In essence, a nationwide participatory democracy might be difficult to manage, although many people are hopeful that modern technology, such as the internet, Facebook and Twitter will allow citizens to have greater participation in government. Many small towns within representative democracies use a form of direct democracy at their town meetings, such as what is experienced at the Community Development meetings in Epe Local Government (Adegboye 2013). Thus, allowing each citizen at the town level a vote and a role in the government is believed to lead to a more active, caring and interconnected community. This is because a well knitted or interconnected community is vital for co-operation, communal actions, peace and harmony, sustainable democracy, economic development and social cohesion.

According to Santos (1998:468), “participatory democracy model allows citizens to prioritize what is important to them, rather than relying on their representatives alone to address issues



for them and decide what is important”.

This further drives home the basic fact that plus or minus the presence of the elected representatives, the people are in the best position to actually identify what is most important to them. In some cases, the so-called representatives, after winning the seat in the parliament, often relocate their residence far away from the villages where they were elected to the fast developing, sophisticated and fascinating city lives, such as being witnessed in Nigeria (Oyediran et al., 2002). These so-called representatives are at greater disadvantage to actually determine and prioritize what is in the best interest of the community.

According to Adegboye (2013:241-242), “political variants of participatory democracy include but are not limited to consensus democracy, deliberative democracy, demarchy, and grassroots democracy. Deliberative democracy differs from the traditional democratic theory in the sense that authentic deliberation, not mere voting, is the primary source of law, authority and legitimacy”. Any law or conclusion without authentic deliberation is therefore illegitimate, null and void and of no effect as far as deliberative democracy is concerned. Deliberative democracy adopts the elements of both consensus decision making and majority rule. When practised by small groups, it is possible for decision making to be both fully participatory and deliberative. But for large political entities, the democratic reform dilemma makes it difficult for any political entity. It also makes it difficult for any system of decision making based on political equality to involve both deliberation and inclusive participation.

In sum, the goals of deliberative and participatory democracy can only be fully realized and achieved in small groups such as the villages or local communities and not at the provincial or national level due to the large population of participants that will be involved in the process. Demarchy is a hypothetical system where government is heavily decentralized into smaller independent groups and where randomly selected decision makers have been chosen to govern, and each group is responsible for one or several functions in the society. The system seeks to avoid problems with centralized and electoral governance, while still providing a stable democratic system. However, refocusing the term on community-based activity within the domain of civil society, based on the belief that a strong non-governmental public sphere is a precondition for the emergence of a strong liberal democracy, which will in turn make demarchy an effective and efficient form of democracy.

According to Aragon & Sanchez (2008), participatory democracy is a process that emphasise the broad participation of constituencies in the direction and operation of the political system. The etymological roots of democracy, Greek demos and kratos simply imply that the people are in power, meaning that all democracies are supposedly participatory. However, participatory democracy tends to advocate more involved forms of citizen participation than the traditional representative democracy. Participatory democracy strives to create opportunities for all members of a population to make meaningful contributions to decision making and seeks to broaden the range of people who have access to such opportunities. Consequently, it provides an avenue and a platform for the local people to have more says and broader participation in issues that are germane to them and issues that affect their day-to-day existence as a people.

Moreover, participatory democracy has been a feature of human society since at least classical times. It is believed to have been a common practice of undeveloped people and hunter-gatherer tribes. In seventh and eighth century ancient Greece, the informal distributed power structure of the villages and minor towns began to be displaced with collectives of oligarchs seizing power as the villages and towns developed into city-states. A brief period where a region was governed almost totally by participatory democracy occurred during the Spanish civil war, from 1936-1938, in parts of Spain controlled by anarchist Republicans. In the 1960s, the promotion and use of participatory democracy was a central issue for elements of the American Left. In 2011, participatory democracy became a notable feature of the Occupy movement, with Occupy camps around the world making decisions based on the outcome of working groups where every protester gets to have his say, and by general assembly where the decisions taken by working groups are effectively aggregated together as a whole (Gelderloos 2014). Furthermore, participatory democracy is a process of collective decision making that combines the elements of direct and representative democracy, wherein citizens have the power to decide on policy proposals and the politicians only assume the role of public policy implementers. The electorate can monitor the politicians' performance simply by comparing citizens' proposals and wishes with the actual policies being executed by the politicians. In view of this, the absolute powers enjoyed by the politicians are severely restricted to the barest minimum (Aragon & Sanchez 2008).

Participatory democracy therefore serves as an avenue for checks and balances on the elected representatives by the electorate or the local residents.

In line with the above, the focus here, is the Theory of Deliberative Democracy (TDD). According to Fung & Warren (2011) “deliberative democracy or discursive democracy is a form of democracy in which deliberation is central to decision making” Deliberative democracy differs from traditional democratic theory in that authentic deliberation, not mere voting, is the primary source of legitimacy for the lawmaking process. Deliberative civic engagement is today experiencing resurgence among scholars, practitioners, politicians, civic reformers and others. It has been used to address many problems in economy, politics, and social education, against the backdrop of the success of participatory budgeting in Brazil (Nabatchi 2014). Hence, the need to have an entrenched civic infrastructure support for active deliberative civic engagements, to include not only the government, but also the practitioners and scholars.

The principal theory, on which this research project shall be constructed, is the theory of deliberative democracy. The term “deliberative democracy” was originally coined by Joseph M. Bassette in his famous work “Deliberative Democracy: The Majority Principle in Republican Government” (Bassette 1980).

Mathews (2014) in Scully (2014) is also of the view that deliberative initiatives have the power and potency of galvanizing citizens to play active roles in implementing ideas that are generated during civil interaction. This is because the citizens always feel a sense of belonging as they have been part and parcel of the decision making leading to the implementation of such policy statements. Scully (2014) agrees with Mathews (2014) but argues that for deliberative democracy to work well there must be empowered civic engagement and the creation of a robust and dynamic civic infrastructure, leading to citizens and local communities having stronger, more active and direct roles in shaping their collective future and destiny.

Consequently, “deliberative or discursive theory of democracy is premised on the need to justify the decisions made by the public and their elected representatives. It is a form of democracy in which effective and exhaustive thorough discussion is vital to decision making.

It embraces the sterling qualities of both decision making and majority rule. It is quite different from the traditional democracy, because it is based on authentic deliberation, not merely voting at a meeting” (Fishkin 2011:242-243). For the purpose of this research, the Fishkin model shall be adopted. It shall be adopted for the following reasons: one, the literatures are current. Two, it represents the culmination of other models, such as Cohen, Gutmann and Thompson. Three, it is more elaborate and covers more space for objective analytical research efforts.

Other prominent writers on deliberative theory of democracy are: Jurgen Habermas, Mariah Zeisberg, Seyla Benhabib, Jane Mansbridge and others. Likewise, deliberative democracy serves a complementary role with both direct and representative democracy, in the sense that representatives in the parliament, congress or legislature actually and genuinely make exhaustive deliberation on legislations, although without unequal distribution of power (Gutmann & Thompson 2009).

The theory is relevant to the study because it is about the popular participation of the public in democratic governance. For popular participation of the people in democratic governance to be achieved, deliberation becomes a sine qua non for this to happen at various levels of the democratic process. The theory also plays a complementary role with both direct and representative democracy. Moreover, the theory applies adequately to the participatory budgeting model because some of the fundamental ingredients of participatory budgeting also include: direct democracy, representative democracy and deliberations.

In a nutshell, deliberative theory of democracy and participatory budgeting model could be said to be two sides of the same coin as they are both interested in ensuring participation, not just at the elitist level, but more importantly, at the level of the masses and the vulnerable members of the society. “The new form of theory that has been most successful is deliberative democracy theory” (Pateman 2012:2-4). Moreover, deliberative democracy theory has prospered both in theory and practice, as attested to by empirical evidences. This is evident also in the positive attitude of members of the community in attendance at the town hall meetings such as in Epe Local Government, since they know that they will always have a say in the community issues at such meetings.

Furthermore, deliberative democracy theory now constitutes the most active area of political theory in its entirety, not just democratic theory (Dryzek 2007). In effect, with the advent of deliberative democracy theory, people that are hitherto apolitical have suddenly taken interest in politics and community works substantially due to deliberative democracy, because it provides them an avenue to express their opinions in the community. Pateman (2012:2-4) is also of the view that “deliberative democracy is a form of citizen participation”, hence Cleaver (2001) observes that participation and deliberative democracy has now become an act of faith in developmental efforts that is now being indorsed by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and International Organization such as the World Bank and the United Nations (UN).

According to Burkhalter, Gastil and Kelshe (2002:406, 414-415), conditions for good deliberative democracy devices include: a common ground, as there must be in place a level playing ground for all participants. It is assumed that all participants are equal stakeholders in the community projects and no one must be looked down upon based on primordial sentiments of affluence, religion, color or race. An appropriate model of discussion or appropriate rules of engagement must also be arrived at by all members of the population. These rules should not be changed at the whims and caprices of a few members. Before the rules can be tampered with, they have to be tabled before the members and equally ratified or rejected by them at the general congregation. The possession of the pre-requisite analytical and communication skill is also crucial. Participants must have the required skills to analyze and communicate effectively. Communication must be in the most convenient language for members to participate effectively. For instance, in the rural communities, the indigenous language of the people will be the most potent means of communication instead of any foreign language.

Furthermore, there must be sufficient motivation and a conducive atmosphere; participants are human beings that have their psychological needs. These needs could be economic, social or political, and the actualization of these needs by the community will serve as a source of motivation for members to participate actively. There must also be a conducive atmosphere for the discussions. The specific duration or time and venue of the meeting have to be agreed to by majority of members of the community. This will enhance the full and active participation of more members. A sound knowledge of relevant information is also crucial,

as all members must be well armed with adequate information before the day of the meeting. A specific space of a week or a month notice must be given to members as agreed to by them in order to disseminate information to members prior to the day of the meeting. In essence, all information must be laid on the table for members to think about before the day of the meeting. This also involves all the financial dealings of the community.

In addition, there must be various solutions to the problems at hand to be solved. Alternative routes must be provided to solve these problems. There must be different plans of actions; not restricting members to only “plan A”. “Plan B” and other plans must be exhaustively examined before the actual implementation. Participation rights and responsibilities are also important, as the participation of members is to be regarded as a right and not a privilege. All members must be guaranteed equal rights, the votes of members if resorted to should be equal; it should be a case of one man one vote, not one man ten votes. Adequate responsibilities should also accompany these rights: tasks must be well distributed among members, and such tasks should not for any reason be restricted to a segment of the population. The restriction automatically leads to the non-inclusion of some members, which is against the spirit and letter of participatory deliberation.

Moreover, the very essence of participatory deliberation is the thorough assessment of all solutions and decisions by members. In essence, all members must, as a matter of fact, be involved in contributing probable solutions to problems, before reaching joint decisions agreed to by majority of members. This protects the process from being manipulated by a single individual and prevents unilateral or autocratic decisions being arrived at. Information is germane in deliberative democracy, Hence, the right words are to be adopted by members in order not to send the wrong message or signal to members. The sender of the information must be sensitive also about the receivers, and the information must not be distorted: it must be clear to all, and not ambiguous. The information being communicated to members must be packaged in the tone of a democrat willing to bring on board as many converts as possible, and not a sectional or minority-inclined message or information.

In addition, there must be sufficient opportunity to speak; all members are considered equals. This equality is not limited in any form and also extends to equality in sufficient opportunity

to participate. All members therefore, are afforded equal opportunity to speak on issues at the meetings. By the same token, no member is allowed to monopolize the meeting by speaking out of the allotted opportunity given to him/her. Also, participants are expected to have a good sense of understanding of the issues at stake for discussion. This is in view of the fact that the level of understanding of all members may not be adequate. Considerations are to be given to such people by explaining to them painstakingly the issues at hand. This will ensure that all shades of opinion are accommodated and that those with low level of understanding are not marginalized or left out of proceedings at meetings.

A sound language, reasoning and dialogue must be ensured and the language of communication at the meeting must be jointly and unanimously adopted by all members. Furthermore, such language must be the one that members can easily relate with, reason with, and facilitate easy exchange of ideas, opinions, thoughts and perceptions through. This provides room for more robust deliberation at meetings. The theory of deliberative democracy is quite different from traditional democratic theory in that authentic deliberation, not mere voting, is the primary source of a law's legitimacy. It adopts elements of both consensus decision-making and majority rule. When practiced by small groups, it is possible for decision making to be both fully participatory and deliberative. But for large political entities, the democratic reform dilemma makes it difficult for any system of decision making based on political equality to involve both deliberation and inclusive participation. With mass participation, deliberation becomes so unwieldy that it becomes difficult for each participant to contribute substantially to the discussion.

Fishkin (2011) argues that random sampling to get a small but representative sample of the general population can mitigate the dilemma, but notes that the resulting decision making group is not open to mass participation. But a variant proposed in a better democracy, in essence, a direct, participative democracy in which deliberation and political equality are combined with a much wider participation is better. Participatory democracy has been sharply criticized in the sense that. Gaventa & Cornwall (2001) have also condemned participatory democracy for the following reasons:

Inclusiveness vs exclusiveness: Participatory democracy is supposedly a mechanism for deepening democracy, particularly among the ordinary citizens, but in most cases these

ordinary citizens have been marginalized in one form or the other through influence and resources; hence they have been systemically excluded from the schemes. Moreover, when this exclusion is carried out it is often seen by the perpetrators as a form of apathy and inefficacy from the excluded citizens. Hence, this constitutes a major blow to the realization of the goals of participatory democracy.

**Expertise vs Experience:** Experts are often needed in participatory democracy, particularly in participatory budgeting, in order to offer expert advice on issues of interest to the citizens. However, a good number of these do not possess the required experience, but only base their submissions on the claim that such submissions are objective, thus throwing away the vital agent of experience, which is also important as far as participatory democracy is concerned.

**Minority vs Majority:** It is a known maxim in democracy that majority carries the votes and minorities have their say. However, this position, as argued by Gaventa & Cornwall (2001), negates the very essence of participatory democracy and participatory budgeting, which is meant to actually cater for the minority, while not pretending not to see the majority. Therefore, the unnecessary emphasis on majority rule in participatory democracy is not a welcome idea.

**Monitoring for quality and accountability:** For effectiveness and efficiency in any participatory democratic scheme, there has to be continuous monitoring for quality assurance, transparency and accountability. These cardinal principles are today missing in most of these schemes. There are no adequate reporting and monitoring of the programs by the officials, particularly from the national/central government. In most of the participatory democracy programmes, there are always organizational and institutional problems particularly from the middle level stakeholders. This is because they are not always part of the decision making process from the higher level of stakeholders, hence they always pose organizational and institutional difficulties to the programmes.

Leighninger (2012: 25-26), writing on most deliberative civic engagement (DCE), only addresses a single issue over a short period of time. Moreover, most of the successes are always one-off and are not always sustainable over a long period of time. According to Fishkin (1991:133), a well acclaimed failure of most theories of deliberative democracy is that they do not address the problems of voting.



Nabatchi & Amsler (2014:249) have also identified the following as major problems of deliberative civic engagement: “very weak legal infrastructure, the large size of the political bodies, the need to overcome differences in political systems and political cultures that are stoutly resistant to public engagement, the lack of civic assess of citizens to one another and to their public institutions”. Nabatshi & Munno (2014) are also of the opinion that for deliberative civic engagement to be sustainable in the long run, there has to be in place a durable civic infrastructure, which will have to deal with the issue around the creation of a viable public space where citizens can meaningfully discuss issues unhindered, and the cultivation of civic assets that supports on going national dialogue. It also serves as catalyst to connect citizens to civic leaders, government officials and other decision makers, and the constant education and enlightenment of citizens about important issues, from policy making to policy implementation. Most of the aforementioned indices are blatantly absent in most deliberative civic engagement today.

Blattberg (2003:155-157) has also critiqued deliberative democracy in four areas: “the rules for deliberation that deliberative theorists affirm interfere with, rather than facilitate, good practical reasoning; deliberative democracy is ideologically biased in favor of liberalism as well as republican over parliamentary democratic systems; deliberative democrats assert a too-sharp division between just and rational deliberation on the one hand and self-interested and coercive bargaining or negotiation on the other; and that deliberative democrats encourage an adversarial relationship between state and society, one that undermines solidarity between citizens”.

According to Mouffe (1999:745-747), “deliberative democracy is an attempt to arrive at ground legitimacy on rationality. It advocates that there must be a distinction between “mere agreement” and “rational consensus”. This commands the values of the procedure, which are impartiality and equality, openness (no one and no relevant information is excluded), lack of coercion, and unanimity”

In combination, those values will guide the discussion towards generalizable interests to the agreement of all participants and they will produce legitimate outcomes. In other words, the process of public discussion can be guaranteed to have reasonable outcomes only to the extent that it realizes the conditions of ideal discourse: the more equal and impartial, the more open that process is and the less participants are coerced and ready to be guided by the force of the better argument, the more likely truly generalizable interests will be accepted by all persons relevantly affected. From the foregoing, it is instructive that deliberative democracy without the adoption of the core values of procedures such as equality, openness and impartiality will not lead to a constructive agreement of participants and also enduring, strong, and legitimate outcomes. In the observation of Mouffe (1999), this is what most deliberative efforts suffer from.

Furthermore, Mouffe (1999) also criticizes deliberative democracy from the Wittgenstein's point of view to undermine Habermas's conception of procedure and also challenge the very idea of a neutral or rational dialogue. According to Wittgenstein, for there to be consensus on opinions there has to be consensus on the language to be used and this, as he points out, implies consensus in form of life. In essence, procedure only exists as a complex ensemble of practices. Those practices constitute specific forms of individuality and identity that make possible the allegiance to the procedures. It is because they are inscribed in shared forms of life and agreements in judgments that procedures can be accepted and followed, insisting that they cannot be seen as rules that are created on the basis of principles and then applied to specific cases. Rules for Wittgenstein are always abridgments of practices; they are inseparable of specific forms of life. Therefore, distinctions between "procedural" and "substantial" or between "moral" and "ethical" that are central to the Habermasian approach cannot be maintained and one must acknowledge that procedures always involve substantial ethical commitments.

Following Wittgenstein's lead also suggests a very different way of understanding communication and the creation of consensus”.

The view being expressed by Habermas is basically on the need to follow to the letter the issue of procedural operationalization of deliberative democracy. However, the basic issues of language and communication which are germane to consensus building as envisaged by Mouffe and Wittgenstein are equally part of the major setbacks of deliberative democracy.

To Mouffe (1999:745-748), another way of revealing the inadequacy of the Habermasian approach to deliberative democracy is by “problematizing the very possibility of the notion of the ideal speech situation conceived as the asymptotic ideal of intersubjective communication free of constraints, where the participants arrive at consensus by means of rational argumentation”. In essence, the failure in assuming that there will always be an ideal speech situation, free communication, leading to consensus by the participants is also a minus for deliberative democracy; this because the foregoing is perceived to be the ideal situation, which is quite different from the reality on the field of play.

Indeed, the impediments to the free and unconstrained public deliberation of all on matters of common concerns are a conceptual impossibility, because without those so-called impediments, no communication or deliberation could ever take place. We therefore, have to conclude that the very conditions of possibility of deliberation constitute at the same time the conditions of impossibility of the ideal speech situation. There is absolutely no justification for attributing a special privilege in this respect to a so-called "moral point of view" governed by impartiality and where an impartial assessment of what is in the general interest could be reached (Mouffe 1999). Lafont (2015:40-43) has criticized empirical research on deliberative democracy for over reliance on “mini-publics” such as citizen juries, consensus conferences, deliberative polls, and so on”, noting that these institutional proposals are mostly concerned with increasing the quality of face-to-face deliberation at the detriment of the increasing mass participation in political deliberation or citizen engagement in local politics.

In contrast, proposals that focus on *macro* deliberative processes in the broad public sphere are more concerned with the inclusion of citizens in deliberation about general political issues, and much less with increasing the quality of face-to-face deliberation or the

engagement of citizens in solving local problems. Lafont (2015), in the light of the different strengths and weaknesses inherent in each of these proposals, suggests an integrative approach, that is, an approach that would combine the virtues of these different perspectives and, in so doing, avoid the weaknesses ensuing from adopting one of them while excluding the others. Fung & Wright (2001) have also criticized deliberative democracy for a number of reasons. These are:

Unguarded Elitists Interference, the democratic appeal of deliberative democracy may be hampered by the elites. The elite constitutes a segment of the society which cannot be ignored. Their actions may sometimes be inimical to the progress of deliberative democracy due to the over-bearing influence they have on the structure. Hence, deliberative democracy stands a risk from the hand of the unscrupulous elite if such influence is not check-mated appropriately. External factors; these include external actors that are not actually part of the deliberative democracy process, but wield a lot power and impact on the actual outcome of the deliberation process. These external actors can easily induce the participant with money, goodwill and generosity, especially when a good percentage of the participants are the poor masses. Consequently, the elite constitutes a danger to the gains of deliberative democracy.

Rent seeking: between some participants in the deliberative process and the State can also derail the positive promises of deliberative democracy, particularly when such participant is well informed. This situation does not augur well as the whole process is thus reduced to a mere horse trading business negotiation among business partners at the detriment of the less privileged poor and vulnerable group in the society. Balkanization, deliberative democracy also has the tendency of breaking into pieces the polity and political decision making. This is in view of the fact that in any decision making process there will always be different shades of opinions. These different shades of opinions, preferences, likes and dislikes, if not well managed, can further create cleavages and balkanize the polity and, by extension, the deliberative process. Unrealistic high levels of popular participation may also hamper deliberative democracy, particularly in the modern state of affairs of civic and political disengagement. This is because the high level of popular participation may not be after all a realistic agenda. Hence, the level of participation must be such that is based on realistic level of participation, not being too deep and not being too broad.

Direct democracy (also known as pure democracy) is a form of democracy in which people decide (e.g. vote on, form consensus on, and so on) policy initiatives directly, as opposed to a representative democracy in which people vote for representatives who then decide policy initiatives. Depending on the particular system in use, it might entail passing executive decisions, the use of sortation, making laws, directly electing or dismissing officials and conducting trials. Two leading forms of direct democracy are participatory democracy and deliberative democracy (Brudge 2001). Most countries that are representative democracies allow for three forms of political action that provide limited direct democracy: referendum (plebiscite), initiative and recall. Referendums can include the ability to hold a binding vote on whether a given law should be rejected. This effectively grants the populace which holds suffrage a veto on a law adopted by the elected legislature (one nation to use this system is Switzerland) (Gauja 2010).

Initiatives, usually put forward by members of the general public often compel the consideration of laws (usually in a subsequent referendum) without the consent of the elected representatives, or even against their expressed wish or opposition. Recalls give the public the power to remove elected officials from office before the end of their term, although this is very rare in modern democracies (Castoriadis 2013). Castoriadis (2013) argues that direct democracy is opposed to a strong central authority, because the decision making power can only reside at one level with the people themselves or with the central authority.

“Representative democracy (also indirect democracy) is a variant of democracy founded on the principle of elected officials representing a group of people, as opposed to direct democracy. All modern western-model democracies are types of representative democracies; for example, the United Kingdom is a constitutional monarchy and Germany is a parliamentary republic” (Gauja 2010). “It is an element of both the parliamentary system and presidential system of government that is typically used in lower chambers such as the House of Commons, United Kingdoms (UK) or Bundestag (Germany), and is generally curtailed by constitutional constraints such as an upper chamber. It has been described by some political theorists as Polyarchy” (Cohen & Sabel 1997:313-315).

In a representative democracy, certain people constitute the eligible voters based on their age or other qualifications. Eligible voters then elect representatives to serve as government officials, such as members of a chamber, senate or parliament. These officials typically are elected by voters in a certain area, such as a region of a country. An elected official represents the citizens of his or her area and tacitly agrees to serve their interests. Often, a representative must balance competing interests in his or her jurisdiction and will try to satisfy the greatest number of his or her constituents. To help serve the needs of their constituency, representatives who serve in the national government typically maintain regional offices so that their voters can communicate with them. Individual voters often contact their representatives to encourage them to vote a certain way on a bill or to push through a specific piece of legislation. Some of these measures might be voted on directly by the citizens, in the form of propositions on the ballot. In addition, many representative democracies also permit referendums, a piece of legislation that is proposed directly by the people. If citizens can get enough signatures on a referendum to indicate a certain level of public interest, it could be placed on the ballot during an election (Krugman 2012).

In some situations, a bicameral legislature may have an upper house that is not directly elected, such as the Canadian Senate, which was pivoted on the British House of Lords. Theorists, such as Burke (2012:97-101), believe that “part of the duty of a representative is not simply to communicate the wishes of the electorate but also to use their own judgment in the exercise of their powers, even if their views are not reflective of those of a majority of voters”. “It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion, high respect; their business, unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure, or from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion” (Burke 2012:97-101).

As noted earlier, Burke (2012) critically analyzes their operation in Britain and the rights and duties of an elected representative. Globally, a majority of the world's people live in representative democracies including constitutional monarchy with strong representative branch.

According to Cohen & Fung (2004), the democratic deficits of competitive representation focus on three political values: responsibility, equality, and autonomy. Equally, radical democrats such as Cohen & Fung (2004) are also of the view that the over reliance on the so-called representatives to make consequential political choices. Hence, competitive representation provides an avenue for citizens to judge for themselves the merits of alternative laws and policies and hold representatives accountable in light of those judgments. However, representation is a very limited instrument measuring official accountability, because citizens are always strongly tempted to leave the hard work of substantive policy judgment to professional politicians.

Equality: in representation, particularly in countries with long histories of authoritarian government and hierarchical public culture, the new electoral vestments may merely reproduce and reauthorize the authoritarian past. Participation and deliberation are key to increase political equality: deliberation, because it reduces the power of greater resources with the force of better arguments; participation, because shifting the basis of political contestation from organized money to organized people is the most promising antidote to the influence conferred by wealth.

Political Autonomy, the third problems of competitive representation is the ability to foster any real political autonomy by enabling people to live by rules that they make for themselves. Although a pluralist democracy cannot hope to achieve political consensus, a kind of self-government remains possible and competitive representation falls far short of it. In systems of competitive representation, political outcomes result from differential capacities to mobilize popular constituencies, from balances of interest backed by voters or money, from the complex deals of legislative law-making, or from narrow interests capturing the portions of government that most concern them. In essence, the positive values of responsibility, equality and political autonomy as enunciated by representative democracy could only be said to exist

in the world of utopia as these values cannot really be measured empirically or sustained over a long period of time.

The links could be identified between participatory budgeting and deliberative theory of democracy. The two paradigms are interested in the vulnerable members of the public being practically involved in the decision making process, by creating institutionalized channels and mediums for citizens participation and engagement such as the Community Development Association (CDA), the budget delegates, town hall meetings and so on, in order to represent the interest of the vulnerable members of the public. This institutionalized medium represents the non-elected citizens in the running of the Government, to bridge the gaps between the rich and the poor, and further reduce the level of Poverty and inequality, through deliberate redistribution of resources in favour of the vulnerable groups in the society.

More transparency in governance, both participatory budgeting and deliberative theory are also interested in more transparency in government by ensuring that citizens are given the space and the opportunity to be part of the decision making process, particularly as it concerns the budget allocation procedures. This is a means of reducing the secrecy and bureaucratic bottlenecks that are predominant in most public establishments and institutions, particularly in public finance and replacing them with the transparent popular participation of the ordinary citizens. More authentic public opinion and public will, the two models also serve to enhance more citizens' participation in view of the fact that more authentic public opinion and public will are guaranteed. The citizens are given the opportunity to decide what is best for them at any point in time. The credibility and integrity of the public opinions are guaranteed as they are coming from the less privileged members of the public. Not only that, these opinions are also coming or emanating from the rural people who represent a good number of the non-elected citizens in the society. These opinions often represent the voices of the people, devoid of the usual government mouth piece or opinion. It is the raw data needed for proper planning and development.

The inclusiveness of all strata of the society in governance, participatory budgeting and deliberative theory are also interested in bringing together all strata of the society such as the



civil society organizations, the human right groups, the labor unions, the traditional rulers, the academics, the religious groups, the student associations, the community based organization and others. The conglomeration of all these groups is to ensure that there exists the needed partnership among them, to have a more robust inclusiveness and thorough deliberation and to also ensure that the vital grassroots democracy is strengthened and more citizens are empowered. It is to also establish the fact that all the strata are important stakeholders in the society and are all equal partners in development, particularly at the grassroots level.

The creation of an egalitarian society, an egalitarian society is a veritable tool for any democratic arrangement that seeks to improve the quality and quantity of lives of its members. This is the essence of both the participatory budgeting and deliberative theory. This is ensured by bringing together the government and the governed, reducing to the barest minimum the dominant over-centralized nature of the government over the governed, the civil society organizations and other stakeholders in the society (Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke 2008; Aragon & Sanchez 2008 & Santos 1998).

## **5. Conclusion**

The preceding chapter was specifically based on the Nigerian dimension to public participation, it also touched on the United Nations Development Programs (UNDP) indicators on urban governance in relation to Nigeria, the assessment of the gains and challenges of participatory budgeting in Nigeria since Inception in 2002, the origin and conception of Community Development Associations in Nigeria, Community Development Associations and Participatory Budgeting in Epe Local Government, possibilities and critiques of Community Development Associations in the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government, some Similarities between the Participatory Budgeting Processes in Epe Local Government and Porto Alegre, brief history of Local Government administration in Nigeria, need/justification for creation of Local Governments in Nigeria and the Problems of Participation and Involvement in Local Governments in Nigeria.

Furthermore, the chapter also provided sufficient details on the theoretical framework of the thesis, with focus on the theory of Participatory Democracy, with particular interest on the theory of Deliberative Democracy such as expounded by the Fishkin. The chapter concluded with a look on the linkages between Participatory Budgeting and Deliberative Theory. Consequently, the focus of the next chapter shall be on the area of study-Nigeria/Epe Local Government and the research methodology.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **1. Introduction**

The last chapter was specifically built around the Nigerian dimension to public participation and also on participatory budgeting in Nigeria since inception in 2002, the Community Development Associations, Participatory Budgeting in Epe Local Government and the theoretical framework of the study. The current chapter discusses the area of study, that is, Nigeria, with particular interest in Epe Local Government Area vis-à-vis the history, geographical location and structures. It also focuses on the research methodology adopted for the study. Due to the explanatory nature of the study, it has adopted both quantitative and qualitative research plans. According to Babbie (2007), explanatory research denotes a methodical analysis and procedures.

#### **2. The Nigerian Nation: An Overview**

Basic facts and figures about Nigeria are strategically important to this study. The rationale for this is to bring to the fore those important landmark data that are germane to the overall structural arrangement of the study. Thus, this segment will be devoted to providing a more detailed profile of the country: this is important because it will help in further assessing the public participation of the citizens.

Nigeria has an estimated population of over 178.5 million people which represents 2.35 percent of the world population (National Population Commission-(NPC)-(2014). It is the 13th largest oil producer in the world and the second largest in Africa, after Angola. The Nigerian economy is largely dependent on its oil sector which accounts for 95% of its foreign exchange earnings (The Punch 2016). Nigeria is an ethnically-divided society that is made up of several ethnic groups-a few majority groups and many minority tribes. This has made a federal solution expedient and consociation arrangement imperative. Some of the innovations to take care of country's ethnic diversities have been given constitutional backing. Examples are the federal character principle, the exhaustive bills of rights, bicameralism and so on. Unfortunately, in Nigeria, competition for state resources has taken place predominantly

between ethnically based constituencies (Idoko, Agenyi & Emmanuel 2015).

Nigeria is made up of multiplicity of ethnic groups, such as the Hausa/Fulani, Kanuri, Busa, Bariba, Borgana, Nupe, Gwari, Biron, Bura, Longuda, Margri, Bata, Kajab, Angas, Jukun, Mumuye, Chamba, Bassa, Tiv, Igala, Idoma, Igbira, Yoruba, Edo, Itsekiri, Igbo, Urhobo, Efik, Ibibio and Ijaw. It should be noted however that the three most dominant ethnic groups are the Hausa/ Fulani, the Yoruba and the Igbo. These dominant ethnic groups make up 48% of Nigeria's population. The Hausa/Fulani are predominantly Muslims and occupy the North-Western and good parts of the North Central Nigeria. The Hausa were the exclusive indigenous inhabitants of the areas mentioned above until the influx of the Fulani in the seventeenth century. The Hausa people speak the Hausa language, while the Fulani speaks Fulfude (Azide 2000). The Hausa language is the second most widely spoken language in Africa, next to Swahili. The language is most spoken in West African countries and beyond (Buah 1974).

The Yoruba people inhabit the South-Western part of Nigeria. The Yoruba share one cultural identity, and are said to be descended from one common ancestor, known as Oduduwa. Ile-Ife, is regarded as the ancestral home of the Yoruba people. The city and the Ooni of Ile-Ife occupy a special place in the political, social and religious life of the Yoruba people. Yet the Yoruba people practise Islam, Christianity and traditional religion. The Yoruba language is spoken in Benin Republic, Republic of Togo, Trinidad and Tobago (Azide 2000). The Igbo people occupy the South-Eastern part of Nigeria. The Igbo do not have a generally accepted tradition of origin. The Igbo do not have a king or a centralized political system, unlike the Hausa/Fulani and the Yoruba people. It is basically a traditional republican system (Buah 1974).

According to Eluwa et al., (2011), in terms of natural resources, Nigeria is endowed with huge deposit of resources such as crude oil, tin, columbite, gold, coal, limestone, lead, zinc, iron, iron ore, granite, salt, cocoa, cotton, palm produce, groundnut, and timber. Nigeria is also acclaimed as one of best weather friendly nations, as it has two seasons: the wet/rainy season and the dry season. The wet/rainy season starts in April and ends in October. The country always witnesses a very short dry season in August, which is followed by a long dry season often referred to as "Hamattan period" in Nigeria: this lasts from November to March, bringing along with it dust,

hazy weather and extreme cold. Vegetation wise, the Northern part of the country is endowed with little vegetation, lots of sand also refer to as Savanna vegetation, while the South is endowed with thick forest; also referred to as rainfall vegetation.

Nigeria has two major rivers, River Niger and River Benue, which serve as a means of transportation. Some other rivers are Osun Rivers in Osun State, Cross Rivers and River Kaduna. These rivers and lakes serve as sources of fish farming, games and festivals, like the Argungun fishing festival which attracts foreigners and serves as a tourism destination; the lakes and rivers also serve as a source of electricity generation for the country, such as the Kainji Dam. Lakes in Nigeria include; Lake Chad, Kainji Lake and Oguta Lake, most of which serve as tourism and holiday resorts. Nigeria has both Urban settlements, such as Abuja, Lagos, Kano, Port Harcourt, Kaduna and Calabar and rural settlements in the hinterland parts of the country (Eluwa et al., 2011).

According to the CIA World Fact (2015) Nigeria's main sources of export are petrol and petroleum products which account for 95% of the country's foreign earnings. Other major export products include cocoa and rubber (2012 est). Export partners include; India 15.4%, Brazil 10.2%, Neitherland 8.5%, Spain 8.5%, South Africa 5.5%, France 5.4%, Germany 4.1%, and Japan 4.4% (2014).

According to Oyediran et al., (2002) the struggle for, and the allotting of Africa by the European countries led to the Berlin Conference of 1884, where the African continent was shared up among interested Colonialist European nations. Indeed much of the West African countries came under either British or French rule, each of which established a system of administration for their colonies. Before 1900, Nigeria was ruled by the Royal Niger Company and the British Colonial office.

Much of Southern Nigeria was under the control of the Royal Niger Company, while the Colony of Lagos was ruled directly by the Colonial office and other parts including the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. 1900 marked the assumption of political influence by the Britain over her four West African territories such as the Gambia, Sierra- Leone, Nigeria and Gold Coast (Ghana), and established the indirect rule as a system of government. The indirect rule was a system of governance, whereby the British colonial masters adapted the existing political structures and institutions of the various African people, to suit their purpose (Oyediran et al., 2002).

It was a system of governance, whereby the British administrators ruled the people through their traditional rulers. In essence, the traditional rulers were used as the middlemen or intermediaries between the indigenous people and the British government. According to Oyediran et al., (2002) some of the reasons for the adoption of the indirect rule by the British includes; the shortage of funds, shortage of qualified personnel, language barrier, preservation of the traditional system, the large size of the territories, success of the system in India and Uganda, reward for traditional rulers and a host of other reasons. The system was a huge success in Northern Nigeria, partially successful in the West, but a total failure in the East.

## Physical Map of Nigeria

Below is the map of Nigeria that also showcases other African countries that share a common boundary with Nigeria, such as Cameroon, Benin Republic, Niger Republic and the Republic of Chad.



Map of Nigeria with the 36 states (and Abuja) decorated in outstanding colours. Abuja is the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria.

Map courtesy of [www.theodora.com/maps](http://www.theodora.com/maps) (2013) used with permission.

Figure 7

The constant violence, particularly as witnessed in public participation, in Nigeria can be attributed to the history and processes inherent in state formation during the colonial and the post colonial era (Egwu 2001). The colonial state, which was in every respect the foundation upon which the post-colonial state was built, played a significant role in the process of ethnic identity formation and the political use to which such identity can be described.

Therefore, the present Nigerian state is inherently in crises, mostly associated with corruption, and violence-generating mechanism, which is against the rule of fairness in public participation. Egwu (2001) lamented that the development of democratic order was not actually the concern of the colonial masters. Following the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 by Lord Lugard, a constitution was adopted for the newly created political entity. Provisions were made for the establishment of the executive and consultative organ called the Nigerian Council. Unfortunately, this Council never had the opportunity to exercise their legislative or executive powers. Therefore, following the lapses in the constitution, it was abolished, and a seemingly more reliable and a more authentic one was constituted.

In 1922, the Clifford Constitution was put in place; it was this constitution that introduced for the very first time, the principle of elections in the legislative chamber. But, the Nigerian nationalists later attacked it because Nigerians who served on the Council were mere spectators. These attacks led to the abolition of the constitution. The Richard Constitution came into effect in 1946. This constitution divided the country into region, with each regions built around different major ethnic groups. It was this constitution which built a pattern of political rivalry between the regions. Ironically, each of these dominant groups had their own history, tradition, customs, values and languages distinct from one another (Oyediran et al., 2002).

The general conference in Ibadan of 1950, gave birth to the Macpherson Constitution of 1951, the constitution gave more powers to the regional Houses of Assembly to make laws and advise on issues concerning their people. Further agitations led to the collapse of the Macpherson Constitution and the entrenchment of the Lyttleton Constitution of 1954, which formally established federalism in Nigeria and introduced direct election into the federal and regional legislative houses in Nigeria (Adegbola 2012).

Nigeria was granted independence on October 1st, 1960, with the promulgation into law of the Independence Constitution of 1960. 1963 witnessed the coming into force of the Republican

Constitution. All these constitutions adopted the parliamentary system of government. Whereas the 1979 Constitution and other constitutions that followed, such as the 1989 and 1999 Constitutions adopted the presidential system of government (Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) (2012:74).

### **3. The Constitutional Provisions on the Structure of Urban Governance in Nigeria**

With more and more people preferring cities as their choice of settlement, the challenge for government all over the world lies not in stemming this human migration, but in the ability to manage the cities better, with the provision of quality life and good standard of living. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provides for the Federal system of government which entails that powers are shared between the central and regional (state) governments as follows:

- 1a. Federal exclusive list, containing currency, foreign affairs, defense, immigration and emigration, and customs
- b. State exclusive list, has state civil service commission, state council of chiefs, state judicial service commission, and local government service commission.
2. Concurrent lists, on this list the powers are shared jointly by the central authority and regional or state governments. Matters on the concurrent list usually include education, health, roads, housing and agriculture.
3. Residual list, this list, made up of powers not listed in either, contains residual powers which are both exercised by the central authority and the state or regional governments. Matters on this list include markets, local governments and chieftaincy affairs.

Presidential system of government is one in which there is one executive president, that is, someone vested with all executive powers and who combines the office of head of state and head of government. The president, whose constituency is the entire country, combines government powers with ceremonial powers, and is also the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Furthermore, a bicameral system of legislation, which entails two legislative houses, that is, the Senate (the upper house) and the House of Representatives (the lower house) is in place in Nigeria. Usually one of the houses is identified as the lower house,



while the other is the upper house. The lower house or chamber is often made up of members directly elected on the basis of universal, equal and secret suffrage while the upper house consists of more experienced men and women, some of whom are sometimes appointed to the house. In Nigeria, both houses consist of elected members.

Independent judiciary, the judiciary is the third arm of government that is responsible for the interpretation of laws, and the trial of cases involving individual citizens, organizations, and the state. It ensures obedience to the law, and gives judgments as appropriate in respect of any cases brought before it. The judiciary is made up of magistrates, judges and chief judges, who preside over such courts as the customary, magistrate and high courts, as well as appeal and supreme courts. They also preside over tribunals, and administrative courts. The independence of the judiciary essentially refers to the insulation of the judiciary from the control of the executive, the legislature and any other body. This means that judges should have full powers to try cases brought before them without fear or favour.

“A written constitution is the body of basic laws, principles, conventions, rules and regulations which govern the country. It specifies the limits of, as well as relationship between, various organs and agencies of government. It specifies the basic duties and rights of the country’s leaders and citizens. It is superior to all its other laws. The powers and functions of the three main organs of government: the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, as well as those agencies such as the armed forces and the police, are clearly defined” (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999).

#### **4. Epe Local Government: history, geographical location and structures**

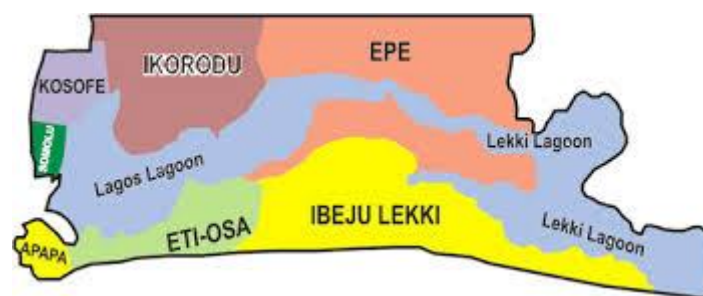
Epe is a town that derived its name from certain black ants called “Epe” which infested the forest along the Lagoon name “Okò Epe” (Meaning Epe Farm or Epe Forest). The pre-1851 history indicated that the town was subordinate to Ijebu-Ode under the jurisdiction of the “Awujale of Ijebu” (that is, the Paramount Ruler of Ijebu-Land).

Epe town and port, Lagos State, southwestern Nigeria; it lies on the north bank of the coastal Lagos Lagoon and has road connections to Ijebu-Ode and Ikorodu. A traditional settlement of the Ijebu people (a subgroup of the Yoruba), it was established by the mid-18th century as the chief port (slaves, cloth, agricultural produce) for Ijebu-Ode (17 miles [27 km] north-northwest), the capital of the Ijebu kingdom.

It later served as the refuge for the forces of Kosoko, the Yoruba king ousted from Lagos (42 miles [68 km] west-southwest) by the British in 1851. In 1892, Epe was the embarkation point for the military expedition sent by Sir Gilbert Carter, the Governor of Lagos, to defeat the *Awujale* (the Ijebu political and spiritual ruler) at Ijebu-Ode (Falola & Avoseh 1995).

According to Oyeweso (1996), Epe is one of the major towns in Lagos State, Nigeria. It is located on the northern shore of Lagos lagoon, about 32 kilometers south of Ijebu – Ode and about 77 kilometers away from Lagos Island via Maroko. Odomola, South by the Lagoon, East and West by small settlements of Iraye Oke and Temu bound it in the North respectively. The Northern part of the town is mountainous, with about 250km of fertile land; while the Southern part lies within the mangrove swamp forest. The area is well drained, fertile and suitable for agriculture. The forest provides the raw materials for a veritable boat – building industry.

The Lagoon water also serves as source of transportation linking the town with the Kingdom of Lagos. Epe is located geographically in a fertile rainfall belt and the easy means of transportation by the Lagoon affords the opportunity for agriculture, fishing, hunting and boat building industry which attracted people from immediate hinter land and from both the Western and Eastern Lagoon area of South Western Nigeria. The town was-and is still-a household name in the boat building industry. The boats are sold to fishermen who engage in deep-sea fishing and transportation business in ijebu-Ode (Falola & Avoseh 1995).



**Political Map of Epe Local Government, showing its boundaries**

**Figure 8**

Although, Epe came under British rule between 1862 and 1863, it was not until 1892 that the town was finally annexed. From 1892 onwards, Epe was administered in the tradition of a

British Crown Colony and was known as the “Colony District of Epe”. That political arrangement prevailed until 1951 when Epe, Lagos Colony and the colony districts of Badagry, Ikeja, and Ikorodu were placed under the jurisdiction of the Western Regional Government. Administratively, Epe Local Government operates both modern and traditional administration. The modern administration consists of the Local Government with its council of legislators made up of nine elected councilors and chairman for Epe Central. Apart from its headquarters at Epe in the town, there is an area office (Local Council Development Area) located at Itamarun. There are career staff of Epe Local Government, and there are seven departments namely: personnel, Health/ Medicals, Agriculture, Education, Budget, planning and research, Works and Housing, and Finance departments. Each of these departments is headed by a Director. For ease of administration, the Local Government is divided into eight Wards. These are; Wards A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6, C1, and D1 (Oyeweso 1996).

Furthermore, traditional governance is available in the two settlements of Eko-Epe and Ijebu-Epe. Olu-Epe reigns over Eko-Epe descendants, while Oloja-Epe rules as a monarch over Ijebu-Epe descendants, assisted by his high Chiefs, otherwise called Olorituns, (meaning, the head of quarters) who heads it (Falola & Avoseh, 1995). Between 1951 and 1967, Epe served as the headquarters of Epe Division of the Western Region which comprised Epe, Eredo, Agbowo-Ikosi, Ibeju, Ejirin and Lekki District Councils. However, by the virtue of States Creation and Transitional Provisions Decree No.14 of 27th May, 1967, which established Nigeria’s twelve state structures, Epe was incorporated into the newly created Lagos State. The 1963 population census put Epe population at 20,000 but the provisional figures of the 1991 census exercise released by the National Population Commission (NPC) in November 1991 put the town’s population at 101,464 (Falola & Avoseh, 1995). However, the 2006 population figure as released by NPC in March put the estimated figure at 181, 409 which is the bench mark adopted for this study.

Geographically, Epe shares boundaries with Eredo Local Government to the north, south with Lagos and Lekki lagoons at boundary with Lekki Local Government, East – Lagos lagoon, West - Lagos lagoon. Modern Epe is a collecting point for the export of fish, cassava (manioc), corn (maize), green vegetables, coconuts, cocoa, palm produce, rubber, and firewood to Lagos. Special leaves useful in preserving kola nuts are trucked to Ijebu-Ode, Shagamu, and the other main kola-shipping towns. Epe is best known for its construction of the motorized, shallow-draft

barges that navigate the coastal lagoons. Fishing is the major occupation in Epe. The town is served by primary and secondary schools, several hospitals, and a health office.

In terms of physical features, Epe is blessed with a long range of hills which naturally demarcate the town into two. Epe is close to the Lekki Lagoon where the Rivers Osun, Shasha and Oni discharge their waters. In the 19th century, the Lagoon was an important channel of communication and transportation between Epe and such coastal neighbours as Ijebu-Ode and Lagos. It also served as highway for trade, diplomatic transactions and welfare, like Ikosi, Ejirin and Ikorodu, Epe also became an important Lagoon-side market during the period. Given Epe's proximity to the lagoon, the town is a veritable fishing emporium, and generations of Epe people derived their livelihood from fishing, thus Epe is popularly hailed as Epe Eleja (Epe-the fishing settlement). Due to its fertile land, farming is another important occupation in Epe with cassava, rice and maize grown in large quantities. A substantial number of Epe men and women also engage in trading activities (Oyeweso 1996).

Although there are rival and conflicting claims among local historians as regards the earliest autonomous settlers of Epe, the town is today predominantly peopled by the Ijebu and Eko (Lagos), Oral traditions also speak of the influx of immigrant hunters, fishermen and political adventurers from Ile-Ife, Benin, Ilara, Ibeju and other outlying districts in the Epe region. There are also Ijaw and Ilaje speaking peoples in the town. Kosoko was accompanied to Epe by about 1500 warriors and a number of distinguished Lagosians comprising Chief Balo, the Oloto of Oto, Chief Adebonusi, the Onisemo of Lagos, and Oshodi Tapa, a Nupe from the Niger area and ex-slave of Oba Esinlokun, but now a notable and valiant war-chief. Oshodi Tapa's actual name was Lanjuyi, other prominent military top brass in Kosoko's company were Balogun Akinpelu Ipossu, Balogun Abgaje, Iyanda Oloko, Buraimoh Eleshin, Agoro Gangansi, Aromire Ajiborisha, Etti, Disu Kujenya and Buraimoh Edu, perhaps the youngest of all (Oyeweso 1996).

Kosoko chose to settle in Epe because of three major considerations. The first consideration had to do with the geographical proximity of Epe to Eko, a place where he could effectively monitor the political developments in Eko and possibly plan his strategies to dislodge Akitoye, the British protégé. He recalled that his supporters had earlier, in the late 1830s,

successfully raided Origele, Oba Oluwole's store house, from Epe and carted away valuable items, including guns and ammunition. One other major event in Epe history before 1900 was the influx of Ijaw and Ilaje from the waterside of Okitipupa Division and Malim District of the defunct Ijaw Confederation. They came as fishermen to Epe but later settled permanently because of its lagoon-shore location and its proximity to waterways. They brought along with them their wives who later distinguished themselves in garri processing and manufacturing of local gin (Ogogoro). The Ilaje also brought with them the social-judicial function in Epe as it is believed to have the special power of detecting and punishing evildoers, witches and wizards and other vile characters and rendering them virtually powerless.

## **5. Research Methodology**

Explanatory research denotes a methodical analysis and procedures. The focus is not merely on what "is" but also on what "ought", "where", "when" and "how" (Adebimpe 2008). Explanatory research plans allows for a look into the concepts of causes and effects in a particular study and allows the researcher to provide a broad account and description of the existing correlations amongst variables in the particular object(s) of study (Shieds & Rangarajan 2013). Therefore, this thesis deliberates on the correlations between public participation in democratic governance and participatory budgeting vis-à-vis Community Development Associations (CDAs) in Epe Local Government Area. As noted previously, this thesis works within the pattern and models of mixed research option by applying both quantitative and qualitative research plan and techniques. The justification for this is, that neither the quantitative nor the qualitative research plan can single handedly provide us with an adequate understanding and appreciation of a research problem (Guba & Lincoln 2005; Sabin-Baden & Major 2013).

The application and adaptability of both methods in one study within the social sciences study has provided researchers with an academic insight into the questions and problems under scrutiny (Popper 2004). In spite of the major advantages of survey research, if properly conducted, such as replicability, generalizability and predictability, using a survey method alone may not be adequate to attain the objective of this thesis. This is because, questionnaires as research tools have restricted explanatory strength (Popper 2004), and may

not provide the needed broad assessment of the social methods and procedures (Popper 2004) involved in the problems that are confronted by participatory budgeting stakeholders in Epe Local Government due to variances in the level of education, influences, power, resources and experiences.

Therefore, the correlation between public participation and participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government, done through a survey, provides the justification for the use of a quantitative technique in this thesis. The use of quantitative technique in this thesis is also justified on the basis that the quantitative content analysis of various information from the selected area of study-Epe Local Government-is needed in order to determine the frequency of occurrence. Content analysis is considered as a quantitative research method that thoroughly and empirically explains and measures the particular problem(s) in focus (Rosenberg, Schnurr & Oxman 1990).

## **6. Survey method and justification**

This thesis explores the correlation between public participation in Nigeria and participatory budgeting. Thus, the thesis could be defined as a participatory budgeting process study. The study, measures the operationalization and optimization of Participatory Budgeting in Epe Local Government Area of Nigeria; hence, the choice of the survey method was adopted (Engel et al., 2014), considering the relatively large population of people in Epe Local Government Area in Nigeria, which is estimated at 181,409 (National Population Commission 2006). However, the real stakeholders in participatory budgeting, that is, the Community Development Association (CDAs), was put at fifty one (51) (Budgeting, Planning, Research and Statistics Office, Epe Local Government 2015); in view of this, questionnaire was adopted as survey tool in order to actually get to the desired number of the respondents that are actually involved in the Participatory Budgeting process in Epe Local Government Area in conformity with the eight (8) administrative units in the Local Government Area. The need for this as identified by Chambers & Skinner (2003) is the advantage of being able to collect a large quantity of data from the respondents within a very short time at low cost and with less workforce. Hence, this study surveyed a total number of two hundred and seventy two respondents, which formed the sample size from the total

population of three hundred and six members of the Community Development Associations (CDAs) in Epe Local Government Area.

Consequently, the population of people in Epe Local Government was regionally stratified into the eight (8) administrative wards for ease of the study area. These are: Wards A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6, C1, and D1 (Budgeting, Planning, Research and Statistics Office, Epe Local Government, 2015). In each Ward, however, the most populated communities/areas that fairly represent the main tribal traits of Epe Local Government were further selected and focused on. This is because these communities play host to the main tribal traits, such as the Ilaje, Ijebu-Epe, Eko-Epe, the Ijaw, and the Hausa-Fulani of each community in Epe Local Government. In addition, the survey respondents (literate), who are members of the Community Development Associations (CDAs), can readily be found in each Ward in Epe Local Government such as that readily draws major ethnic groups in Epe Local Government were thus selected.

The available statistics show that members of the Community Development Associations (CDAs) were put at estimated figure of 306 (Budgeting, Planning, Research and Statistics Office, Epe Local Government 2015). This represents about 93 percent of the total population of the Community Development Association (CDA) members. The two hundred and seventy two (272) sample size was proportionately distributed by calculating the percentage of 89 percent. Therefore, the number of respondents was chosen from the eight (8) administrative Wards are appropriate. The study also adopted the use of purposive sampling method by specially selecting Literate and concerned residents in Epe Local Government, in this study only the Head Budget, Planning, Research and Statistics Office in Epe Local Government was selected because the office represents individuals who can be described as stakeholders in participatory budgeting process in the Local Government. The justification for the above is to have a proper spread and representation of all the concerned stakeholders.

## **7. Survey research instrument (Questionnaire)**

A questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a sequence of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. Although they are often designed for statistical analysis of the responses, this is not always the case (Gillham 2008).

Foddy (1994) has also identified the major strengths and weaknesses of questionnaires over

some other types of survey techniques in that they are cheap, do not require as much effort from the questioner, unlike verbal or telephone surveys, and often have standardized answers that make it easy to extract and compile the needed data. However, such standardized answers may frustrate users if not well managed. Questionnaires are also sharply limited by the fact that respondents must be able to read the questions and respond to them. Thus, for some demographic groups conducting a survey by questionnaire may not be easy.

Usually, a questionnaire consists of a number of questions that the respondent has to answer in a set format. However, there are distinctions between the open-ended and the closed-ended questions. An open-ended question asks the respondent to formulate his own answer, whereas a closed-ended question has the respondent to pick an answer from a given number of options. The response options for a closed-ended question should be exhaustive and mutually exclusive. A respondent's answer to an open-ended question is coded into a response scale afterwards. An example of an open-ended question is a question where the testee has to complete a sentence (sentence completion item) (Mellenberg 2008).

## **8. Validity and reliability**

Reliability refers to the consistency of a measurement. It is the degree to which an assessment tool produces stable and consistent results. Mainly two aspects of reliability have been identified. These are: one, consistency of measurement outcome over time, normally arrived at through test-retest reliability, and two, consistency between two similar measurements, also referred to as “parallel forms” or “split half” (Adebimpe 2008).

Validity, on the other hand, refers to how well a test measures what it is purported to measure. While reliability is necessary, it alone is not sufficient. For a test to be reliable, it also needs to be valid. For example, if the weight of an object is scale at 5lbs, the object is weight reads daily with an excess of 5lbs. The scale is reliable because it consistently reports the same weight every day, but it is not valid because it adds 5lbs to the real weight of the object. Thus, it will not represent a valid measure of weight of the object (Cozby 2001).

The researcher was able to achieve validity and reliability in view of the fact that efforts were mainly concentrated on the real or true Participatory Budgeting stakeholders in Epe Local Government. The questions were equally designed to achieve this purpose and the study achieved a high response rate (97 percent) because of the personal appeal technique that was



used in the process of administering the questionnaires. Most of the respondents were also engaged at their convenient time and this also helped in swift collection of responses and high level of interest shown in the course of data gathering. It is pertinent to also point out that the researcher also employed the services of research assistants made up mainly of students of political science, that are undergraduates, to facilitate the high response rate recorded by the researcher.

## **9. In-depth interview and justification**

According to Babbie (2001), interviewing is a method of qualitative research in which the researcher asks open-ended questions orally and records the respondent's answers. Interviewing is typically done face-to-face, but can also be done via telephone. In-depth interviews are different from survey interviews in that they are less structured. In survey interviews, the questionnaires are rigidly structured—the questions must all be asked in the same order, the same way, and only the pre-defined answer choices can be given. In-depth qualitative interviews, on the other hand, are flexible and continuous. They are not locked in store and are often not prepared in advance.

In a qualitative interview, the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry; however he or she has no specific set of questions that must be asked with particular words and in a particular order. The interviewer must, however, be fully familiar with the subject, potential questions, and plan so that things can proceed smoothly and naturally. In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation. For example, we might ask participants, staff, and others associated with a programme about their experiences and expectations related to the program, the thoughts they have concerning programme operations, processes, and outcomes, and about any changes they perceive in themselves as a result of their involvement in the program (Boyce 2006).

Ideally, the respondent does most of the talking, while the interviewer listens, takes notes, and guides the conversation in the direction it needs to go. It is the respondent's answers to the initial questions that should shape the subsequent questions. The interviewer needs to be able to listen, think, and talk almost simultaneously. Interviewing should be an essential part of the entire field research process. It is often done in conjunction with other methods,

particularly participant observation and immersion (Kvale 1996).

Kvale (1996) identifies the following stages of interviewing process. The seven stages in the complete interviewing process are:

1. Thematizing: Clarifying the purpose of the interviews and the concepts to be explored.
2. Designing: Laying out the process through which you will accomplish your purpose. This should also include ethical considerations.
3. Interviewing: Doing the actual interviews.
4. Transcribing: Creating a written text of the interviews.
5. Analyzing: Determining the meaning of the information gathered in the interviews in relation to the purpose of the study.
6. Verifying: Examining the reliability and validity of the information gathered.
7. Reporting: Telling others what you have learned or discovered.

These seven stages were considered by the researcher in arriving at the questions which were administered on the desire respondents in order to achieve the targeted research objectives. These questions covered the processes of Participatory Budgeting in Epe Local Government Area, the various challenges and the solutions towards a better model of Participatory Budgeting in Epe Local Government in the local government.

## **10. Population, sample and sampling technique**

Fifteen stakeholders were selected for this study as interviewees within the fifty one existing Community Development Associations (CDAs) in Epe Local Government. The stakeholders were selected based on certain criteria.

These are:

- i. Residence in Epe: The researcher ensured that the stakeholders' interviewed were all residents of Epe Local Government. The stakeholder with minimum number of years spent in Epe Local Government was five years while the maximum was

seventeen years. The rationale behind this is to ensure that the stakeholders are well conversant with issues around Epe and are well-placed to offer accurate accounts on issues around Epe Local Government.

- ii. Executive member of the Community Development Associations (CDAs): The researcher also ensured that the stakeholders were actually executive members of the CDAs. The members with minimum years in active service were 4 years, while members with maximum years were put at twelve (12) years, mainly ex-officials. The reason for this is to ensure that the researcher was dealing with the right caliber of stakeholders that understood to a great degree the intent of the research and confirm that they constitute the real stakeholders.
- iii. Active participation at Community Development Association (CDAs): The researcher also made sure that the stakeholders were actually active participants at the CDA activities and were committed members of the organization. The rationale behind this criterion is to ensure that members had pre-requisite experience that was sufficient enough to serve as stakeholder, who would be able to discuss the problems and also proffer solutions to Participatory Budgeting process in Epe Local Government.
- iv. Attendance: Attendance in the last twelve months at Community Development Associations (CDAs) meeting: The researcher also ensured that the stakeholders had attended at least twelve meetings in the last twelve months. The meeting comes up every last Saturdays of the month. The aim of this is to actually know their level of commitment to the CDAs. Those who did not make this benchmark were not interviewed.
- v. Level of literacy: The literacy level of the stakeholders was also considered in this study. Some are professionals such as teachers, engineers, administrators and so on. The educational/certificate qualifications ranged from Post-Graduate, Graduate, National Certificate of Education (NCE) and Higher National Diploma (ND/HND).

Subsequently, the researcher collected the phone numbers of the participatory budgeting stakeholders. Worthy of note is that the researcher also adopted a structured-questions format (see the Appendix). Most of the interviews were conducted at the convenience of most of the stakeholders, most of which were undertaken between thirty minutes and forty minutes.

All the interviews were tape-recorded with the permission of the interviewees. The researcher independently carried out the interviews which were also transcribed into texts and subsequently forwarded to all respondents through their email contacts. This process provided the opportunity for all respondents to check the texts against any factual errors and confirm the accuracy of the transcribed information prior to the analysis of the data by the researcher.

Fundamentally, the researcher adopted the use of both qualitative and quantitative method of data analysis in this study. The in-depth interview data in general was qualitatively analyzed by using the following six stages. These stages involve:

- (1) “careful reading of the transcript;
- (2) coding or indexing by labelling relevant pieces such as words, phrases, sentences, actions, concepts (thematic analysis);
- (3) deciding the most important codes, and creating categories;
- (4) labelling categories and deciding the most relevant ones and how they connect to one another;
- (5) deciding whether hierarchy could be created in the categories in order of importance or not and;
- (6) presentation, interpretation and discussion of results” (Kvale 1996).

These steps were strictly adhered to in the course of this research, particularly in the in-depth interview data in consideration of the research objectives.

## **11. Research population.**

The research population is the object that is being studied or focused on; it may be an individual, groups, persons, countries objects or any other entity that a researcher wishes to draw scientific inferences about (Bryman 2012; Levy & Lemeshow 2013). For this study, the target population, otherwise called unit of analysis, are four. One, general members of the Community Development Associations (CDAs), three hundred and six (306) out of whom two hundred and seventy two (272) were chosen as stated above.

Two, is the qualitative questions based on Yes/No responses, gathered from one hundred and twenty (120) respondents among the participatory budgeting stakeholders in Epe Local Government Area. Three, the executive members of the Community Development Associations (CDAs), who form the second level of the stakeholders; and forth, is the transcribed interview with the Head, Budgeting, Planning, Research and Statistic office in Epe Local Government.

## **12. Conclusion**

The purpose of this chapter was to bring into focus the study area and the research methodology. Due to the explanatory nature of the study, it adopted both quantitative and qualitative research technique. Thus, the focus of this chapter was on research methods and methodologies, hence it looked at the followings: survey method and justification, survey research instrument (Questionnaire), validity and reliability, in-depth interview and justification, population sample and sampling techniques, and ended with the research population. The focus of the next chapter, Chapter Five, shall be on data presentation, analysis and interpretation.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

#### **1. Introduction**

The focus of the previous chapter was on the study area and the research methodology. This chapter discusses and analyses the findings from the study, drawing on the literature review and the theoretical framework presented in chapter two, and the methodology drawn from chapter three. The theoretical framework is particularly useful in making sense of the data collected. This chapter therefore presents the data results, analysis and interpretation of findings from the fieldwork through the administration of questionnaires elicited from the sampled population. The data were collected in four (4) phases. The first phase was based on questionnaires which were administered to two hundred and seventy two (272) floor/general members of the Community Development Association (CDAs) in Epe Local Government Area and were all accurately retrieved back from all respondents. The second phase concerns the in-depth interviews conducted with fifteen (15) Participatory Budgeting officials, comprising members of the Community Development Association (CDAs) in Epe Local Government Area through the use of available/convenient sampling. The third (3) phase contains in-depth interviews conducted with the head, budgeting, planning, and research and statistics department of Epe Local Government and the forth (4) phase was the qualitative questions base on Yes/No responses, gathered from one hundred and twenty (120) respondents among the participatory budgeting stakeholders in Epe Local Government Area.

These interviews have been done in order to answer research questions 1-3 that are related to this aspect of the study, namely: as stated in chapter one (1) namely:

1. What is the current practice in participatory budgetary process of Epe Local Government?
2. What are the challenges faced in the budgetary process in Epe Local Government?
3. How can participatory budgeting be made more effective in Epe Local Government?

This chapter is therefore presented as follows: i. Presentation, analysis and interpretation of data based on demographic representation of respondents. ii. Presentation, analysis and interpretation of data based on Questionnaire admitted on two hundred and seventy two (272) general members of the Community Development Associations (CDAs) in Epe Local Government. iii. Presentation, analysis and interpretation of data based in-depth interview with the stakeholders in Participatory Budgeting in Epe Local Government- fifteen (15) Executive members of the Community Development Associations (CDAs). iv. Presentation, analysis and interpretation of data based on in-depth interview with the Head, budget, planning, research and statistics in Epe Local Government.

## **2. Presentation, analysis and interpretation of data based on demographic representation of respondents**

### **Presentation of findings**

#### **Demographic measure of survey respondents**

“Demographic measures are important because numerous studies have demonstrated that opinions are formed primarily through an individual's environment. This environment socializes us to think and behave in accordance with community norms and standards. As a result, by identifying these demographic measures, pollsters are better suited to understand the nature of public opinion and possibly how it might be formed and modified” (Adebimpe 2008).

The surveyed sex distribution of respondents indicates that there were more male stakeholders than female stakeholders with about 65 percent and 35 percent respectively. Given that this study surveyed literate Nigerians who were stakeholders in participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government Area, it may be interpreted that this finding is a reflection of the national literacy level between male and female in Nigeria. The Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (2010) and the United Nations Education and Scientific Organization (2012) reported the literacy level of male and female in Nigeria as 65.1 percent and 34.9 percent respectively.

**Table 2- Percentage distribution of the respondents according to Sex**

<b>SEX</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
<b>MALE</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>69.1%</b>
<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>30.9%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 2 reveals the percentage distribution of the respondents according to sex. Hence, 69.1% of respondents were male, while 30.9% of respondents were females. The implication of the data is that the male sex constitutes the largest participants in the research and also forms majority of members in the Community Development Associations (CDAs) in Epe Local Government. This assertion is supported by Okwapam (2010) as noted in the literature review that most active members of CDAs are males. The justification for under representation of women is due to the fact that the CDAs are mainly comprised of members of the Community Landlords Association (CLA), who in most cases are males.

**Table 3- Percentage distribution of respondents according to educational qualification**

<b>EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
<b>POST GRADUATE</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>38%</b>
<b>GRADUATE</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>31%</b>
<b>ND/NCE</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>16%</b>
<b>HND</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>15%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3 shows the percentage distribution of respondents according to educational qualification. Thus, 15% of the respondents represented the Higher National Diplomat (HND), 16% represented the National Diplomat (ND)/National Certificate of Education (NCE), 31% of the respondents represented the graduates and 38% represented the post



graduates. The data established the fact that all the respondents were literate, with most of them being second degree holders. Therefore, the data is in concordance with Lipset (2004) as mentioned in the literature review that the level of educational qualification of participants has significant effects on the level of public participation of the citizens in the state.

**Table 4-Percentage distribution of respondents according to marital status**

<b>MARRITAL STATUS</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
<b>SINGLE</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>31%</b>
<b>MARRIED</b>	<b>182</b>	<b>67%</b>
<b>DIVORCED</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>OTHERS</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 4 shows the distribution of respondents according to marital status. It further revealed that 67% of the Respondents were married, 31% were single, 2% represent other marital status, that is, those respondents that never specified their marital status, while the divorces, i.e. those that have been married but are no longer in any relationship, represent 0% of the respondents. In essence, the majority of the respondents were married. This is in agreement with Okwapam (2010) who is of the opinion that a good number of the active participants at the CDAs are actually the married men between the age range of 41 and 60.

**Table 5-Percentage distribution of respondents according to Age Range**

<b>AGE</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
<b>18 – 20</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>38.6%</b>
<b>21-40</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>17.6%</b>
<b>41-60</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>42.6%</b>
<b>60 ABOVE</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 5 shows that age range of the respondents. Age range of 18-21 of the respondents represent 38.6%, age range 21-40 represent 17.6%, 41-60 represent 42.6% , while age 60 and above represented 1% of the respondents. The interpretation is that majority of the Respondents were adults who could take decisions on their own, where in the highest age range was between the Ages of 41-60 years old. In essence, the data is in agreement with Ambali & Fajonyinbo (2014) that the adult forms majority of the active members of the Community Landlords Associations (CLAs) who also eventually represents the core members of the CDAs.

**Table 6-Percentage distribution of respondents according to their various occupations**

<b>OCCUPATION</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
<b>PUBLIC SERVANTS</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>35.7%</b>
<b>BUSINESS</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>12%</b>
<b>FARMER</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>30%</b>
<b>ARTISAN</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>12%</b>
<b>OTHERS</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>10%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 6 shows the distribution of respondents according to their various occupations. Furthermore, the public servant constituted 35.7% of the respondents, 12% represented the business men and women, 30% represented the farmers, 12% constituted the Artisans and 36% comprised the unspecified job respondents. The data is appropriate because it is in line with the works of Okwapam (2010); Ambali & Fajonyinbo (2014) that a good number of the members of the CDAs are retired /active public servants or farmers.

### **3. Presentation, analysis and interpretation of data based on the Research Questions (Qualitatively Transcribed) and quantitative (Yes/ No) survey**

#### **1a. What do you understand by the term participation?**

According to an interviewee (C1- December 11 2015, A representative of Eyindi CDA) Epe Local Government

“It seems to me that participation is the way people take part in government. For me, it is a means of testing the popularity of the government. I want to assume that if a government is popular a good number of the followers will embrace such government and take part in their administration. But if a government is not popular like we experience in the military government before the return to civilian rule in 1999, then such a government will not receive the support of (We) the followers”.

According to an interviewee (C2-December 11 2015, A representative of Araromi CDA) Epe Local Government

“I think that participation means how we the citizens vote in elections, how we obey the government and pay our taxes, how we take part in elections and vote for our own candidates and how we take part and impact in our various communities and localities, particularly through the community development association. It is how we keep peace in our communities, protect each other and settle disputes and disagreement among ourselves”.

According to an interviewee (C3- March 10 2016, A representative of Tugbeyin CDA) Epe Local Government

“Aside taking part in elections every four years, participation to me is define by my involvement in my community development activities particularly the monthly environmental

sanitation which is a programme by the government that is meant to keep our environment clean, protect us against diseases and keeps us healthy”

According to an interviewee (C4- March10 2016, A representative of Oloruntobi CDA) Epe Local Government

“For me all I know about participation in governance is my involvement in voting, payment of my taxes, the development of my community/village and taking part in the Parent Teachers Association (PTA) meetings”

### **Comment/Analysis**

It was evident that although there were some semblances of agreement amongst the respondents regarding the meaning and their perception of participation, but there were also some contradictory understanding of the subject matter while it is seen as payment of taxes and obedience to the government, some other respondents views participation as the level of positive impact there is in the community, settlement of conflicts and disagreement in the community vis-a vis the safety of lives and properties. This situation thus revealed that the respondents have some fair idea of what participation is all about.

### **Question 1b- As presented in table 7-Do you understand the term participation?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	108	90%
NO	12	10%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 7 depicts that 90% of the people understand the term ‘participation’ while the remaining 10% do not. In essence, a very good number of respondents understand the term participation, while very few respondents express ignorance of the term. In line with Baiocchi (2005); Wapler 2000 & 2007 public participation is well known in over 24 countries, Nigeria inclusive as international organisations, such as the World Bank, United Nations (UN)

aligned with more sovereign states to spread and propagate the gospel of public participation. In essence, there exists a correlation between the quantitative and quantitative data on the above question.

## **2a. What do you know by Participatory budgeting?**

According to an interviewee (C5-December 11 2015, A representative of Odo-Egiri CDA) Epe Local Government

“I am quite aware of the term budget/budgeting, which is the annual income and expenditure of various government and non-governmental organizations, but I have never come across the word participatory budgeting”.

According to an interviewee (C6- December 11 2015, A representative of Obakajo CDA) Epe Local Government

“To be candid with you the (researcher) I actually became aware of the meaning or the concept of Participatory Budgeting after your pain staking explanation of the concept. As a matter of fact, it is the involvement of the citizens in the preparation of the budget of the government with the actual participation of the rural people, with the representation by the CDAs. As a matter of fact we the CDA members are already serving the purpose of participatory budgeting without not really been aware of it. This is because it is we the CDAs that prepare the community budget, and then follow it up to the local government and municipal government before it is actually implemented. Therefore We the CDAs are actively involved in the participatory budgeting process”.

According to an interviewee (C7- December 11 2015, A representative of Yuguda CDA) Epe Local Government

“Based on the definition of participatory budgeting as provided by you the (researcher), I believe that it is actually in existence in Epe Local Government but many of us even the practioners are not very conscious of this. To me I will say it exist 45% in practice and 55% in theory”.

## **Comment/Analysis**

It is quite revealing that the knowledge of participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government

is not very widespread and extensive but very limited. Many of the respondents are not quite aware of the scheme. It took substantial time and energy in carefully providing explanations to the respondents by the researcher before the concept could be understood by the respondents. What this has revealed is that there is no adequate education and enlightenment by the government to the citizens on the concept of participatory budgeting. This is even more strange and alarming because the members of the CDAs are already playing the roles of participatory budgeting agent unconsciously without them being even aware of that fact.

**Question 2b- As presented in table 8-Do you have knowledge of Participatory budgeting?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
<b>YES</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>86%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>14%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 8 above shows that 86% of the respondents forms the majority of the populace that claimed to have Knowledge of participatory budgeting while 14% of the people expressed ignorance about participatory budgeting. Hence, majority of the respondents are knowledgeable about participatory budgeting, while few are ignorance of it. Okwapam's argument (2010) also supports this notion. We can

conclude that most inhabitants of Epe Local Government do have the knowledge of participatory budgeting. The responses indicates that there is a correlation between the qualitative and quantitative data in relation to the question.

### **3. What is Community Development Association (CDA)?**

According to an interviewee (C8- December 11 2015, A representative of Ladaba CDA) Epe Local Government

“As far as am concern, I think that the CDA is a community based organization that is vested with the authority to supervise the implementation of developmental programs in the rural communities. It is a medium for people to articulate their views, aspirations and community needs. It is primarily aimed at helping people within a local community to identify their social needs, to consider the most effective ways of meeting these needs and to set about doing so, as far as their available resources permit (Okwakpam 2010). Hence, it aims at building up and preserving society that pre-supposes and reinforces a common direction of interest and co-operation in other to achieve shared aims”.

According to an interviewee (C9- December 11 2015, A representative of Oke-Oba CDA) Epe Local Government

“I believe the CDAs are created by the government to serve the purpose of bridging the socio-economic gaps between the rich and the poor in the rural communities. It is a means of providing the rural community with the enabling environment to enhance development and stem the ugly tide in the movement of the rural people to the urban centers in order to reduce the pressure on infrastructural facilities in the urban centers”.

“Furthermore, the CDAs although were not initially created to serve as conveyor belt for participatory budgeting, but since 2002 which marked the inception of the PB programme, the CDAs have become the real agent of PB in Epe Local Government because they are the closest community based organization that are nearer to the rural communities that PB is really meant for and they also prepare the community budget in their respective localities, although some of the CDAs have not been doing this perhaps due to lack of human capability in term of competent and well educated and enlightened personnel among the CDAs members to drive the participatory

budgeting agenda”.

### **Comment/Analysis**

It is clear that generally the respondents are aware of what the CDAs are. However, there are variations in their responses, while some believe that it a platform to promote socio-economic development in the rural area, some are also of the opinion that the CDA is not just a conveyor belt for PB, but it is also a device to stem the growing number of rural dwellers drifting to the urban centers. It has also been expressed above that, the CDA is a veritable instrument for co-operation, networking and understanding among the various communities. It is also pertinent to point out that some of the CDAs have not actually been carrying out the participatory Budgeting agenda due to lack of adequate human capacity and capability in term of educated personnel in such a CDA.

**Question 3b- As presented in table 9-Do you know what Community Development Association (CDA) is?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	104	87%
NO	16	13%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 9 indicates that 87% of the respondents understand what Community Development Associations (CDAs) is all about while the remaining 13% of the respondents do not understand. Hence, a large percentage of the respondents do understand what Community Development Associations (CDAs) is all about while a lesser percentage of the respondents claimed not to understand what Community Development Associations (CDAs) is all about. Nze (2008) also aligned with this result as he is of the view that a good number of Nigerians are aware of Community Development Associations and that public participation is all about community development efforts. In the final analysis there it is safe to say that there is a connection between the quantitative and qualitative data concerning the question.



#### **4. What Community Development Association (CDA) programmes are you aware of?**

According to an interviewee (C10- December 12 2015, A representative of Isoko CDA) Epe Local Government

“I am quite conversant with the various Community Development Associations (CDAs) programmes and activities such as the monthly town hall community meetings, monthly environmental sanitation exercise, annual preparation of the community budgets, annual community day celebration, the facilitation of projects such as portable water, grading and construction of roads, creation of enabling environment for the provision and maintenance of peace and security in the communities”

According to an interviewee (C11-December 12 2015, A representative of Ogunmodede CDA) Epe Local Government

“Frankly speaking, the only programme of the CDA that I am well aware of is the town hall meeting and the monthly environmental sanitation exercise. I am never carried along in the other programs of the CDA for reasons best known to the chairman of my CDA. I only know that we have to attend monthly town hall meeting on the last Saturday of every month. But I am also aware that the government does allocate some funds to our CDA, but I have no idea about how the money is spent and how the projects are implemented”.

#### **Comment/Analysis**

From the above it is clear that the respondents are aware of the programmes of the CDAs some of which have been highlighted above, but that there is evidently a break in communication between some members of the CDAs and their leadership as pointed out by interviewee C9 above who insisted that he is only aware of only two programmes of the CDA, that is the monthly town hall community meeting and the monthly environmental sanitation exercise in the community, because he is not carried along in the other programs. This is really one of the set back for the CDAs in the quest of driving home the participatory budgeting agenda in Epe Local Government.

**Question 4b- As presented in table 10-Are you conversant with the programmes and activities of the Community Development Association?**

RESPONSES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
YES	104	87%
NO	16	13%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 10 shows that 86% of the respondents are conversant with the Programmes and activities of the Community Development Associations (CDAs) while 14% of the respondents are not. This implies that a larger percentage of the respondents are conversant with the programmes and activities of the Community Development Associations (CDAs) while a lesser percentage of the respondents claimed not to be conversant with the programmes and activities of the Community Development Associations (CDAs). This is in agreement with Okwakpam (2010:1-3) who is of the view that most Nigerians are well conversant with Community Development Associations as they have been part and parcel of Nigerian life even before the advent of the British colonial masters. It is significant to also point out here, that there exists a relationship between the quantitative and qualitative data on the above subject.

### **5. What are the roles of Community Development Associations (CDAs)?**

According to an interviewee (C12-December 12 2015, A representative of Tungbeyin CDA) Epe Local Government

“As far as am concerned, I can only speak for my own CDA and not for others. Therefore some of the roles played by my CDA are; the provision of platform for the people in the community to discuss on issues that are Important to them as a people, the preparation of our community budget for submission to the government, the provision and maintenance of adequate security for lives and properties in conjunction with the government, the provision of Pipe-borne water, provision of health facilities and the mobilisation of the people for communal efforts when the need for such arises”.

According to an interviewee (C13- December 11 2015, A representative of Oke-Oba CDA)

Epe Local Government.

“For me I think the CDAs are really trying in the area of provision of more security in my area.

The collaborative efforts between the Police and the CDAs has improve drastically the level of security arrangement in my area”.

### **Comment/Analysis**

The responses from the respondents indicate that they have a clear view of the roles of the CDA, some of which has been underscored above. But more important is that the respondent is of the view that the CDA, has provided a strong platform for members of the Community to come together and discuss on issues that affects their lives as a community. This is definitely a core area of the theory upon which this research is pivoted, which is the theory deliberative democracy (TDD) which is also aimed at having exhaustive deliberation in arriving at decisions that affects the people.

### **Question 5b- As presented in table 11-Do you know the roles of Community Development Associations (CDAs)?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b> <b>(%)</b>
YES	108	90%
NO	12	10%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 11 depicts that 90% of the respondents know the roles of the Community Development Associations (CDAs) while the remaining 10% of the respondents claimed ignorance. This implies that the number of respondents that claimed to know the roles of the Community Development Associations (CDAs) are greater than the respondents that claimed not to know the roles of Community Development Associations (CDAs). Okwapam (2010 :1-9) agreed with this position that most Nigerians are well

conversant with Community Development Association (CDA) as it has traditionally been part and parcel of an average Nigerian life even before the advent of the British colonial masters. In essence, both the qualitative and quantitative data revealed that most respondents are familiar with the roles of Community Development Associations (CDAs).

## **6. Can you tell me what Participatory budgeting is?**

According to an interviewee (C13-December 12 2015, A representative of Oloruntobi CDA) Epe Local Government

“With the explanation given by you (the researcher) I feel that participatory budgeting is the involvement of the rural community in the development efforts of their communities. It seems to me more of a local community issue than an urban center project. It is a way of reducing the poverty level, giving a voice to the voiceless and a means of emancipation from the selfish and self-centered politicians and political parties. Furthermore, I should also think that it is a form of citizens’ education and it is also a training ground for governance, particularly at the rural area or local government”.

According to an interviewee (C14- March10 2016, A representative of Oloruntobi CDA) Epe Local Government

“You see the answer to that question is no. I have really don’t have an idea about it, but I do know what a budget is all about”

### **Comment/Analysis**

This respondent evidently has a fair grasp of what participatory budgeting process is all about. In essence, the respondent can be said to understand the concept of participatory budgeting to some extent. He is of the view that participatory budgeting is more of a local community issue, than an urban community issue. The response of this interviewee is also in tandem with the theory of direct democracy (TDD) a situation where and eligible citizens come together to chart a positive course for themselves different from the policies emanating from the government at the centre.

**Question 6b- As presented in table 12-Do you understand the term Participatory budgeting?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b> (%)
YES	95	79%
NO	25	21%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February,2015

Table 12 depicts that 79% of the respondents have a better understanding of the term participatory budgeting while the remaining 21% claimed not to have a good idea of participatory budgeting. The implication is that a good number of the respondents understand the term participatory budgeting while very few respondents affirms that they do not. Okwapam (2010) also agrees with the above. Furthermore, a good number of the respondents as indicated earlier were members of staff of Epe Local Government and also representatives of the Community Development Associations (CDAs). Conclusively, there is a connection between the qualitative and quantitative data, even though some of the respondents show ignorance on what PB is.

**7. Have you ever taken part in participatory budgeting? How did you take part?**

According to an interviewee (C15 -December 12 2015, A representative of Uraka CDA) Epe Local Government

“Yes, I can confidently tell you that I have been part and parcel of the CDA in my community for the past eight (8) years. I have taken part and saddled with many responsibilities such as being the Public Relation Officer, the Welfare Officer and presently I am the Assistant Secretary General. So, that also makes me a delegate whenever our convention is slated”.

According to an interviewee (C16-December 12 2015, A representative of Igbo CDA) Epe Local Government

“Yes o, I have also taken part in CDA in my community as a member at the town hall meetings, but I am relatively new because I joined recently as I just relocated to the community. Being a landlord in the area makes me an automatic member of the CDA”

### **Comment/Analysis**

The responses from these interviewees revealed that they have taken part even as elected officers/representative in the CDA. More importantly, as revealed by interviewee C13, is the fact that one of the eligibility of one being a member of the CDA is being a landowner or a landlord in such a community. This does not however, means that citizens that resides in such community and that are not landlords cannot be members of the CDA. It is noteworthy, from the field work gather by this researcher that some of the landlords that are supposed to be automatic members of the CDA often show lackadaisical attitude toward the CDA. The CDA in some community is even driven by residents who are not members of the community landlord association.

### **Question 7b- As presented in table 13-Have you ever taken part in Participatory budgeting?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	94	78%
NO	26	22%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table13 shows that 78% of the respondents claimed to have participated in participatory budgeting while the remaining 22% have not. This means that a good number of the respondents have actually taken part in participatory budgeting while few respondents have not taken part at all. The result of this question is in line with Lutz & Linder (2004) that participatory budgeting is mostly a local community issue, hence the large number of respondents answered in the affirmative. Above responses indicates that there is a correlation between the quantitative and qualitative data, because most of the respondents for both data have actually taken part in participatory budgeting (PB).

## 8. Where have you taken part in participatory budgeting in your locality?

According to an interviewee (C17- December 13 2015, A representative of Mayunre CDA) Epe Local Government

“I have taken and I am still part and parcel of the CDA in Mayunre Community Development Association”

According to an interviewee (C18-December 13 2015, A representative of Ibon CDA) Epe Local Government

“I am one of the CDA members in Ibon Community Development Association”

### Comment/Analysis

The response above shows that the interviewees are actually involved in local participatory budgeting that is at the CDA in their respective localities in Epe Local Government. It is also noteworthy that a good number of the active members are seriously involved in the town hall meetings. Therefore, participatory budgeting for these group of people starts and end with their presence and attendance at the monthly community town hall meeting.

### Question 8b- As presented in table 14- Did you take part in participatory budgeting in your locality?

RESPONSES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
YES	98	82%
NO	22	18%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 14 revealed that 82% of the people claimed to have taken a part in their local participatory budgeting (Epe) while 18% had the experience outside Epe. The implication is that majority of respondents actually took part in participatory budgeting in the rural community, that is in Epe Area while very few respondents had their experience outside Epe Local Government. The assertion of Lutz & Linder (2004) is also in agreement with this.

The responses show that there is agreement between the qualitative and quantitative data; hence most respondents actually had their participatory budgeting experience in Epe Local Government which is the Study Area.

### **9. What is the nature of local government administration in Epe Local Government?**

According to an interviewee (C19-December 13 2015, A representative of Okorisan CDA)  
Epe Local Government

“I do know that the local government is headed by a Chairman who is elected for a four year term, he is assisted by the Vice-Chairman, followed by the different supervisors, such as supervisors for health, agriculture and rural development, youth and sports. I believe that the local government would have performed better if we have many factories that are performing to their optimum like some other local governments in Lagos State. This situation is grossly affecting the internally generated revenue (IGR) of the Council” (The Local Government).

According to an interviewee (C20-December 13 2015, A representative of Bado-Oke CDA)  
Epe Local Government

“There is no doubt in my mind that Epe Local Government is blessed with both human and material resources but the bane of our local government is the fact that most of the very rich and highly influential sons and daughters of this local government are in diaspora, hence the necessary benefits expected from them are not forthcoming. Moreover, we have the problem of ill equipped and unqualified personnel occupying some offices in the various departments in the local government”.

According to an interviewee (C21-December 13 2015, A representative Bado-Isale CDA)  
Epe Local Government

“If I clearly understand your question, I think a major issue with the nature of Epe Local Government is the official corruption that is usually perpetrated by officials within the Council. This bad behavior has stunted the growth of the local government as money meant for community development from the municipal government are syphoned by these officials. Also the nature of Epe Local Government is usually characterized by dictatorial tendency by the officials and the unnecessary interference from the King’s palace”.



### **Comment/Analysis**

The response above, illustrates that there is a clear knowledge of the nature of local government administration in Epe Local Government. A glimpse of the structure of the local government was provided and some of the major problems affecting the local government were also enunciated by the respondents. This shows that they have a clear vision of the nature and problems of Epe Local Government such as poor internally generated revenue (IGR), unqualified personnel in the local government and undue interference from the palace.

In actual fact, the picture painted above is what obtains in most local government in Lagos State with the exception of very few local governments.

### **Question 9b- As presented in table 15-Do you understand the practice in local government administration of Epe Local Government?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b> <b>(%)</b>
YES	104	87%
NO	16	13%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 15 demonstrates that 87% of the respondents do understand the practice of local government administration in Epe Local Government while the remaining 13% of the respondents do not understand the practice of local government administration in Epe Local Government. There seems to be a discrepancy here, in view of the fact that the Yes/No response did not actually reveal if there exist some negative tendencies such as corruption and the existence of unqualified personnel in Epe Local Government as revealed by the oral interview.

### **10. How is budget formulated in Epe Local Government? Please explain**

According to an interviewee (C22-December 13 2015, A representative of Unity CDA) Epe Local Government

“As far as I know the preparation of budget in this local government is purely the prerogative of the Chairman, assisted by the Chief Accountant and some party loyalist. I do also know that the CDAs are usually invited to also take part in the budget presentation, but I still believe that subjected to percentage, 80% of the preparation is from the local government while 20% is from the CDAs. Even sometimes the allocation for the CDAs depends largely on how influential and powerful such CDA chairman is and also the previous impressive performance record of such CDA. So, a CDA chairman that is not influential may not attract the necessary financial/budgetary allocation from the local/municipal government”.

According to an interviewee (C23-March 10 2016, A representative of Ogunmodede CDA) Epe Local Government

“I do believe that the implementation of budget in Epe Local Government is partly between the Local Government officials and the CDA representatives. On a yearly basis, the CDAs are usually asked to itemize their needs, which are then processed into the main budget of the local government, it is then accommodated into the Lagos State annual budget for implementation. As it is with budget in Nigeria, the budget may not be achieved 100% at times depending on the availability of funds and other logistics as determine by the economic indicators”.

According to an interviewee (C24-March 10 2016, A representative of Tungbeyin CDA) Epe Local Government

“The budgets in most cases are determined by the political elites and the ruling political leaders. They determine who gets what, when and how. This is not to say that the people are not involve in the budget build up but I feel that the final say on the budget are in the hand of the political and party leaders. The involvements of the CDAs are very minimal and insignificant. But nonetheless, the CDAs are involved in the budget build up”.

### **Comment/Analysis**

These responses indicate that the respondents are of the view that, the greater percentage of the budget is actually formulated by and that the final decisions on the budget lie in the hand of the local /municipal government. Furthermore, the Chairman of a local government that is not very influential may end up at the end of the day not getting any budgetary allocation to the CDA or a Chairman with terrible records of financial misappropriation may also not get

any budgetary allocation to such a community.

**Question 10b- As presented in table 16-Do you know how budget is formulated in Epe Local Government?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b> (%)
YES	91	76%
NO	29	24%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 16 shows that 76% of the respondents do know how budget is formulated in Epe Local Government while 24% of the respondents do not know how the budget is formulated in Epe Local Government. The implication of this is that a good number of the respondents do know how the budget is formulated in Epe Local Government while very few respondents do not know how the budget is formulated in Epe Local Government. This position has further been supported by Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni (2012) and Gideon (2014) who are of the view that many people know about the financial budgets of their local governments but that most government officials do engage in extra-budgetary spendings outside the purview of their financial budgets. There also exist some level of discrepancies here, although most respondents are aware of how the budget is formulate in Epe Local Government, but the orally conducted interview indicated the existence of extra-budget spending, this was not shown in the quantitative-Yes/No response due to its limitation.

**11. What are your views on how budget is formulated in Epe Local Government?**

According to an interviewee (C25-December 13 2015, A representative of Isan CDA) Epe Local Government

“The question you (the researcher) have asked is a very touching one to me. This is because most of the people that even elected the Chairman of the local government into office are not

even aware of how the budget is formulated except for very few of them. All we hear on our radio and television sets are huge budget expenditure being approved annually without commensurate impact on the lives of the ordinary people in the Village. Therefore, as far as am concern my view is that not many people are involved in the budget formulation of the council and it is usually shrouded in official secrecy”.

According to an interviewee (C26-December 13 2015, A representative of Odo-Egiri CDA) Epe Local Government

“As far as I know, the procedure for the formulation of the budget in Epe Local Government usually commence by studying the performance level of the previous budgetary allocation. There after call are made for different departments in the local government, the department of agriculture and rural development which represent the CDAs are also call upon to submit their needs. All these are then put together and funds are allocated to all the various departments. To me, this is transparent enough, but at the same time the influence of the powerful hawks in the ruling political party cannot be ruled out absolutely”.

According to an interviewee (C27-March 10 2016, A representative of Araromi CDA) Epe Local Government

“The budget is formulated in Epe Local Government through the collaboration of the Local Government officials and the representatives of the people through the CDAs. The CDAs which represents the local people come up with their budget annually after due consultation with the different communities, these budgets are then incorporated into the Local Government budget, which is then taken into the Lagos State budget and are also implemented by the state government. I think that is all I know about it”

According to an interviewee (C28- March10 2016, A representative of Isan CDA) Epe Local Government

“The process simply involves the representatives, that are the CDAs, follow by the local government, then it is implemented by the Lagos State Government in her annual budget. I can testify that my community was given an electric transformer through this budget process”.

### **Comment/Analysis**

It is visible from the response above, that while some members of the community feels that only a very few set of people normally formulate the budget in Epe Local Government and it is also shrouded in secrecy. Some of the respondents are also of the opinion that the process is transparent to some degree. The important note from the response above is the overbearing and yet the invisible hands of the political elites and party loyalist in the formulation of the budget. This is definitely a minus for the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government.

### **Question 11b- As presented in table 17-Do you know how budget is formulated in Epe Local Government?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	91	76%
NO	29	24%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 17 shows that 76% of the respondents know how budget is formulated in Epe Local Government while 24% of the respondents do not know how the budget is formulated in Epe Local Government. The implication of this is that a good number of the respondents do know how the budget is formulated in Epe Local Government while very few respondents do not know how the budget is formulated in Epe Local Government. This position has further been supported by Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni (2012) and Gideon (2014) who are of the view that many people know about the financial budgets of their local governments but that most government officials do engage in extra-budgetary spendings outside the purview of their financial budgets. Therefore, the quantitative and qualitative data are in consonance with one another, this is because the two data indicated that respondents knows about how the budget is formulated, one, but two that in most cases it is shrouded in secrecy and extra-budgetary

spending by the Local Government Executives as revealed in the interview. This does not mean that the respondents do not know the budget is formulated in Epe Local Government.

**12. Do you know that Participatory budgeting is to help the local people decide the priorities of projects in their areas? Please explain.**

According to an interviewee (C29-December 13 2015, A representative of Oke-Posun CDA)  
Epe Local Government

“I do believe that participatory budgeting has really assisted us the rural dwellers to decide the priorities of projects in our areas/localities. Before the introduction of participatory budgeting there was really no visible community based organization that is saddled with the prioritization of projects in the rural communities. I think what is partly responsible for this was the past military regimes in Nigeria which do not have a listening ear compared to the present democratic dispensation. But with the introduction of participatory budgeting, the CDAs have also risen to the occasion by helping the communities to prioritize their projects through the participatory budgeting scheme. Therefore, the priority of a particular community may be health, in another community their own priority may be road or rural electricity”.

According to an interviewee (C30-December 13 2015, A representative of Ifesowapo CDA)  
Epe Local Government

“I actually know that participatory budgeting is meant to help the locals to decide priority projects in their areas and we the CDAs have actually been doing that. However, we have also witnessed some situations where what we the local people and the CDAs have considered as priority projects have been upturned or changed in many situations. Sometime ago, we chose the rehabilitation of roads in our area as priority projects, but the local government and the municipal government sitting lack of fund as excuse, aptly changed our road rehabilitation request to building of community town halls. So, in as much as I can say the communities are better for it with participatory budgeting, I still believe that such priorities are still subject to the availability of fund to execute such projects”.

## Comments/Analysis

The respondents in did showed a clear understanding as to the fact that participatory budgeting scheme is to help the local people to decide the priority of projects in their areas. A strategic point to note from the statements above has to do with the fact that the priotisation of needs and empowerments of the local people and the local community is tie down to the availability of fund at both the local and municipal government. In essence, the local people may have the ability and power to priotise their needs. The executions of these needs are subject to the financial whims and caprices of the higher government in the urban centres.

**Question 12b- As presented in table 18- Are you aware that Epe Local Government priotises/ draws up its budget?**

RESPONSES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
YES	108	90%
NO	12	10%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February 2015

Table 18 reveals that only 17% of the people are aware of how Epe Local Government draws its budget while the remaining 83% expressed ignorance. Idoko, Agenyi & Emmanuel (2015) agreed with this statement but most local government priotise and draw up their budget but do not make them known to the public due to corrupt tendencies. In essence, there exists a relationship between the quantitative and quantitative data on the question above.

**13. Are you aware that Participatory budgeting is to bridge the gaps between the rich and the poor? Please explain.**

According to an interviewee (C31-December 14 2015, A representative of Eyindi CDA) Epe Local Government

“I am aware that participatory budgeting is meant to bridge the gaps between the rich and the

poor, particularly we the rural people. I can tell you categorically that, some of the social amenities which we the rural people are benefitting from now, such as good roads, modern market facilities, rural electrification have actually impacted positively on our lives as rural people. Our farmers now have access roads in particular to transport their farm products from the bush/forest to the local community markets; this is a huge indicator in reducing the poverty level of our people and bridging the gaps between the rich and the poor in our community”.

According to an interviewee (C32-December 14 2015, A representative of Oke-Oba CDA)  
Epe Local Government

“Yes, I am aware that participatory budgeting is a programme aimed at reducing the gaps between the rich and the poor in the community. As far as am concerned, I think the greatest help PB has rendered to us through the CDAs is in the provision of educational facilities such as block of classrooms and libraries. I believe with the provision of these facilities, our children have a better and brighter future and will also be able to compete favourably with the sons and daughters of the rich. This in nearest future may ultimately translate to reducing the gaps between We the poor rural dwellers and the rich guys”.

### **Comments/Analysis**

The response above revealed that the respondents are aware that participatory budgeting is meant to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. Instances to these facts were also indicated, but it is important to appreciate the new dimension participatory budgeting has brought into the big picture with particular interest in education which is not just a means of bridging the gaps between the rich and the poor, but also a means of emancipation from ignorance, a means of self-esteem and awareness. Therefore, priority on education as a tool in participatory budgeting should not be seen as just a means of bridging the gap between the rich and the poor in the community.



**Question 13b- As presented in table 19-Are you aware that Participatory budgeting is to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b> (%)
YES	106	88%
NO	14	12%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 19 revealed that 88% of the respondents are aware that participatory budgeting is meant to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, while the remaining 12% of the respondents do not understand that participatory budgeting is meant to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. The implication is that a high percentage of the respondents do understand that participatory budgeting is meant to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor while a lesser percentage of the respondents do not understand that participatory budgeting is meant to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. This result has further been attested to by Santos (1998) who is of the view that participatory budgeting is a means of bridging the gaps between the rich and the poor in the community. From the above, it is evident that there is a strong connection between both the quantitative and qualitative data; this is because the two are in agreement with one another concerning the subject above.

**14. How does the Community Development Associations (CDAs) select budget delegates?**

According to an interviewee (C33-December 14 2015, A representative of Isan CDA) Epe Local Government

“In my own CDA like any other CDAs in the local government, budget delegates are selected based on their performance in the CDAs particularly at the town hall meetings. In some communities where there are competent professionals such as certified chartered accountants, priority are given to such members to be a part of the budget delegates. They are

nominated by one or two members of the CDAs at the larger house which is the town hall meetings. Based on their nomination, they are then presented before the town hall members for elections. To cut a long story short they have to go through nomination, stand for election and then they become a budget delegate. These budget delegates are the representatives of each CDA that will present the prioritized budgetary needs of their different community to the local/ municipal government”.

According to an interviewee (C34- March10 2016, A representative of Isan CDA) Epe Local Government

“As far as I know, the budget delegates or budget committee are first nominated, then they are shortlisted, number trimmed down and then selected based on mutual understanding by all members in attendance at the CDAs meeting”.

### **Comments/Analysis**

The response depicts that the interviewees understand how the Community Development Associations (CDAs) select budget delegates. The response above is in tandem with an important maxim of both participatory democracy and deliberative democracy that it must be small enough in number to be genuinely deliberative and representative enough to be genuinely democratic. In other words, the budget delegates represent the whole CDA of that particular community.

### **Question 14b- As presented in table 20-Have you been a delegate on the Community Development Associations (CDAs) in Epe Local Government?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	95	79%
NO	25	21%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February 2015

Table 20 indicates that 79% of the respondents claimed to have been delegates on the Community Development Associations (CDAs) in Epe Local Government while 21% of the

respondents assert that they have not. As a matter of fact, a good number of respondents were representatives of the CDAs and local government employees; hence they do have a good knowledge on how budget delegates are selected. Therefore, it is safe to say that there is a sound synergy between both the quantitative and the qualitative data on the above subject.

#### **15. Has the CDA assisted in facilitating the provision of basic social amenities in Epe Local Government?**

According to an interviewee (C35-December 14 2015, A representative of Igbo CDA) Epe Local Government

“The CDA has actually assisted in facilitating the provision of basic social amenities in our different communities such as town halls building, provision of bore-hole water facilities, clearing and grading of our community roads, maintenance of peace, safety and security of the environment and so on”.

According to an interviewee (C36- March10 2016, A representative of Isan CDA) Epe Local Government

“Yes, the CDAs have helped immensely in providing basic amenities in my own community as well, particularly in the provision of town hall and opening up of new roads. This has assisted the farmers among us in no small measure”

#### **Comments/Analysis**

The response above illustrates that the interviewees are very much aware that the Community Development Associations (CDAs) has facilitated the provision of basic social amenities in Epe Local Government. What is however very instructive from the response is the fact that importance is placed on the security of the community, in essence community development or participatory budgeting may not actually be impactful if the necessary security, protection of lives and properties of the local people are not given the necessary attention.

**Question 15b- As presented in table 21-Do you think that the CDA has assisted in facilitating the provision of basic social amenities such as Town halls, bore-hole water, clearing and grading of roads in Epe Local Government?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	110	92%
NO	10	8%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 21 illustrates that 92% of the respondents think that the Community Development Associations (CDAs) have facilitated the provision of basic social amenities in Epe Local Government while 8% of the respondents think that the Community Development Associations (CDAs) have not facilitated the provision of such amenities.

This indicates that most of the respondents do agree that the Community Development Associations (CDAs) have facilitated the provision of basic social amenities in Epe Local Government while other respondents within Epe Local Government disagreed with the fact that the Community Development Associations (CDAs) have facilitated the provision of basic social amenities in Epe Local Government. This position is also supported by Ambali & Fajonyinbo (2014). The qualitative and the quantitative data show that there is a correlation as both data were actually echoing the same responses to one unique question.

#### **16. What are your views on the issue that through the provision of basic social amenities the CDAs has helped in reducing the hardship faced by residence in Epe Local Government?**

According to an interviewee (C37-December 14 2015, A representative of Mayunre CDA) Epe Local Government

“There is no doubt that through the provision of basic social amenities such as town halls,

pipe borne water, clearing, and grading of rural roads, the CDA has helped in reducing the hardship faced by residence in Epe Local Government. With the town hall in place, I think we are better off as we need not meet under the mango tree again for our monthly meeting. This has reduced to the barest minimum the inconveniency often experienced by our members in the past. The town hall is indeed a rallying point for all members to meet and discuss on issues affecting their communities. The CDA meeting that before now held under the mango tree is now held in a more comfortable community hall. Furthermore, residence that always trekked far distance to get water now have easy access to not just water from the streams but access to portable pipe borne water. The clearing of the bush has also reduced the incidence of insecurity and armed robbery to the barest minimum”.

According to an interviewee (C38- March10 2016, A representative of Unity CDA) Epe Local Government

“Yes, the provision of basic amenities such as road in particularly has really helped the rural farmers and imparted positively on their business and income”

### **Comments/Analysis**

The response above indicates clearly that the respondents is of the opinion that the Community Development Associations (CDAs) has really assisted in reducing the hardship faced by the residents of Epe Local Government through the provision of basic social amenities. The research therefore argues that one of the actual intent of participatory budgeting is to provide the basic amenities to the rural people aimed at reducing the gaps between the rich and the poor in the community and this is actually what the CDA is currently doing in this regard in Epe Local Government.

**Question 16b- As presented in table 22-Do you agree that through the provision of amenities such as Town halls, water, clearing, and grading of rural roads, the CDA has helped in reducing the hardship faced by residence in Epe Local Government?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	112	93%
NO	8	7%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 22 indicates that 93% of the respondents agreed that the Community Development Associations (CDAs) have assisted in reducing the hardship faced by the residents of Epe through the provision of basic social amenities while the remaining 7% of the respondents disagreed, claiming that Community Development Associations (CDAs) through the provision of basic social amenities have not reduced the hardship faced by people in Epe. Ibok & Akpanim (2014) also asserted this assertion. The two data, that's both the qualitative and quantitative, are in agreement here.

**17. What are your views on the subject that there is a fair representation of local projects decided on by the local people in your area? Please list out the projects**

According to an interviewee (C39-December 14 2015, A representative of Ladaba CDA) Epe Local Government

“I think to a certain degree, there is a fair representation of local projects in my own local area. Some of the projects which we have decided on our own and which have been actualized with the help of the local government/ the municipal government are;

1. Building of our town hall
2. Provision of portable bore-hole water

3. The clearing, grading and construction of motorable roads
4. Provision of rural electrification in partnership with the local/municipal government
5. Provision and maintenance of security in the communities
6. Supervision of the monthly environmental sanitation”

According to an interviewee (C40- March10 2016, A representative of Unity CDA) Epe Local Government

“I think going forward, we can improve on this, I am not very impressed with this aspect of our CDA work, but at the same time I can say we have an average score in this situation”.

### **Comments/Analysis**

It is clear from the response above that there is a fair representation of Local projects decided on by the local people in their area. This is actually one of the main goals of participatory budgeting, that is, the empowerment of the vulnerable poor people to decide what they think is best for them. It is also noteworthy that most of the projects cannot in the real sense of it be actualized without the financial and logistical support from the local/municipal government. This is a sore part in the implementation of participatory budgeting scheme in Epe Local Government, because the CDAs still rely heavily on incentive from the government and the ruling political party.

**Question 17b- As presented in table 23- Do you think that there is a fair representation of local projects decided on by the local people in your area?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	104	87%
NO	16	13%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 23 revealed that 87% of the respondents think that there is a fair representation of local projects decided on by the local people in their area while the remaining of 13% of the respondents think that there is no fair representation of local projects decided on by the local people in their areas. The implication of this is that a higher percentage of the respondents agreed that there is a fair representation of local projects in their areas while a lower percentage of the respondents disagreed that there is a fair representation of local projects decided on by the local people in their areas. Lutz & Linder (2004) aligned with this position. It is clear that both the quantitative and qualitative data are speaking the same voice concerning the above subject as there are no discrepancies in them.

**18. Please do share your views on the issue that top priority projects that are implemented by the Community Development Associations (CDAs) are determined at the local/municipal level**

According to an interviewee (C41-December 14 2015, A representative of Obakajo CDA) Epe Local Government

“As a matter of facts, a good number of the top priority projects that are actually implemented are determined by the state/municipal government. What we the CDAs do is to prioritize our needs, prepare and present the budget for consideration and approval by both the local/municipal government. The actual determination, when, where and how are determined by the state/municipal government. The reason the municipal government always sell to us the CDAs is that the funds are limited and cannot possibly go round; hence they have to determine what priority project will be implemented at any point in time”.

According to an interviewee (C42- March10 2016, A representative of Araromi CDA) Epe Local Government

“I will be sincere with you here because most of the top priority projects are determined by the Lagos State Government, this is basically due to the fact that such projects are finance by the Lagos State Government and are usually of huge capital requirement which cannot be shouldered by the local government /CDAs, but this is not to say that “We” at the local government/CDAs do not determine priority projects, but we handle those that are of less financial burden”.



## Comments/Analysis

The response above indicates that the interviewees are of the opinions that top priority projects that are implemented by the Community Development Associations (CDAs) are determined at the state level. The implication of this on participatory budgeting scheme is that the local/municipal government calls the shot when it comes to the final decision making process of the scheme. Therefore, the power of determination of the prioritized need of the local people have been systemically hijacked by the higher government. This does not augur well for the actualization of the goal and agenda of participatory budgeting scheme in the local government.

**Question 18b- As presented in table 24-Do you think that top priority projects that are implemented by the Community Development Associations (CDAs) are determined at the state level?**

RESPONSES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
YES	96	80%
NO	24	20%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 24 shows that 80% of the respondents think that top priority projects that are implemented by the Community Development Associations (CDAs) are determined at the state level while 20% of the respondents disagreed with this. Therefore, majority of respondents asserts that top priority projects that are implemented by the Community Development Associations (CDAs) are determined at the state level while very few respondents are of the opinion that top priority projects that are implemented by the Community Development Associations (CDAs) are not determined at the state level. Zinyama (2014) and Goldfrank (2011) also agreed with this position. There exists a strong connection between the oral interview and the Yes/No response on the above subject.

**19. What are kind of feedback you do get from Epe Local Government after the budget implementation?**

According to an interviewee (C43-December 14 2015, A representative of Okorisan CDA) Epe Local Government

“There is absolutely no feedback from Epe Local Government except that, the CDA representatives are call upon again the following year to come and present their budget again for the coming accounting year. No real opportunity is given to the CDAs to evaluate the performance of the previous accounting year. I guess they normally do the assessment and evaluation in their offices with the exclusion of the CDAs, they then read out the performance of the previous year budget to the general audience on the day of inauguration of the new budget”.

According to an interviewee (C44- March10 2016, A representative of Araromi CDA) Epe Local Government

“Personally speaking now, I have not seen any form of feedback from either the Lagos State Government or Epe Local Government in this regard”

**Comments/Analysis**

The reaction from these interviewees alludes to the fact that there is little or no feedback mechanism after the budget implementation in Epe Local Government. This means that the CDAs have been excluded from the assessment and evaluation of the performance impact of the previous budget. Therefore their contribution at this stage of the budgetary process is extremely poor.

**Question 19b- As presented in table 25- Is there a feedback mechanism after budget implementation in Epe Local Government?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	25	21%
NO	95	79%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 25 shows that 21% of respondents agreed that there is a feedback mechanism after budget implementation in Epe Local Government while the remaining 79% of the respondents disagreed. This establishes the fact that a good number of the respondents disagreed that there is a feedback mechanism after budget implementation in Epe Local Government while a lesser number of respondents agreed that there is a feedback mechanism after budget implementation in Epe Local Government. Smith (2006) and Falade (2015) are in agreement with this position. Considering the responses on the subject matter above, it is obvious that both the qualitative and the quantitative data indicate that there exist no feedback mechanisms in the budget implementation in Epe Local Government.

**20. How is the feedback communicated to the local people after the budget implementation?**

According to an interviewee (C45-December 14 2015, A representative of Anu-Oluwa CDA) Epe Local Government

“The main source of feedback to the local people is when the new budget is to be inaugurated, there the performance rate and the achievements of the previous year’s budget is read out to the hearing of the audience which always include representatives from the municipal government, members and staff of Epe Local Government, members of the CDAs, representatives of the traditional rulers and kings”.

According to an interviewee (C46- March10 2016, A representative of Araromi CDA) Epe Local Government

“I don’t think there is any concrete or tangible arrangement by the government at both state and local government in this regard”

### **Comments/Analysis**

It is clear from the reply of the respondents above that feedback is not really communicated to the local people after the budget implementation. This implies that there will always be poor budget planning and implementation; this is because the feedback mechanism which is an integral part of the participatory budgeting process is already rendered impotent as a result of the exclusion of the CDAs from the process. This also means that out of the three main processes involved in budget formulation, vis-à-vis the planning, implementation and evaluation, the CDAs are only involved in only the budget planning process and are excluded at both the levels of implementation and evaluation.

### **Question 20b- As presented in table 26-Is the feedback communicated to the local people after the budget implementation?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	3	3%
NO	117	97%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 26 depicts that only 3% of the respondents agreed that feedback is communicated to the local people after budget implementation while 97% of the respondents claimed that feedback is not communicated to the local people after budget implementation. This implies that majority of respondents disagreed that feedback is communicated to the local people after budget implementation while very few respondents agreed that feedback is actually communicated to the local people after budget implementation. No feedback mechanism is indicated in both data.

## **21. What are your impressions on the accounting procedure in Epe Local Government?**

According to an interviewee (C47-December 15 2015, A representative of Ogunmodede CDA) Epe Local Government

“The accounting procedure in Epe Local Government as far as I know is always shrouded in secrecy, it is not transparent, neither is it open to public debates. It is extremely difficult to obtain the financial document of the Council even as a member of the CDA. All we get to hear are the figures on the radio and television sets. However, the accounting procedure of the municipal government can even be accessed on the internet. I guess being a rural settlement, the officials do not deem it fit to toil the line of the municipal government. The rural people are often taken for granted in this regard”.

According to an interviewee (C48- March10 2016, A representative of Araromi CDA) Epe Local Government

“The accounting procedure in Epe Local Government is nothing to write home about, it is not transparent enough and not inclusive. We have surrendered that aspect of our lives to the political jobbers.”

### **Comments/Analysis**

From the above response it is clearly established that the accounting procedure in Epe Local Government is not usually made available for the citizens to examine. It is usually shrouded in secrecy. This situation has often lead to insinuation on the part of the local people that there are perhaps cases of extra-budgetary spending by the local government, therefore the need not to subject the account to public scrutiny and assessment in order to cover up some of this unconstitutional acts. This assertion for all purpose and intent remains unsubstantiated with real hard facts by the local people. The position of this study therefore, is that if the local government is able to make the budget available to the citizens for scrutiny a whole lot of the rumour and false assumption will be laid to rest.

**Question 21b- As presented in table 27-How would you describe the accounting procedure in Epe Local Government? Is it transparent and accountable?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	27	23%
NO	93	78%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 27 establishes that 23% of the respondents agreed that the accounting procedure in Epe Local Government is transparent and accountable while 77% of respondents disagreed with this. What this indicates is that most of the respondents disagreed that the accounting procedure in Epe Local Government is transparent and accountable while only a very few of the respondents agreed that the accounting procedure in Epe Local Government is transparent and accountable. From the above, it is clear that both the quantitative and qualitative data are in agreement as the two indicated that the accounting procedure in Epe Local Government is always shrouded in secrecy and that most citizens are not in the know concerning the accounting process and procedures.

## **22. Do the residence of Epe Local Government communicate with the local government officials via the Social Media platforms such as facebook; twitter; whatzup and so on?**

According to an interviewee (C49-December 15 2015, A representative of Lagbade CDA) Epe Local Government

“Before answering your question, I need to let you know that one of the major problems with us in the rural area is the problem of efficient functioning of the internet. That aside I am not even aware that Epe Local Government has a formal facebook, whatzup or twitter account. The local government sometimes even relied on the traditional town criers (local means of passing information through the use of mouth and beating of musical objects like a gong). So, to answer your question directly, the residence does not communicate via any of the social

media platform”. “Furthermore, the interviewee is also of the opinion that this is a sharp contrast from what obtains in the municipal government, because the executive governor of Lagos state has a twitter account that is active and effective”.

According to an interviewee (C50- March10 2016, A representative of Araromi CDA) Epe Local Government

“The answer to that is capital no. Some individuals do have access to the internet and other related social media stuff, but Epe Local Government am sorry do not have such platforms”

### **Comments/Analysis**

The response from the interviewees above clearly indicate that the residence of Epe Local Government do not communicate with the Local Government officials via the social media platforms. There is no gain saying that the residence of Epe Local Government are not interested in communicating with the local government officials, but what the response is pointing out is to the fact that there are no official outlets for such form of communication. The researcher vividly observed in the course of gathering field work data, that a good number of members of staff of Epe Local Government on their own personal cell-phone are on one social media platform or another, but the local government as an organization does not have such platform floated to get information from the local residence.

**Question 22b- As presented in table 28-Does Epe Local Government use social media to communicate with the residence on participatory budgeting?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	34	28%
NO	86	72%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 28 illustrates that 28% of the respondents agreed that Epe Local Government use the social media to communicate with the residence while the remaining 72% of the respondents disagreed. Hence, majority of the respondents disagreed that Epe Local Government use

social media to communicate with the residence while a few of the respondents agreed that Epe Local Government use social media to communicate with the residence. The quantitative and qualitative data indicated that there is a glaring gap in the use of social media between the local government and citizens in Epe Local Government.

**23. How effective is the use of social media to communicate between the residence and local government officials? Share your views.**

According to an interviewee (C51-December 15 2015, A representative of Uraka CDA) Epe Local Government

“It is non existence. You have got to present yourself physically in order to make any meaningful transactions with the local government. It is sometimes frustrating because most of these officials will not even be found on their desks”.

According to an interviewee (C52- March10 2016, A representative of Lagbade CDA) Epe Local Government

“Most of the activities in the local government are still being carried out in primitive/traditional old manner. Therefore, they don’t see any reason in switching to the social media platform, not to talk of making it effective”

**Comments/Analysis**

The response above clearly shows the frustration of majority of the residence inability to use the social media in communicating between them and local government officials. In essence, the debate on the efficiency and the effectiveness of the use of social media between the residence and the local government officials cannot even come up as a subject since the social media do not officially exist as far as Epe Local Government is concerned.



**Question 23b- As presented in table 29-Do the residents of Epe Local Government communicate with the local government officials via the Social Media?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	102	85%
NO	18	15%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 29 demonstrates that 85% of the respondents agreed in affirmative that the residence of Epe Local Government communicate with the Local Government officials via the social media while the remaining 15% of the respondents disagreed. This confirms the fact that a larger percentage of the respondents agreed that the residence of Epe Local Government communicate with the Local Government officials via the social media while a lesser percentage of the respondents disagreed that the residents of Epe Local Government communicate with the Local Government officials via the social media. The response above indicates that there is discrepancy between the qualitative and quantitative data, while the qualitative data revealed that social media is not in existence at all, the quantitative data revealed that residence do use social media, but the local government itself is not making use of the social media to communicate with the citizens, this somehow also agreed with the assertion of the qualitative data.

#### **24. Has the use of social media to communicate between Epe Local Government and the residence made participation of the local people more inclusive? Please share your views**

According to an interviewee (C53-December 15 2015, A representative of Ladaba CDA) Epe Local Government

“For me the issue of communication is a two way thing, the sender and the receiver, the sender in this case, let us assume is the residence of Epe Local Government, while the receiver is the Epe Local Government. When we the sender-residence, do send out there are

no receiver-local government to receive and analysis such information, with this the purpose of the information is defeated. However, among us the residence, we do spread information on somethings we observe in the local government among ourselves. With this little interaction among we the residence on social media platform, I believe it has somehow impacted positively in making our participation more inclusive in Epe Local Government”.

According to an interviewee (C54- March10 2016, A representative of Ibon CDA) Epe Local Government

“We don’t use social media to communicate bwtween us and the local government in Epe Local Government. It has been deliberately neglected by the Council for reasons best known to them”

### **Comments/Analysis**

The reaction above is a clear indication that the use of social media to communicate between Epe Local Government and the residence has not really made the participation of the local people more inclusive. The actual reason for this has to do with the failure of the local government to put in place any official social media platform to exchange ideas with the local residence. This therefore limited the conversation to among the local residence on local government issues and not between the local residence and Epe Local Government.

**Question 24b- As presented in table 30-Do you agree that the use of social media to communicate between Epe Local Government and the residence has made participation of the local people more inclusive?**

<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
YES	35	29%
NO	85	71%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data. February, 2015

Table 30 depicts that 29% of the respondents agreed that the use of social media to communicate between Epe Local Government and the residence has made the participation of

the local people more inclusive while the remaining 71% of the respondents disagreed with this assumption. This implies that majority of the respondents disagreed that the use of social media to communicate between Epe Local Government and residence has made the participation of the local people more inclusive while a few of the respondents agreed that the use of social media to communicate between Epe Local Government and the residents has made the participation of the local people more inclusive. There is a glaring connection between the two data as both are speaking in the same voice that the social media has not brought about the needed inclusiveness and participation of the citizens in Epe Local Government.

#### **4. TRANSCRIBED INTERVIWS WITH PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING STAKEHOLDERS**

##### **1. Do you have the knowledge of the term “participatory budgeting”?**

According to an interviewee (N1-October 5 2015, Anu-Oluwa CDA, General Secretary) Epe Local Government

“Yes I do have a good knowledge of the term participatory budgeting. I believe it is a way of narrowing the socio-economic gaps between the rich and the poor in the community”. “It is also a means of giving the local people the required voice to determine what they think is best for them”

According to an interviewee (N2-October 5 2015, Lagbade CDA, Welfare Office) Epe Local Government

“Yes. I do think that participatory budgeting is a platform for the rural people to sort out issues that are of common interest to them”

According to an interviewee (N3-October 5 2015, Bado- Oke CDA, Public Relation Officer) Epe Local Government

“It is a rallying point for rural development initiatives”

**2. How would you describe the accounting procedure in Epe Local Government? Is it transparent and accurate?**

According to an interviewee (N4-October 5 2015, Okorisan CDA, Assistant Secretary General) Epe Local Government

“I will say yes it is transparent and accurate in one sense and no in another sense. I will explain what I mean by yes and no. It is transparent and accurate as to the extent the Local Government officials wants it to be. In essence, the books are account book, that is the budget are made available only at the beginning of the year when the local government chairman must have accented to it, in that sense I can say it is transparent. I can also say it is not transparent and accurate because there are no institutionalized frameworks put in place by the local government to actually subject the budget to full scale scruitiny. Virtually, all that has to do with the budget is perceived as a party affair, sacrosanct and shrouded in official secrecy”

**3. Do you understand the practice in Local Government administration of Epe Local Government?**

According to an interviewee (N5-October 5 2015, Ladaba CDA, Treasurer) Epe Local Government

”Yes, I do understand the nature of local government administration in Epe to some extent. I know that there are numerous departments in the local government such as health, agric (culture), and environmental sanitation. The chairman is the chief executive, assisted by the deputy chairman, followed by various supervisors and community councilors”.

“All I know is that the local government constitutes the third tier of government in Nigeria after the federal and the state government respectively”.

**4. Have you taken part in participatory budgeting?**

According to an interviewee (N6-October 5 2015, Unity CDA, Financial Secretary) Epe Local Government

“Yes, I have taken part in participatory budgeting in my capacity as the chairman of Odogbonle community development association (CDA), where we prepared our priotised

budget which we delivered to the state government after approval from Epe Local Government”.

“Yes, I have been playing active roles in participatory budgeting for the past four years. As a matter of fact, I have the privilege of presenting the budget of my community development association in Odo-Egiri to the office of the director general agriculture and rural development at the Lagos State Secretariat, Alausa, in Ikeja”.

#### **5. Do you know how budget is formulated in Epe Local Government?**

According to an interviewee (N7-October 6 2015, Ogunmodede CDA, Deputy Chairman) Epe Local Government

“Yes, I do. It starts from the Local Government office which draws up the budget with the collaboration of the various CDAs, and then these proposals are put together and then send for onward transition to the Lagos State Government”.

#### **6. Do you think that there is a fair representation of local projects decided on by the local people in Epe Local Government?**

According to an interviewee (N8-October 6 2015, Okeoba CDA, Public Relation Officer) Epe Local Government

“Yes, I think there is a fair representation of local projects decided by the local people in Epe Local Government. As a matter of fact, the projects that are implemented by the Lagos State Government are implemented at the request of the local people, but there are always insufficient funds to carry out some of these projects by the Lagos State Government”.

“A fair representation to me is a relative term. At the same time my view is that there is no fair representation of projects in Epe local government most of the project are decided by the Lagos state government with little input from the local people”.

#### **7. Do you think that there is effective feedback mechanism in participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government?**

According to an interviewee (N9-October 6 2015, Isoko CDA, Social Secretary) Epe Local Government

“I can’t say there is effective feedback mechanism, this is because, both the Lagos State Government and Epe Local Government do not always report back to the local people after the budget implementation. All I know that they do is to call for the needs of the people annually for consideration in the annual budget, then the implementation of the budget is done without coming back to the people if the budget is good or bad. At best case, they only intimate the people only on the level of performance of the budget in term of percentage”.

**8. Do you think that participatory budgeting is being drawn back by lack of adequately qualified personnel in Epe Local Government?**

According to an interviewee (N10-October 7 2015, Igbo CDA, Financial Secretary) Epe Local Government

“As a matter of fact, lack of qualified personnel constitutes a major problem in most local government areas in Nigeria, which Epe Local Government is not insulated from. This is because a good number of the personnel are employed based on goodwill and representation from the royal heads. Thus most of them lack the necessary academic qualification and skills to cope with the job demands at the local government”.

**9. Kindly explain the decision making process in participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government.**

According to an interviewee (N11-October 7 2015, Oloruntobi CDA, Public Relation Officer) Epe Local Government

“As far as I know, the decision making process involves the CDAs who meet on a regular bases to draw out the needs of their different communities. These needs are then further priotise by the CDAs committee, and then they are collated and then send to the local government. The local government on behalf of the CDAs then forwards these demands to the Lagos State Government, who then send its officials to the communities for further scruitiny before the projects are implemented. However, in some cases the CDAs do by pass the local government and take their demands down to the Lagos State Government by themselves, but this are sometimes not attended to by the Lagos State Government”.

**10. What do you think are the problems of participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government? Please explain.**

According to an interviewee (N12-October 7 2015, Bado-Isale CDA, Public Relation Officer) Epe Local Government

“The problems of PB in Epe Local Government are numerous, such as lack of well trained personnel, interference from traditional rulers, lack of feedback mechanism, insufficient fund, lack of awareness on participatory budgeting, lack of trust in the government”.

According to an interviewee (N13-March17 2016, Araromi CDA, General Secretary) Epe Local Government

“As as I am concerned the real problems of the CDAs in Epe Local Government are “As follows; lack of awareness among the populace, even though PB is in place in the local government, because we do get our CDAs budget through the local government to the state government on an annual bases, which are then implemented, but most people still believe it those not exist. This is because it is not widely publicized like the political parties or health related issue such as polio or Human Immuno deficiency Virus /Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS). Secondly, is the problem of corruption in the budgetary process, leading to extra-budget spending by the government and the officials favouring one community over the other due to bribery and corruption. Other problems include inefficient feedback mechanism from the various levels of government to the rural areas in the local government”.

## **5. TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEWS WITH THE HEAD, BUDGETING, PLANNING RESESARCH AND STATISTIC DEPARTMENT, EPE LOCAL GOVERNMENT- OCTOBER 12 2015**

### **1. What roles does your department play in the accounting process in Epe Local Government?**

#### **Response**

The budget department plays a crucial role in the accounting process of Epe Local Government. The budget department consists of planning, budget, research and statistics Unit.

The major activities of the budget department are:

- The budget department co-ordinate the activities of the other department in term of revenue and expenditure
- It prepares the annual estimate to be spent by the local government.
- It monitor expenditure vote and control revenue.
- It also plot the revenue chart of the local government
- It advice the local government on matters related to budget plans and data collection.

**2. What roles does your department play in participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government?**

**Response**

Participatory budgeting is a process of direct involvement of stakeholders input in budget in budget preparation and policy.

As a department we prepare a financial document which is used to project future income and expenditure for a particular period of time. This is done in order to take control of financial situation. It is also done in order to priotise the needs with available resources of the local government.

We organize the stakeholders' forum where the communities contribute their inputs which is being collated by the department for the preparation of budget estimate.

**3. Do you think that the Lagos State Government is sufficiently funding participatory budgeting projects in Epe Local Government such as electricity, clean water, good roads, health and so on?**

**Response**

Yes, based on statutory allocation released to the local government

**4. How would you describe the accounting procedures in Epe Local Government? Is it transparent and accountable?**



## **Response**

Budget preparation procedures in Epe Local Government are:

### Conception

- Review of the previous year budget
- Meeting with the stakeholders

### Preparation

- Determination of fiscal strategy framework
- Call circular
- Receipt and collection of other department budget proposals
- Holding of bilateral discussion
- Collation and consolidation of proposals

### Approval

Local government draft estimate is approved by the executive chairman and legislator.

### Monitoring and control

- Monitoring of monthly revenue and expenditure
- Periodic project inspection

### Evaluation

At the end of the year, we have to evaluate budget performance

The accounting procedure in Epe Local Government is transparent and it also has accountability with due process.

**5. Do you think that the feedback mechanism from participatory budgeting from the state to the local government is effective and efficient?**

## **Response**

Yes. It is effectively and efficiently, the budget is being executed in line with the stakeholders' document in order to meet the community needs.

**6. What is the nature of decision making process in Epe Local Government?**

**Response**

The decision making process in the local government entails formulating laws and policies.

**7. What in your opinion constitute the major challenges to participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government?**

**Response**

- Inadequate funding
- Lack of office equipment/materials
- Inconducive environment
- Lack of utility vehicle
- Insufficient budget proficiency

**8. What do think are the solutions to these challenges?**

**Response**

- Provision of office equipment/materials
- Conducive environment for the optimal performance of our duties
- Provision of utility vehicle
- Provision of qualify personnel
- Adequate funding

**9. What are the things that could be included to improve the budgeting department as the head of the department?**

**Response**

Budget department play an important role for the running of the local government. In a nutshell the department should be encouraged and provided with adequate equipment such as computer system, furniture and air conditional system for the effective performance of our duties

**6. Participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government- field work description as witnessed by the researcher**

## **A. Local Meetings**

Participatory budgeting in Lagos is predicated on four fundamental levels. The starting point is at the local meetings where the Community Development Associations (CDA) comes together periodically and at specific time and locations to deliberate on various issues affecting their communities. Such meeting is usually coordinated by the Community Development Association (CDA) chairman. At such meeting, he is assisted by other elected executive members such as the Vice-Chairman, the Secretary General, the Treasurer and others executive members. At the meetings, agenda for the day are usually agreed to by all members before discussions and deliberations are made on them. Issues such as electricity supply, good road network, drainages and security always top the agenda at such meetings. Most of the meetings are held on last Saturdays of every month, which has been declared by the State Government as Environmental Sanitation day. At this meeting, various committees are set up on many salient issues, such as electricity, good roads and so on.

Below is a typical Minute of the Community Development Association (CDA) Meeting

### **MINUTES OF THE SIXTH ODOGBONLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION (CDA), HELD ON 1<sup>TH</sup> APRIL, 2012 AT THE CDA CHAIRMAN'S COMPOUND.**

- 6.01 Commencement: The meeting commenced at exactly 5.08pm.
- 6.02 Opening Remark: This was given by the Chairman.
- 6.03 Minutes/Adoption: The minute was considered and the motion for the adoption was moved by Engr. Qasim Ilori and seconded by Engr. Abdul Mumin Onasanya.
- 6.04 Matters Arising.
  - A. Executives: The House decided to give erring executives the grace of three meetings before they would be substituted. Final decision on that takes place at next meeting. Moreover, all excos and members are to be given phone calls on Saturday prior to the meeting on Sunday.

- B. Finance: The House agreed that the financial report would now be quarterly i. e every three months.
- C. Attendance: It was agreed that names of members are to be read out at meetings in order to ascertain their attendance and to motivate other members.
- 6.05 Motion for Adjournment: This was moved by Alh.Zunurain Abdul Raheem and seconded by Mr. Abdul Lateef Ashir
- 6.06 Closing: The meeting ended at exactly 6.38pm, with a closing prayer by Mr. Abdul Lateef Ashir

Engr. Onasanya Mumin, General Secretary (GEN.SEC)

**MINUTES OF THE SEVENTH ODOGBONLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION (CDA) MEETING, HELD ON 15TH APRIL, 2012 AT THE COMPOUND OF THE CDA CHAIRMAN**

- 7.01 OPENING/COMMENCEMENT: The meeting commenced at exactly 5.10pm, with the opening prayer by Mr. Miftaudeen Onabajo
- 7.02 MINUTES/ADOPTION: The minute was considered and the motion for the adoption of the minutes was moved by Alh. Zunurain Abdul Raheem and was seconded by Mr. Hassan Sulaimon.
- 7.03 MATTERS ARISING
  - A. Introduction: All members present did their introduction.
  - B. Executives: The executives were reshuffled as follows

Chairman-Engr. Hassan Odulate

1st Vice-chairman- Mr. Abdul Lateef Ashir

2nd Vice-chairman- Deji Oresanwo

General Secretary- Engineer Onasanya Mumin

Treasurer- Alh. Zunurain Abdulraheem

Financial Secretary- Mr. Kolawole Bisiriyu

Auditor- Mr. Hassan Sulaimon

Social Secretary- Mr. Miftaudeen Onabajo

Welfare Officer- Pastor Jegede

Public Relation Officer (PRO) - Engr.Qosim Ilori

Ex-officio 1- Pa Y.O. Onabajo

Ex-officio 2- Alh.S.A Shanu

Ex-officio 3- Mr. Lekan Hassan

#### 7.04 ANY OTHER BUSINESS (AOB)

- A. Electricity Supply: The CDA was advised to invite the Chairman of Eredo LCDA for the commissioning of the transformer.
- B. Security: Members were urged to be security conscious at all time.
- C. Printing of minutes: Engr .Qosim Ilori pledge to help in printing of the CDA minutes.

7.05 Motion for Adjournment: This was moved by Mr. Hassan Sulaimon and seconded by Mr. Miftaudeen Onabajo

7.06 Closing: The meeting ended at 6.34pm, with the closing prayer by Pastor Jegede

Engineer Onasanya Mumin, General Secretary (Gen .Sec)

#### **B. Participatory Budgeting Committee (PDC)**

The committees at their various meetings embark on another level of consultation and discussions. They develop the financial implications and budgets for various community projects. They invite experts and professionals to such meetings to assist them in reaching objective decisions that majority of the members will benefit from. This committee is usually headed by a chairman, ably assisted by the committee secretary and other members. After a thorough analysis of the budget and projects to be implemented, the committee reports back

to the general house which is also known as the local committee. This led us to the reporting by the PDC to the local committee.

Below represents a typical budgetary request from the PDC

Odogbonle Community Development Association

The Director

Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Development and Infrastructure

Dear Sir,

Please find below the needed social amenities from the above named CDA.

It is our prayer that our demands will be given all necessary attentions.

<b>PROJECTS</b>	<b>QUANTITIES / COST ESTIMATES</b>
Drainage system	X2 – N100, 000.00
Electricity Transformer	1- N900, 000.00
Grading of Roads	1-N60.000.00
Town hall renovation	1- N80.000.00
Provision of bore-hole water	X2- N240.000.00
Classroom renovations	X6 –N120.000.00
Provision of electric poles	X10-N100.000.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>N 3.5M</b>

Thank you for your usual co-operation

General Secretary

**Table 31- A typical budgetary request by the Participatory Budgeting Committee (PDC)**

**Researchers Field work Experience, 2015**

**C. Reporting by the PDC to the Local Committee**

At this stage, if the local committee is not convinced with the report of the participatory budgeting committee they often invite expertise and professionals to enlighten them more on the project at hand. At this junction, if the local committees are not convinced about the work done by the PDC, the work is either return to them or it dies a natural death. However, if it sails through, the executive members of the local committee-CDAs are entrusted with the task of presenting such projects agreed on in the annual budget of the CDAs for approval and implementation. This stage leads to the approval and implementation stage.

**D. Approval/ implementation**

This stage of the work is usually carried out by the Lagos State Government. This is done after further thorough scrutinizing of the presentation made by the executive committee of the local CDAs. This will then be accommodated in the state government annual appropriation budget for onward implementation. It should be noted that those projects that are not implemented by the state government due to financial constraints are either left to the following year or are implemented by the local committee through personal efforts and fund raising by the local CDAs concerned (Field work 2015).

**7. Conclusion**

The chapter was broken down into three sections. The first section dealt with the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data based on the demographic data. Section two contains the presentation, analysis and the interpretation of data based on the real questions in line with the research questions in chapter one, while section three dealt with the revelation on participatory budgeting as witnessed by the researcher in Epe Local Government. Chapter Six, which is the concluding chapter of the study shall be based on summary, conclusion and recommendations for further research efforts.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION**

#### **1. Introduction**

The last chapter concentrated on the presentation, analysis and the interpretation of data gathered on the field through the administration of questionnaires elicited from the sampled population. The current chapter is the concluding chapter of this thesis; and it summarises the whole essence of the thesis. The chapter encompasses the summation of the whole thesis, while concentrating on the essence, the distinct values and its inputs to knowledge in participatory budgeting enquiry in Nigeria. The chapter stress the importance of public participation in democratic governance within the framework of deliberative democracy theory and participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government Area as the main motivation of the study. Therefore, this chapter also devotes its attention to conclusions that are based on its findings vis-à-vis the situation in Nigeria, and also enunciates the limitations and recommendations for future studies on participatory budgeting process in Nigeria.

#### **2. Summation of thesis**

Fundamentally, academic efforts are meant to achieve specific goals clearly stated in the research objectives. To achieve a clearly stated set of objectives, the researcher identify what gaps are to be filled at the end of the research. By identifying and filling these research gaps, the researcher increases the knowledge base in his/her study area. This study, entitled Public participation in democratic governance: a case study of participatory budgeting in Nigeria, is also a means of addition to knowledge in participatory budgeting process in Nigeria. Globally, many scholars have conducted several studies on the importance and relevance of public participation in democratic governance (see Almond & Verba 1963; Arnstein 1969; Gaventa & Valderrama 1999; Lijphart 1999; Bierele & Cayford 2002; Lipset 2004; Baclija 2013; Karp & Banducci 2008; and Neshkova & Guo 2012; Sharpe 2013).

Additionally, a strong relationship has been found to exist between public participation in democratic governance and citizens' loyalty to the government (see Sassen 2003a; Cavalcanti, Schlapter, & Schmid 2009 & Wapler 2012).



This has been achieved to a degree with the use of different types of techniques to increase the level of public participation in governance (Fung 2006). These techniques include, but are not limited to: community conversations, community dinners and deliberative democracy forums (Carr & Halvorsen 2001); citizen advisory councils, citizens panels, public surveys, public forums (Hendricks 2002); citizen participation strategies (Leighninger 2002); e-government initiatives (Cuthill 2003); empowered participatory governance, empower deliberative democracy (Fung & Wright 2003); participatory budgeting processes (Kroning 2004); village development committee, district development plan (Shah 2007); participatory democratic model (Aragon & Sanchez 2008); countervailing power, participatory publics, fourth power (Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke 2008); representative democracy (Wiesen 2013).

The important roles of participatory budgeting over the years in human society globally have been established by numerous bodies of literature across time and space (see Santos 1998; Baiocchi 2001; Avritzer 2002; Navaro 2004; Baiocchi 2005; Bairele 2006 and UN-HABITAT 2009). As a catalyst and an impetus in improving participatory budgeting process, the involvement and active participation of international organizations and civil society groups becomes very important (see Shah 2007; Harkins & Egan 2012; Nkwede & Samuel 2014; Cabbanes 2015; Del Prado, Florendo & Rosellon 2015). Accordingly, participatory budgeting scholars have investigated the multifarious metamorphosis that public participation and participatory budgeting have undergone in bridging the gap between the rich and the poor (see Arnstein 1969; Fung & Wright 2003; Hickey & Mohan 2004). Hence, this thesis acts as further source of motivation to other reserchers in interrogating the position of social media in participatory budgeting particularly in the rural communities (see Njoku 2007; William 2009; Loaer & Mercea 2012; Martin 2014; European Parliamentary Research Services 2014; Abubakar, Abba & Bello 2014; Starbird et al., 2015); and it also focuses on radio intervention strategy in deepening participatory budgeting in rural communities.

This thesis is in furtherance of the efforts on participatory budgeting process research, particularly within the perspective of the Nigerian scholarship. Scholars have conducted several studies on the challenges and potentials of participatory budgeting in Nigeria aimed at improving and creating awareness around participatory budgeting (see Adamolekun 2008; Adesopo 2011; Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni 2012; Popoola 2012; Gideon 2014 & Umo 2014).

Furthermore, Ajayi & Otuya (2006) identify a number of approaches to participatory budgeting in community development, such as: Community Economic Development (CED), Community Capacity Building Development (CCBE), Asset Based Community Development (ABCD), Faith Based Community Development (FBCD), Community Practice (CP), Social Work (SW), Community Based Participating Research (CBPR), Community Mobilisation (CM), Community Empowerment (CE), Community Participation (CP), Community Based Planning (CBP), Community Driven Development (CDD) and Community Development Association (CDAs). The important roles of Community Development Associations (CDAs) in Nigeria has been well articulated in the literature (see Ajayi 1995; Orapin 1996; Aderibibge 2015 ; Ovwigho & Ifie 2004; Ajayi & Otuya 2006; Okwakpam 2010; Ibok & Akpanim 2014; Ibok 2014; Ambali & Fajonyomi 2014). Similarly, it has been observed that most research efforts on participatory budgeting practice have been focused mainly on the Latin American experience, (see Santos 1998; Baiocchi 2001; Avritzer 2002; Baiocchi 2005; Bairele 2006; Shah 2007; Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke 2008; Aragon & Sanchez 2008; Sintomer, Herzberg & Allegretti 2010; Pateman 2012; Omar 2013; Touchton & Wapler 2013; Goncalves 2013; Baiocchi & Ganusa 2014). This study is particularly significant in that it will enhance better understanding on participatory budgeting process in the country.

These findings will be found useful in participatory budgeting process both within and outside Nigeria as a good number of the present work on participatory budgeting domain in Nigeria were conducted within a very short time, and limited to some few months (see Adamolekun 2008; Adesopo 2011; Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni 2012; Popoola 2013; Gideon 2014 & Umo 2014). However, not much research has been done to examine the actual operationalization of participatory budgeting in Nigeria vis- a- vis the active collaboration of the Community Development Associations (CDAs) and its attendant challenges in Nigeria. Hence, these gaps in the research lingers inspite of studies identifying the fundamental roles of Community Development Associations (CDAs) as a reliable conveyor belt in improving the communal lives of Nigerians in the rural communities (see Ajayi 1995; Orapin 1996; Aderibigbe 2015; Ovwigho & Ifie 2004; Ajayi & Otuya 2006; Okwakpam 2010; Ibok & Akpanim 2014; Ambali & Fajonyomi 2014).

Thus, arising from the above, the main idea of this thesis was carefully selected, which considered the challenges of participatory budgeting process in Nigeria and suggestions towards better operationalization of participatory budgeting process in Nigeria. This study was interested in how participatory budgeting is run in Nigeria considering the inequality that exists between the rich and the vulnerable groups in the country, particularly among the rural dwellers, which Epe Local Government Area happens to be one.

Fundamentally, public policy scholars have shown concerns in investigating public participation (see Almond & Verba 1963; Arnstein 1969; Gaventa & Valderrama 1999; Lijphart 1999; Fung & Wright 2003; Lipset 2004; Baclija 2013; Shah 2007; Karp & Banducci 2008). Some of these studies have found public participation to have improved the participation, inclusiveness and involvement of citizens. This study, therefore, investigated the correlation between public participation and participatory budgeting in Nigeria. This part of the study is significant as it has been established that public participation in democratic governance goes a long way in improving participatory budgeting process in the community (Santos 1998; Baiocchi 2001; Avritzer 2002; Navaro 2004; Baiocchi 2005; Bairele 2006 & UN-HABITAT 2009).

Participatory budgeting is also regarded as not just a rural/urban issue, but also a social policy issue. This is because participatory budgeting is interested in bridging the inequality gap between the rich and the poor in the community; hence it can also help in crime reduction and in positive re-ordering of participatory budgeting outcomes. Despite the various challenges involved in participatory budgeting process, it remains a vital part of community engagement as a result of its various important roles (Santos 1998; Baiocchi 2001; Avritzer 2002; Navaro 2004; Baiocchi 2005; Bairele 2006 & UN-HABITAT 2009).

This study, therefore, examined the general challenges faced by participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government and how those challenges could be surmounted for better performance.

For the avoidance of doubt and for the sake of emphasis, three research questions were set out from the outset of this research effort. These are:

- i. What is the current practice in participatory budgetary process of Epe Local Government?
- ii. What are the challenges faced in the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government?
- iii. How can participatory budgeting be made more effective in Epe Local Government?

### **I. What is the current practice in participatory budgetary process of Epe Local Government?**

The study has provided evidence that the current practice /level of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government is low. This is evidence in the low level of participation of the ordinary citizens in the allocation of public resources. The study is consistent with existing literature, in establishing that failure of the government to educate and enlighten the citizens on participatory budgeting has also led to a non-challant attitude on the part of the citizens towards the issue of participation. Most citizens view participation as mere voting in elections and payment of taxes. Hence, the greater aims of participatory budgeting are not being achieved in Epe Local Government. The study also confirms that in most cases there is no transparency in the accounting procedure of Epe Local Government, leading to extra-budget spending by successive administration (Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni 2012). This is however contrary to the claims of the Head, Budgeting, Planning, Research and Statistic Office of Epe Local Government.

### **II. What are the challenges faced in the participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government?**

The challenges that negatively affect participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government as identified in the study are: i. lack of awareness by the citizens of what participatory budgeting is all about; ii. The negative perception of government initiated programmes or intervention such as participatory budgeting and polio eradication programmes as anti-people; iii. Lack of funds and over-dependence on financial hand-outs from unreliable central government; iv. Lack of qualified personnel from the Local

Government office to drive the participatory budgeting process; v. Incoherent legal framework and political interference, there are also no clear cut, detailed and comprehensive policy frameworks on the delineation of rights, duties and responsibilities among stakeholders. The roles of the executives, the judiciary and the legislature are not well spelt out. vi. Non equality of representatives, they are not equal in terms of wealth, income, and dominant racial groups or ethnicity; vii. Glaring lack of experience, expertise and knowledge on the part of most representatives, in view of the fact that they are not all literate; viii. Solving different problems with the same paradigm, that is, through the CDAs; ix. The dichotomy between city-based participatory democracy and community-based participatory democracy, and the management of scarcity; x. Corruption, leading to extra-budgetary spending, lack of transparency and accountability; xi. political parties, more than any other stakeholders, determine the flow of participatory budgeting, the ruling political parties always have a way of having the final say and influencing the outcome of decisions taken by the other stakeholders as far as participatory budgeting is concerned.

### **III. How can participatory budgeting be made more effective in Epe Local Government?**

This study offers solutions on how participatory budgeting process can be improved upon to achieve the desired goals and outcomes in Epe Local Governmentby; i. Making the emergence of the representatives of the CDAs more democratic in nature, coupled with a better engagement of the citizens, with the use of social media platforms devoid of interference from the palace/traditional rulers and political elites; ii. The creation of enabling and conducive environment for participatory budgeting to thrive with mass enlightenment by the government; iii. The central government should provide sufficient resources at the appropriate time for the participatory budgeting agents to carry out their activities. iv. Regular and routine training programmes must be put in place in order to improve the level of competency and qualification of the Local Government officers; v. The roles of civil society in terms of checks and balances on the participatory budgeting process must be well delineated and defined, - presently they are conspicuously absent; vi. Corruption can be reduced to the barest minimum if appropriate agencies are activated in their monitoring assignments on the participatory budgeting process; vii. Adequate human and material resources should also be provided for the budget office in Epe Local Government, as the

study has revealed that there is presently a dearth of office equipment/materials, utility vehicles, funding, computer system, set of furniture and air conditional systems.

The historical exploration into the evolution and expansion of public participation in the world reveals that the first form of public participation could be traced to the ancient Greek republic (see Almond & Verba 1963; Arnstein 1969; Gaventa & Valderrama 1999; Lijphart 1999; Lipset 2004; Karp & Banducci 2008).

Participatory budgeting as a key part of this thesis was thoroughly explored in the literature review; the aim was to shed light on the vital role of participatory budgeting in bridging the gap between the rich and the vulnerable poor people in the society. This section of the literature review explored the origin and spread of participatory budgeting, its achievements and challenges. It has also ushered in other global participatory budgeting innovations, guidelines and strategies globally.

Specifically, the thesis reviewed important and pertinent literature on public participation in democratic governance in Nigeria with particular emphasis on participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government Area. This attempt revealed the impacts of participatory budgeting in the general life of the citizens. It also illustrated the fact that Community Development Associations (CDAs) is the conveyor belt for participatory budgeting in Nigeria and the multi-various challenges faced by the CDAs in the participatory budgeting process in the country over the years which have not made participatory budgeting to produce major outcomes. This shed light on the reason why the CDAs, specifically in this context, have to be regarded as fundamental part of the continuing drive aimed at reducing the level of poverty and inequality in Nigeria.

Furthermore, the literature review outlined the role of Local Government in participatory budgeting in Nigeria as discussed in this study. These include Local Government as the location of the real participatory budgeting process in Nigeria and challenges of Local Government in carrying out appropriately the participatory budgeting process in Nigeria. The other part underpins the challenges encountered in the provision of infrastructures in the rural communities such as primary health care, pipe-borne water, electricity and good roads. This further provided the foundational support for this study to explore the impact of participatory budgeting in the rural communities in Nigeria.

This is also responsible for the choice of the research methodology applied in this thesis. Chapter four of this thesis elucidated on the research methods applied, explaining the relevance and connection to the central themes of the study. The thesis indicated the choice of content analysis as the most appropriate for investigating participatory budgeting process in Nigerian between 2002 and 2013. The chapter also explained that rationale for the choice of survey is the suitable technique to establish the correlation between public participation in democratic governance and participatory budgeting process in Nigeria. Survey method (Questionnaire) was deployed to elicit information from two hundred and seventy two (272) general members of the CDAs.

The thesis also established the choice of in-depth interviews to bring together the perceptions and experiences of stakeholders in participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government. In-depth interviews were conducted with fifteen (15) participatory budgeting stakeholders in Epe Local Government Area. As stated above, the population of people in Epe Local Government was regionally stratified into the eight (8) administrative wards for ease of the study area. These are: Wards A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6, C1, and D1. In each Ward, however, the most inhabited communities /areas that best signify the main tribal features of Epe Local Government were further selected and, in this case, these communities were brought into focus. This is due to the fact that these communities have good tribal representation of most of the communities in Epe Local Government Area. In addition, the survey respondents (literates), who are members of the Community Development Associations (CDAs), can readily be found in each Ward in Epe Local Government such as that readily draws major ethnic groups in Epe Local Government were thus selected.

This was done in order to expound the problems faced by the CDAs in participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government Area and seek ways of redressing the situation for better performance. This method (in-depth interview) was further used to investigate the current nature of participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government with the Head, Budgeting, Planning, Research and Statistics Department. Fundamentally, the chapter stated the method combining elements of both the quantitative and qualitative methods.

This thesis argues that the research objectives-which include investigating the effectiveness and the efficiency of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government, examining

the challenges that are faced in the implementation of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government and providing solutions to the problems of participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government-may have been achieved. Furthermore, the research questions-which include: ascertaining the current nature of the participatory budgetary process in Epe Local Government, examining the challenges encountered in participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government, and how participatory budgeting process can be made more effective in Epe Local Government - may have been satisfied.

### **3. Limitations of study**

With every academic endeavour, there are attendant limitations. This study is not immune from such limitations and weaknesses. The limitations of this study are:

- i. A real limitation as far as this study is concerned is that participatory budgeting is still relatively an unknown concept in Nigeria, even amongst the academics, who found it difficult to come to the reality on ground and the application of participatory budgeting in Nigeria. It took the researcher a great deal of time, energy and resources to explain, educate and enlightened most of the respondents on the concept. Hence, precious time, energy and resources that could have been deployed to more productive parts of the study were basically used in exhaustive and tiring explanations.
- ii. Also, due to the fact that the concept of participatory budgeting originated from Latin America, it goes without saying that most of the early write ups that formed the foundation of the concepts were written in Latin American language in Brazil, Peru, Argentina and Ecuador. Moreover, a good number of the earliest theories supporting the thesis were written in German. The researcher thus had to search laboriously for the translated editions of those literatures before adequate facts, data and figures could be well represented in the study.
- iii. Negative perception, the researcher found this even among the so-called stakeholders that participatory budgeting has been put in place by the government for the government and their cronies and not for the general welfare of the citizens.



This perception persisted even after the researcher had presented them with facts and figures even from reputable international agencies such as the United Nations, the UN-HABITAT and the UNDP. This was surmounted with the reliance on available data, and different types of questioning drills by the researcher.

- iv. Furthermore, a key limitation as established in this thesis is the issue of literature that had Nigerian content was basically dealing with the potentials of participatory budgeting in Nigeria whereas the CDAs are already serving the purpose of participatory budgeting in the country. In essence, the works were based not on the operationalization of participatory budgeting but on its potentials in the country.
- v. Most of the earlier work on participatory budgeting studies conducted in Nigeria were extended more than one-year time plan; this served as the motivation for adopting an eleven-year (2002-2013) time plan for this thesis. It is significant to establish the fact that there is no experimental reason for adopting eleven - year time plan. The only real justification for this is that participatory budgeting came into existence in Nigeria in 2002.
- vi This study interviewed stakeholders based in Epe Local Government, the study did not interview participatory budgeting stakeholders outside Epe Local Government, like the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja, where it also exists in order to compare notes as it is outside the scope of this thesis and considered as an independent work that could be explored by any other interested participatory budgeting researcher as far as the Nigerian environment is concerned.

#### **4. Recommendations for further studies**

This study is focused on public participation in democratic governance with participatory budgeting as its core area. Other studies could explore public participation in democratic governance in environmental issues, such as climate change, flood, erosion and natural disasters.

Furthermore, it is recommended that other studies can focus on a comparative exploration of participatory budgeting in Nigeria and other areas of the world, such as Brazil, Peru, Argentina, Senegal and Ghana where participatory budgeting is also in practice.

## 5. Conclusion

The study of participatory budgeting as a form of public participation in democratic governance in Nigeria has shown that there exists a direct relationship between participatory budgeting and public participation in democratic governance (Bierele & Cayford 2002; Karp & Banducci 2008; Neshkova & Guo 2012 & Sharpe 2013). This is against the backdrop of the fact that it is only in a democratic setting and arrangement that the gains and prospects of participatory budgeting can be optimally achieved.

The study has also revealed that there is a relationship between deliberative theory and, of course, participatory budgeting. This is because the main issue that concerns deliberative theory is to exhaustively discuss and debate issues; and the main agenda of participatory budgeting is also to thoroughly discuss and debate issues with the aim of allowing inputs and contribution from the vulnerable members of the public with the aim of redistributing resources in their favour (Pateman 1977; Bassette 1980; Santos 1998; Mutz 2006; Aragon & Sanchez 2008; Fung & Warren 2011; Sintomer, Herzberg & Rocke 2008; Pateman 2012; Dinerstein & Ferrero 2012; Adegboye 2013; Gelderloos 2014; Nabatchi 2014 & Mathews 2014). However, the researcher is not unmindful of the argument in some quarters that participatory democracy could also be related in this regard.

On the strength of this study, it may be argued that participatory budgeting remains a portent tool for the fight against persistence and abject poverty and the wide gap of inequality anywhere in the world. It further confirms that participatory budgeting is a vital means of re-ordering resources, particularly in favour of the most vulnerable group in the rural communities (Santos 1998; Baiocchi 2001; Avritzer 2002; Baiocchi 2005; Bairele 2006; Navaro 2004 & UN-HABITAT 2009). Hence, there is significant relationship between participatory budgeting and bridging of the inequality socio-economic gap between the rich and the poor vulnerable citizens in the community.

It is also pertinent to note that participatory budgeting as a concept cannot exist in isolation, and it is rather more relevant in the rural community. This has been aptly demonstrated in this study. It may thus be concluded that there is significant relationship between participatory budgeting process and Epe Local Government Area.

In spite of the fact that the use of social media in Nigeria as a means of communication between the stakeholders in participatory budgeting process and the Local Government has not been put to optimal use as a result of various challenges (Njoku 2007; William 2009; Loaer & Mercea 2012; European Parliamentary Research Services 2014; Martin 2014 & Starbird et al., 2015), it has however been supported through findings in this study that there still exists significant relationship between participatory budgeting process and the use of social media in Epe Local Government Area.

Built on the findings from this thesis, it could also be confirmed that there is significant relationship between participatory budgeting process and its challenges in Epe Local Government (Adamolekun 2008; Adesopo 2011; Akindele, Afolabi & Ayeni 2012; Popoola 2012; Gideon 2014 & Umo 2014). There is significant relationship between participatory budgeting and the ability of the citizens in Epe Local Government through the Community Development Association (CDA) to make better choices for their welfare (Ajayi 1995; Orapin 1996; Aderibibge 2015; Ovwigho & Ifie 2004; Ajayi & Otuya 2006; Okwakpam 2010; Ibok & Akpanim 2014; Ambali & Fajonyomi 2014).

In the final analysis, the thesis is convinced that participatory budgeting remains one of the most important solutions aimed at bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, redistributing resources in favour of the less privileged and vulnerable members of the society. For now, it remains the empirically tested solution in view of the disappointment and litany of unfulfilled promises from the so-called representatives of the people, particularly among the executives and members of the parliament, majority of whom are in office to protect their personal interests. At least, it offers the citizens that do not have the opportunity of being in the executive, the legislature or the judiciary to directly participate in governance, the opportunity to stand up and be counted. Consequently and in view of the above the researcher may conclude that the set research objectives, research questions and the research propositions may have been achieved.

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## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX I

#### IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DATA COLLECTION WITH PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING REPRESENTATIVES OF CDA IN EPE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN), Howard College Campus, Durban, South Africa

#### An investigation into Public Participation in Democratic Governance: A Case of Participatory Budgeting in Lagos, Nigeria.

Dear Respondent,

This interview guide is designed to elicit vital information from you, and all response given shall be treated with strict confidentiality.

### SECTION A

#### DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Please do fill and tick against items that best apply to you.

Name of Local Government: .....

ITEMS	PUBLIC SERVANT	BUSINESS	FARMER	ARTISAN	STUDENT
OCCUPATION					

ITEMS	MALE	FEMALE
GENDER		

ITEMS	18-21	21-40	41-60	61- ABOVE
AGE				

<b>ITEMS</b>	<b>POST GRADUATE</b>	<b>GRADUATE</b>	<b>ND/NCE</b>	<b>HND</b>
LEVEL OF EDUCATION				

<b>ITEMS</b>	<b>SINGLE</b>	<b>MARRIED</b>	<b>DIVORCED</b>	<b>OTHERS</b>
MARITAL STATUS				

## **SECTION B**

Q1. What do you understand by the term participation?

Q2. What do you know by Participatory budgeting?

Q3. What is Community Development Association (CDA) ?

Q4. What Community Development Association (CDA) programs are you aware of?

Q5. What are the roles of Community Development Associations (CDAs)?

Q6. Can you tell me what Participatory budgeting is?

Q7. Have you ever taken part in participatory budgeting? How did you take part?

Q8. Where have you taken part in participatory budgeting in your locality?

Q9. What is the practice in local government administration of Epe Local Government?

Q10. How is budget formulated in Epe Local Government? Please explain

Q11. What is your views on how budget is formulated in Epe Local Government?

Q12. Do you know that Participatory budgeting is to help the local people decide the priorities of projects in their areas? Please explain.

Q13. Are you aware that Participatory budgeting is to bridge the gaps between the rich and the poor? Please explain.

Q14. How does the Community Development Associations (CDAs) select budget delegates?

Q15. Has the CDA assisted in facilitating the provision of basic social amenities in Epe Local Government?

Q16. What are your views on the issue that through the provision of basic social amenities the CDAs have helped in reducing the hardship faced by residence in Epe Local Government?

Q17. What are your views on the subject that there is a fair representation of local projects decided on by the local people in your area? Please list out the projects

Q18. Please do share your views on the issue that top priority projects that are implemented by the Community Development Associations (CDAs) are determined at the local/municipal level

Q19. What are kind of feedback you do get from Epe Local Government after the budget implementation?

Q20. How is the feedback communicated to the local people after the budget implementation?

Q21. What is your impressions on the accounting procedure in Epe Local Government?

Q22. Does the residence of Epe Local Government communicate with the local government officials via the Social Media platforms such as facebook; twitter; whatsup and so on?

Q23. How effective is the use of social media to communicate between the residence and local government officials? Share your views.

Q24. Has the use of social media to communicate between Epe Local Government and the residence made participation of the local people more inclusive? Please share your views

Please do write freely any other comments not covered by the researcher

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Do you want to receive a copy of the report in summarized form?    Yes                      No

Please supply your email address and Phone Number:

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## **APPENDIX II**

### **QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DATA COLLECTION WITH PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING STAKEHOLDERS/OFFICE HOLDERS OF THE CDA IN EPE LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

#### **Programme: PhD, Political Science**

Question 1- Are you familiar with the term Participatory budgeting?

Question 2- Do you have knowledge of participatory budgeting?

Question 3- Do you understand the term Participatory budgeting?

Question 4- Have you ever taken part in Participatory budgeting?

Question 5- Do you take part in participatory budgeting in your locality?

Question 6-Do you understand the term participation?

Question 7-Have you ever participated in voting?

Question 8-Have you participated in town hall meetings?

Question 9-Have you ever acted as a Ward Councilor?

Question 10-Do you understand the practice of local government administration of Epe Local Government?

Question 11-Do you know how the budget is formulated in Epe Local Government?

Question 12-Have you contributed your views on this issue?

Question 13-Do you know that Participatory budgeting is to help the local people decide the priorities of projects in their areas?

Question 14-Are you aware that Participatory budgeting is to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor?

Question 15-Do you know what Community Development Association (CDA) is?

Question 16-Are you conversant with the programmes and activities of the Community Development Association?

Question 17-Do your neighbours and friends know about Community Development Associations?

Question 18-Do you know the roles of Community Development Associations (CDAs)?

Question 19-Are you aware that Epe Local Government prioritises/ draws up its budget?

Question 20-Have you been a delegate on the Community Development Associations (CDAs) in Epe Local Government?

Question 21-Do you understand how the Community Development Associations (CDAs) select delegates?

Question 22-Do you think that the CDA has assisted in facilitating the provision of basic social amenities such as Town halls, bore-hole water, clearing and grading of roads in Epe Local Government?

Question 23-Do you agree that through the provision of amenities such as Town halls, water, clearing, and grading of rural roads, the CDA has helped in reducing the hardship faced by residence in Epe Local Government?

Question 24-Does the Community Development Associations (CDAs) play the role of participatory budgeting agent in Epe Local Government?

Question 25-Do you think that there is a fair representation of local projects decided on by the local people in your area?

Question 26-Do you think that top priority projects that are implemented by the Community Development Associations (CDAs) are determined at the state level?

Question 27-Do you agree that the Community Development Associations (CDAs) are adequately funded by the state government to facilitate the gains of participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government?

Question 28-Is there a feedback mechanism after budget implementation in Epe Local Government?

Question 29-Is the feedback communicated to the local people after the budget implementation?

Question 30-Are you aware of projects such as Town halls, bore –water, clearing and grading of rural roads through participatory budgeting in Epe Local?

Question 31-How would you describe the accounting procedure in Epe Local Government?Is it transparent and accountable?

Qestion 32-Does Epe Local Government use social media to communicate with the residence on participatory budgeting?

Question33-Do the residents of Epe Local Government communicate with the local government officials via the Social Media?

Question 34-Do you agree that the use of social media to communicate between the residence and the local government officials is effective?



Question 35-Do you agree that the use of social media to communicate between Epe Local Government and the residence has made participation of the local people more inclusive?

Please do write freely any other comments not covered by the researcher

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Do you want to receive a copy of the report in summarized form?    Yes                      No

Please supply your email address and phone numbers:

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### **APPENDIX III**

#### **IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DATA COLLECTION WITH PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING STAKEHOLDERS/OFFICEHOLDERS OF THE CDA IN EPE LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

**Programme: PhD, Political Science**

Q1. Do you have the knowledge of the term “participatory budgeting”?

Q2. How would you describe the accounting procedure in Epe Local Government? Is it transparent and accurate?

Q3. Do you understand the practice in Local Government administration of Epe Local Government?

Q4. Have you taken part in participatory budgeting?

Q5. Do you know how budget is formulated in Epe Local Government?

Q6. Do you think that there is a fair representation of local projects decided on by the local people in Epe Local Government?

Q7. Do you think that there is effective feedback mechanism in participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government?

Q8. Do you think that participatory budgeting is being drawn back by lack of adequately qualified personnel in Epe Local Government?

Q9. Kindly explain the decision making process in participatory budgeting process in Epe Local Government.

Q10. What do you think are the problems of participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government? Please explain.

Do you want to receive a copy of the report in summarized form?   Yes                      No

Please supply your email address and phone numbers:

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## APPENDIX IV

### IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DATA COLLECTION WITH THE HEAD, BUDGETING, PLANNING, RESEARCH AND STATISTICS-EPE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

#### Programme: PhD, Political Science

Q1: What roles does your department play in the accounting process in Epe Local Government?

Q2: What roles does your department play in participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government?

Q3: Do you think that the Lagos State Government is sufficiently funding participatory budgeting projects in Epe Local Government such as electricity, water, good roads, health and so on?

Q4: How would you describe the accounting procedures in Epe Local Government? Is it transparent and accountable?

Q5: Do you think that the feedback mechanism from participatory budgeting from the state to the local government is effective and efficient?

Q6: What is the nature of decision making process in Epe Local Government?

Q7: What in your opinion constitute the major challenges to participatory budgeting in Epe Local Government?

Q8: What do you think are the solutions to these challenges?

Q9: What are the challenges facing the budgetary department in Epe Local Government?

Q10: What are the things that could be included to improve the budgeting department in Epe Local Government?

Any other general comment not covered by the researcher.

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Do you want to receive a copy of the report in summarized form? Yes No

Please supply your email address and phone numbers:

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