



Integration of Nigeria Local Authorities in the European Cooperation Programming Process 2021-2027

ANALYTICAL REPORT



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Table of Contents

S. N	Content	#
	Table of Contents	
	List of Tables and Figures	
1.	Introduction	3
1.2	Statement of Problem	3
1.3	Objectives of Report	3
1.4	Critical Questions	4
1.5	Methodology	4
1.6	Outline of Report	5
2.	Decentralization in Nigeria: Evolution and Constitutional Framework	5
2.1	Evolution of Local Government Administration in Nigeria	5
2.1.1	The Rise of Local Governments	6
2.1.2	The Post-Colonial Local Government	7
2.1.3	The Reform Era: Developmental Local Government	8
2.2	Current Powers and Functions of Local Government	10
2.2.1	Administrative and Political Status of Local Government	11
2.2.2	Fiscal Power/Constraints of Local Government	12
2.2.3	Functions of Local Governments	13
2.3	Intergovernmental Relations Management: Invitation to Struggle for Control	15
3	Is A New Political Agenda Based on Local Authorities at Country Level Feasible?	17
3.1	Fiscal Allocation of Resources	19
3.2	Towards Territorialising National Plans and Strategies	19
3.3	Federal Government and Local Authority (SNG) As Development Actors	22
3.4	Recognition of Value Added of Territorial Approach to Local Development	26
3.5	Opportunities and Constraints Arising from Decentralisation Reforms	28
4	A SWOT Analysis of ALGON	30
4.1	Strengths/Weaknesses/Opportunities/Threats of ALGON	30
4.1.1	Strengths	30
4.1.2	Weaknesses	30
4.1.3	Opportunities	31
4.1.4	Threats	31
4.2	Areas for Improvement	32
5	The State of the Art	32
5.1	Territorialisation of Global Programs	32
5.2	Territorialising National Policies and Strategies into Local Programmes	33
5.3	Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Other Global Programs in Nigeria	34
6	Lines and Priorities of Actions for:	36
6.1	Promoting Territorialization of Public Policies	36
6.2	Response to issues Arising from ALGON Quick SWOT Analysis	40
7	Conclusion/Tentative Roadmap	
8	Appendices/Bibliography	

1. Introduction

The Framework Partnership Agreements (FPAs) between EU Commission and five representatives of international and regional associations of local authorities, including the United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLGA), opened a new window of opportunity for national associations of local authorities to participate in the forthcoming EU programming process with representatives of the national governments in the dialogue with EU delegations. This is a very welcome development, however, the national association of local governments of Nigeria (ALGON) would need to make a convincing case for the EU to “engage much more at the local level and develop a mutually beneficial political partnership.” Thus, the Association of Local Governments of Nigeria (ALGON), is currently planning a national seminar to prepare the ground for the integration of local authorities as state actors in the European Union cooperation, particularly under the new Multi-annual Financial Framework (MFF) 2021/27. The action by ALGON is a follow-up to its activities during the programming process. Consequently, ALGON’s message to the European Union delegation is intended to:

- Reassure the EU on the feasibility and concrete modalities of a paradigm shift, by considering local authorities as a state actor (and no longer as a non-state actor), in accordance with the new guidelines adopted by the European Union;
- Place the EU in a position to assess the main challenges and opportunities offered by the integration of local authorities in European cooperation.

The expectation is to mainstream local authority participation in EU-supported sector policies and programmes, whether in agriculture, climate change, energy, migration, youth or gender issues. Also driving core public policies at the local level will integrate the diverging realities and needs of different areas in the country. However, the assumption is the existence of a national development-friendly decentralization policy, a placed-based dynamics from the bottom-up; and that a territorial approach to local development will complement the national government by unlocking the potential of territories, creating jobs, income and wealth. ALGON will have to reassure both the federal and state governments of the value this new approach will bring forth. This paper discusses the challenges and prospects.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The concern of the report is therefore to present an analytical report on the feasibility of a new political agenda that incorporates local authorities’ as development actors and essential partners at the country level in national plans, sectoral policies and strategies.

1.3 Objectives of the Report

This report will analyze both the feasibility of the political agenda based on local authorities as development actors, and as an essential partner in the implementation of public policies at the territorial level. The purpose is to provide a background document ahead of the national seminar (webinar) planned for the members of the national association of local authorities. The report analyses:

- The political context, in particular the state of relations between local authorities and national governments (challenges and opportunities);
- The prospects of implementing the national development plan, focusing more specifically on local development, the localization of public policies (including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and the added value of the Territorial Approach to Development (TALD); and
- The strategic and priority axes for the integration of local authorities in the cooperation of the European Union.

1.4 Critical Questions

The following questions will be addressed:

- To what extent has there been an evolution observed at the level of the central government with regard to the "territorialisation" of the main national plans and national sectoral policies? If so, why? (In terms of objectives pursued). How strong is the national commitment to integrate the spatial dimension in development management? Is the option of territorialization translated into specific plans and policies and clear implementation processes?
- To what extent does the Central Government consider Local Authorities as a "development actor" in its own right and an essential partner to be associated in the implementation of public policies at the territorial level (SDGs, Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs)? Or are they simply implementing agencies?
- To what extent does central government recognize the added value of Territorial Approaches to Local Development (TALD), spearheaded by the local authorities on the basis of their general mandate (if this general mandate exists in the country)?

1.5 Methodology

The study will be based on a desk review, mini focus group discussion and interviews. It will however adopt a political economy approach in order to address the various factors and nuances that affect the decentralization process, viewing it in two key phases: First, we will consider the upstream structural phase to identify what kind of decentralization a developing country wishes or chooses to undertake: a deconcentration, a delegation or devolution (decentralization) The approach and method used must be clear: it is not a matter of defining a theoretical norm for decentralization and forcing the country under study into the straight- jacket of this norm. The analysis addresses the definition and type of decentralization and how it materializes on an institutional level. Are the actions implemented on the ground to promote decentralization consistent with this stated political will?

The second phase unfolds downstream and relates to performance. Decentralization purports to fulfil manifold objectives: strengthen local governance, better serve local residents in line with their democratically expressed preferences, reduce local pockets of poverty, and stimulate and drive local development. The challenge is to target those objectives that have been set, not always explicitly, and to identify the explanatory variables that make it possible to quantify and assess the ground already covered. We

will thus examine the various forms of functional decentralization including the administrative, fiscal and political genres. It is impossible to judge progress in the areas of democracy, the fight against poverty, and local development without first establishing the causal relationship between decentralized functions, explanatory variables, and outcomes

1.6 Outline of Research

The study is divided into seven sections. In the next section, the evolution and constitutional framework will be examined, including some of the challenges of decentralization. Section 3 deals with those critical questions that would influence assessment of the feasibility of a new political agenda of local authority at country level. An ALGON SWOT Analysis and areas for improvement will be treated in section 4. State of the Art Concerning the Territorialization of national policies is analyzed in section 5 and Lines, followed with proposal on the lines and priorities of actions in section 6. The following section wraps up the report, concluding with appendices and bibliography.

2. Decentralization in Nigeria: Evolution and Constitutional Framework

2.1. Evolution of Local Government Administration in Nigeria

The colonial authority ran a parsimonious, lean administrative structure for maximum economic exploitation. It was not intended for local development so whatever improvements in the wellbeing of the people, particularly rural populations, were accidental. A journey that saw two separate protectorates and Lagos colony mechanically fused together in 1914 had become a tale of one country. The two protectorates were administered differently as southern and northern group of provinces. The central government presided over by a governor (only Lugard was governor general) devolved power to the two lieutenant governors who each had provincial officers known as residents right under the High Commissioners, and below were the divisional officers. Native Authority Ordinance, No. 4 of 1916, established the native authority system in the north where the existing traditional institution was incorporated into the colonial administration, as a means of resolving the challenges of governing vast geographical territory with huge population.

It was later introduced to the South, anchored on traditional system of the Emirs, Obas and appointed surrogates known as “warrant chiefs”, who exercised legislative, executive and judicial powers over local communities under the ultimate control of British authority. However, it was successful only in Northern Nigeria because it was structured after an existing traditional, social and political organization. It had a mixed result in the West but was a disaster in the East. The reason was not farfetched. Among the Yorubas in the west, the Obas (monarchs) were not absolute rulers by tradition. They governed with their councils (Oyomesi as in the Old Oyo empire) who were consulted before decisions were taken. Any decision without ratification of the council was bound to create some resentment, which was made even worse on matters such as taxation were alien to the people. In the east, the colonial-appointed “warrant chiefs” were perceived by the people as outright impostors, and an adulteration of local political

values (see Afigbo, 1992). British attempt to introduce taxation, particularly among the women folk, made matters worse and provided immediate cause for the Aba women riot of 1929 in the east. Times were moving fast even against the autocratic colonial system, whose idea of the native authority system was for maintenance of law and order, necessary for economic exploitation.

Another feature of indirect rule system was the near exclusion of educated Nigerians until in late the 1930's, when a handful played some insignificant roles under the traditional rulers. The exclusion of the emergent class was soon to brew bitterness against colonial rule and intense internal wrangling between the traditional rulers and the educated class. The buildup was urgent, inevitably catalyzed into strong opposition to the native authority system that attracted the attention of the colonial office in London. By 1947, the global mood for self-rule amongst others, prompted the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Arthur Creech Jones, to issue a dispatch to all Governors of African territories calling for the rapid development of an efficient and democratic system of local government (Kirk-Greene, 1965). Thus, on July 16, 1949 the Eastern House of Assembly adopted a memorandum, which gave effect to the Local Government Ordinance of 1950. The 1951 MacPherson Constitution consolidated such powers of the regional government to oversee "local government including the constitution and powers (including the power to levy rates) of native authority, township authorities and other local authorities established for the purpose of local and village administration" (item 20 of Third schedule of MacPherson Constitution).

2.1.1. The Rise of Local Governments

The 1950 Ordinance created an English model of local government administration adopting a three-tier system (namely, county, district and local councils), its principle of autonomy and principle of democracy. As Ogunna (1996) has correctly observed, "this Ordinance was a significant milestone in the development of local government in Nigeria as a whole as it marked the birth of responsible and democratic Local Government system in the country". Wraith (1972) corroborates that "it was a pioneer measure, which foretold the end of philosophies and practices that held the stage for nearly fifty years". The main features of the 1950 Ordinance were: first, it provided a three-tier system of local government, second, local government was granted the power of taxation as a source of funding. Other features were the newly given autonomy, democratization of the councils and the fact that traditional rulers were not given any position in the local government system. The regions now were in-charge of the local government system under their respective governments. By 1952, the Western Nigerian government came out with its own reforms under the western regional local government law of 1952. In most respects, the Western Nigerian local government system was the same with that of Eastern Nigeria. For example, it provided for three-tier local government structure – divisional, district (urban and rural) and local councils, and also empowered local governments to impose taxes.

The government of Northern Nigeria did not abolish the native authority system but merely modified it under the native authority law of 1954 to suit the changing political situation and the state of educational development in the region. It was a significant achievement, which marked the gradual move towards self-rule. It should be noted that three significant developments had occurred: first in the regions, the colonial administrators were not in control of the local governments. Second the educated class, who also constituted the political class, now assumed control of the regions. Finally, the top-down approach in the matters of local government system had not changed, what changed was the replacement of colonial administrators with Nigerians. The educated elite was now inching to power. With control and creation of local governments under the regional governments, the reform was significant for other reasons that would up till now determine the pace and effectiveness of the decentralization process and lay the foundation for the intergovernmental conflicts over the control of the local government system in Nigeria. Like before, the local government system in the hands of central (colonial) or regional governments (the educated Nigerians) remained instruments designed from above, devised for ends defined by the top including coercion and exploitation of the rural inhabitants.

2.1.2 The Post-Colonial Local Government

The attainment of independence by Nigeria in 1960 neither altered the use of local governments as exploitative instruments nor did the control of its structure in the hands of regional government bring desired change. This abuse of the local government system and the subversion of governance at the grass roots by the local leaders continued as their emergence and survival were not dictated by will of the people. Their allegiance and loyalty were with those who appointed and sustained them in office. The consequence was gripping endemic corruption, which had become a central operating principle in most local councils. According to Ottenberg (1969:29), “the most characteristic feature of corruption in the local government council in southern Nigeria is that it occurs throughout almost all levels of council activity”. The consequence was as Smock and Smock (1972) observe, “the general dissatisfaction with the way in which councils operated and particularly the way they were handling money made the regional government wary of increasing their funds and probably discouraged any efforts to transform the county councils into agents of rural development”. This was the situation in the local governments in the country when the military struck on January 15, 1966.

Between 1967 and 1975 was a period of searching and researching for what types of local government and what structures each of the states should have. As Ezeani observes, “this was the time when the local government system in the country was undergoing a most searching re-appraisal.” Oyediran (1985) confirms the view and describes the period as “the confused years of the Gowon administration in the area of local government, when many and varied experiments were tried by many states”. The experimentation was sporadic and uncoordinated, including the creation of twelve-state (regional) structure, each having its own idea of how to organize its administration, hoping to connect with the local population. The situation is best described as state of total confusion everywhere. For example, Oladosu (1986) records the discordance as “the period of Council manager system in Western State, Development Administration

in Bendel State, and Divisional administration in then East Central state and Benue Plateau state. While there was a return to local government authority in Kano and Kwara States, it was local native authority in the North Central State, North-Eastern State and North-Western State. No wonder, then East Central State administrator (Ezeani: 2015) confesses, “the inability of local governments to act as viable agents for rural development, and the back log of historical failures to establish a viable system of councils had led to the ethnic unions becoming the real local government of the area”.

He continues, “Some 80 per cent of Eastern Nigeria’s primary schools were built and maintained either entirely or partially by local contributions. In 1966, the government owned less than 1 percent of the 6, 000 primary schools, and the local councils operated just about 25 percent of the schools. This trend was maintained in other areas such as health, roads, et cetera. Hence, the initiative of communities compensated to some extent, for the inability of the East Central State local government to penetrate down to local level”. It was the same ugly situation that existed in other parts of the country. Local governments have over the years suffered from both self-inflicted catastrophe and the continuous whittling down of their powers. The state governments have continued to encroach upon what would normally have been the exclusive preserve of the local government. Lack of adequate funds and appropriate institutions had continued to make local government ineffective and ineffectual. In the end, the local governments in the various states of the federation have been unable to make any serious impact in rural development.

2.1.3 The Reform Era: Developmental Local Government

The inability of the local government system during this period to serve as a viable instrument for rural transformation led to the nation-wide local government reform of 1976. The Guidelines for Local Government Reform of 1976 succinctly captured the motive. As it argues, “the defects of previous local government systems are too well known to deserve further elaboration here. Moreover, the staffing arranging to ensure a virile local government system had been inadequate. Excess politicking had made even progress impossible. Consequently, there has been a divorce between the people and government institutions at their most basic level”. Due to this catalogue of problems, “the objective of the reform was to establish local government as the third tier of government in the nation so that local government should do precisely what the word ‘government’ implies, that is, governing at the grassroots or local level” (Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976:16). This reform is significant in many respects.

Rather than a multiplicity of wild experimentation as was seen in the 1967 – 1975 period highlighted above, the reforms boldly provided a uniform single –tier, multi-purpose system of local government with a list of functions. Federal funding was provided by the reforms, and later enshrined in the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In addition, it made a clear-cut distinction between local government and traditional authority, thereby shielding the traditional rulers from active participation in partisan politics and involvement in local government matters. Most significantly, local government administration was democratized, with Councils

constituted by elected members. To address manpower problem, the reform sought to strengthen the local government bureaucracy by the establishment of a Local Government Service Board “to recruit qualified staff for the local government and to deploy them appropriately” (FRN,1998:1).

However, the empowerment of local governments by the federal government was a little short in providing the full enablement for the intended developmental local government system. There were some gray areas that allowed states superintendence. It could have been for a purpose. By placing the states in a quasi-supervisory role whether in holding election, legislative control in terms of local government elections, tenure, structures, operations and provision that allowed transferring local governments’ shares of consolidated funds through the states, these were sufficient to rein in the councils, also taking into account local peculiarities and diversity. However, unfortunately the gaps were exploited with the return to civilian rule (1979-1983) in the Second Republic. Instead of being used to address specific local conditions, It was converted for personal political ends, marking the beginning of the struggle of the control of local government system between the federal and the states that has since blossomed as a core issue in the management of intergovernmental relations. State governments would dissolve elected councils before their tenures ran out, misappropriate councils’ funds, appoint protégés as members of “interim management committee” instead of democratically elected chairmen and councilors regardless of the constitutional guarantees. The situation has slipped back, in some cases to the pre-reform era as local government electoral process has completely been taken over by the state governments, through the Independent State Electoral Commission (ISEC), which has notoriously become a political recruitment agency of the states.

It would appear that the main concern of the Second Republic politicians was to protect their political interests and not the improvement of the lives of the rural dwellers, who were simply manipulated and exploited by them. It was time to create “jobs for the boys”, extend political roots in friendly areas and improve the likelihood to retain power at the next election. Thus, viable social development programmes that could have benefited the lower class individuals and raised their economic and social standards were hardly implemented. What emerged from the above discussion is that local governments in Nigeria once again were in parlous and perilous states of existence and were badly in need of help when the military struck in December 1983, and the Second Republic collapsed. It was therefore a sign for restoration when the military took over under General Muhammadu Buhari, immediately directed that abolition of local governments created by the civilian administration. Once more, the military federalists seemed determined to establish vibrant development local government system to vigorously pursue rural development.

The Ibrahim Dasuki Local Government Review Panel was a restoration of the gains brought forth in the 1976 reforms: decision to forward local government revenue allocation directly to them, the December 1987 local government election, the dissolution of the ministry of local government in 1988 and its replacement with a department of local government in the Governor’s office. Also, in the same 1988, the civil service reform was extended to local government. By this measure, the Chairman

of a local government became its chief executive and the accounting officer. All these reforms were aimed at enhancing the autonomy of the local government so as to enable it perform its role of rural development. The autonomy of local government was further enhanced by June 1991 by the enactment of the local government (Basic Constitutional and Transitional Provisions) (Amendment) No 23 Decree, which extended the Presidential system to local government administration. By this Decree, the local government's council acquired full autonomy to approve the local budget and to pass by-laws. These reforms were reinforced by enhanced revenue allocations from the Federal Account; an increase from 10% to 15% in 1990 and to 20% in 1992 and currently 20.67%. Thus, in addition to expanded autonomy, Nigerian local governments also gained substantially bigger revenues to enable them achieve rural development.

However, it was the same federal government that began the “delocalization process” due to alleged poor performance of the local governments and their inability to make “any significant impact in the area of rural development”. In the 1995 guidelines the local governments were to be submitted to stricter control of the state governments as in the pre-reform years. Yet it was the same military government that kept fiddling with matters of local government, creating more local governments at will in 1989, 1991 and 1995 contrary to the ban it had earlier imposed in 1984 and with scant respect to its established parameters on viability, efficiency and service delivery. The number of local governments in Nigeria increased from 301 in 1984 to 449 in 1989, 589 in 1991 and 774 from 1996 to date, all under successive military administrations. It was again a season for “jobs for boys” and since the local governments were now sufficiently resourced as a full-fledged partaker of the consolidated federal revenue, the more local governments “I can get for my people, the larger our share of the national cake,” it was a descent from patrimonialism to prebendalism. It is therefore at the root of so-called non-performance when the issue of local government creation became subject to the malaise of politicization and ethicization reduced to a very parochial level. Local governments were now viewed as slush funds for the elite and their cronies and has equally become an arena worthy of intergovernmental struggle for control between the federal and states.

2.2 Current Powers and Functions of Local Government

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN) 1999, as amended, provides for three tiers of government (See section 318). Below we describe the local governments and juxtapose our comments against the functional aspects of decentralization, which are administrative, fiscal and political. There are 768 local government councils and 6 area councils making up 774 in section 1 (6) and listed under Part I and II of first Schedule of CFRN. Democratically elected council members is enshrined under Section 7 as follows:

(4) The Government of a State shall ensure that every person who is entitled to vote or be voted for at an election to a House of Assembly shall have right to vote or voted for at an election to a local government council.

2.2.1 Administrative and Political Status of Local Government

Section 7 provides that:

(1) The system of Local Government by democratically elected local government councils is under this Constitution guaranteed; and accordingly, the Government of every State shall, subject to section 8 of this constitution, ensure their existence under a Law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils.

(2) The person authorized by law to prescribe the area over which a local government council may exercise authority shall-

- Define such area as clearly as practicable; and
- Ensure to the extent to which it may be reasonably justifiable, that in defining such area regard is paid –
 - The common interest of the community in the area
 - Traditional association of community and
 - Administrative convenience.
- It shall be the duty of a local government council within the state to participate in economic planning and development of the area referred to in subsection (2) of this section and to this end an economic planning board shall be established by a law enacted by the House of Assembly of the State.
- The Government of a State shall ensure that every person who is entitled to vote or be voted for at an election to a House of Assembly shall have right to vote or voted for at an election to a local government council.
- The functions to be conferred by law upon local government councils shall include those set out in the Fourth schedule to the constitution.

Apart from recognition of the local governments as the third tier created by the constitution, the power of supervision is vested in the States' House of Assembly including the power to originate creation of a local government: For a new local government to be created, CFRN provides in section 8:

3) A bill for a Law of a House of Assembly for the purpose of creating a new Local government area shall only be passed if-

(a) a request supported by at least two-thirds majority of members (representing the area demanding the creation of the new local government area) in each of the following, namely-

- The House of Assembly in respect of the area, and
- The local government councils in respect of the area is received by the House of Assembly
- a proposal for the creation of local government area is thereafter approved in a referendum by at least two-thirds majority of the people of the local government area where the demand for the proposed local government area originated;

- the result of the referendum is approved by a simple majority of the members in each local government council in a majority of all the local government councils in the State; and
- the result of the referendum is approved by the resolution passed by two-thirds majority of members of the House of Assembly.
- An Act of the National Assembly passed in accordance with this section shall make consequential provisions with respect to the names and headquarters of States or local government areas as provided in section 3 of this constitution and in part I and II of the first schedule to this constitution.
- For the purpose of enabling the National Assembly to exercise the powers conferred upon it by subsection (5) of this constitution, each House of assembly shall after the creation of more local government areas pursuant to subsection (3) of this section, make adequate returns to each House of National Assembly.

2.2.2 Fiscal Power/Constraints of Local Government - Each local government is entitled to two sources of constitutional guaranteed revenue streams, namely Section 162 (3):

Any amount standing to the credit of the Federation Account shall be distributed among the Federal and State Governments and the local government Councils in each State on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by National Assembly.

(3) The amount standing to the credit of local government councils in the Federation account shall also be allocated to the States for the benefit of their local government councils in the terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by National Assembly.

(6) Each State shall maintain a special account to be called “state Joint Local Government Account” into which shall be paid all allocation to the local government councils of the State from the Federation Account and from Government of the State.

(7) Each state shall pay to local government Councils in its area of jurisdiction such proportion of its total revenue on such terms and in such a manner as may be prescribed by National assembly.

However, under this arrangement, both the scope of fiscal powers of the local government can be altered, as they often do. See Section 7 (6) of the Constitution provides that:

- a) The National Assembly shall make provisions for statutory allocation of public revenue to local government councils in the Federation; and
- b) The House of Assembly of a State shall make provisions for statutory allocation of public revenue to local government councils within the State; and

Similarly section 162 (8) provides that “the amount standing to the credit of local government Councils of a State shall be distributed among the local government Councils of that state on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the House of Assembly of the State”.

2.2.3 Functions of Local Governments

Table 1 below shows the local governments in Nigeria whose functions are provided under Section 7 as follows:

(3) It shall be the duty of a local government council within the state to participate in economic planning and development of the area referred to in subsection (2) of this section and to this end an economic planning board shall be established by a law enacted by the House of Assembly of the State; and; Section 7(5) The functions to be conferred by law upon local government councils shall include those set out in the Fourth schedule to the constitution, section 7.

Table 1: Population, Local Governments in Nigeria

State	Area (sq km)	Population	No. of LGAs
Abia	4,900	2,845,380	17
Adamawa	38,700	3,178,950	21
Akwa Ibom	6,900	3,902,051	31
Anambra	4,865	4,177,828	21
Bauchi	49,119	4,653,066	20
Bayelsa	9,059	1,704,515	8
Benue	30,800	4,253,641	23
Borno	72,609	4,171,104	27
Cross River	21,787	2,892,988	18
Delta	17,108	4,112,445	25
Ebonyi	6,400	2,176,947	13
Edo	19,187	3,233,366	18
Ekiti	5,435	2,398,957	16
Enugu	7,534	3,267,837	17
FCT	7,607	1,406,239	6
Gombe	17,100	2,365,040	11
Imo	5,288	3,927,563	27
Kano	20,280	9,401,288	44
Katsina	23,561	5,801,584	34
Kebbi	36,985	3,256,541	21
Kogi	27,747	3,314,043	21
Kwara	35,705	2,365,353	16
Lagos	3,671	9,113,605	20
Nasarawa	28,735	1,869,377	13
Niger	68,925	3,954,772	25
Ogun	16,400	3,751,140	20
Ondo	15,820	3,460,877	18
Osun	9,026	3,416,959	30
Oyo	26,500	5,580,894	33
Plateau	27,147	3,206,531	17
Rivers	10,575	5,198,716	23
Sokoto	27,825	3,702,676	23
Taraba	56,282	2,294,800	16
Yobe	46,609	2,321,339	17

Source: NBS, 2010

The position of local government and area councils as provided below under the fourth Schedule (section 7) as follows:

The main functions of Local Government Council are as follows-

- (a) the consideration and making of recommendations to State commission on economic planning or any similar body-
 - (i) the economic development of the State, particularly in do far as the area of authority of council and of the State are affected and
 - (ii) proposals made by the said commission or body;
- (b) collection of rates, radio and television licenses
- (c) establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial ground and homes for destitute
- (d) licensing of bicycles, trucks (other than mechanical propelled trucks), canoes, wheel barrows and carts;
- (e) establishment: maintenance and regulation of slaughter houses, slaughter slabs, markets motor parks and public conveniences
- (f) construction and maintenance of roads, Streets, Streets lightings drainages other public highways parks gardens open spaces, or such public facilities as may be prescribed from time to time by the House of Assembly of a State
- (g) naming of roads and streets and numbering of houses
- (h) provision and maintenance of public conveniences, sewage and refuse disposal
- (i) registration of all births, death and marriages
- (j) assessment of privately owned houses or tenement for the purpose of levying such rates as may be prescribed by the House of Assembly of a State
- (k) control and regulation of-
 - (i) out-door advertising and hoarding
 - (ii) movement and keeping of pets of all description
 - (iii) shops and kiosk
 - (iv) restaurants bakeries and other places for sale of food to the public
 - (v) laundries and
 - (vii) licensing, regulation and control of the sales of liquor.

2. The functions of a local government council shall include participation of such council in Government of a State as respects the following matters-

(a) the provision and maintenance of primary, adult and vocational Education

(b) the development of Agriculture and natural resources other than the exploitation

(c) the provision and maintenance of health services and

(d) such other functions as may be conferred on local government council by House of Assembly of the State.

2.3 Intergovernmental Relations Management: Invitation to Struggle for Control

Unlike most African countries whose quick march towards decentralization was under some influences and incentives from the development partners, the military government (Murtala/Obasanjo) in Nigeria regarded the process as part of its overall agenda to rejig and reform governance. Or perhaps consolidate power at the centre! The 1976 reforms was a milestone. Apart from being the government closest to the grassroots, activating democratic processes at the local government level also provided twin benefits: a training and recruitment ground for eventual national politics and ushering in the disengagement phase of the military from governance by “re-civilianizing” the polity. The style though consistent with the colonial and post-colonial habit of assigning powers “top-down”, this time around encroached the assumed “rights” of intermediate level of governance (region/state) over local governments which the MacPherson constitution had donated to the regions in 1951, and consolidated under the Nigeria’s Constitution of 1954 which strengthened the regions. However, from 1976 through 1999, the swing towards decentralization had strengthened the federal government, which had extended its powers in the exclusive list from 48 items to 67, together with the control of more than 30 items in concurrent list with the states as junior partners.

Two sets of problems have thus arisen. First was the military so committed to rural development for the sake of the rural populace, or was it a guise for power grab by the centre to get control of the proverbial “honeycomb”? In other words, did the military federalists buoyed by own pursuit for political settlement and legitimization merely exploit the situation, ending up weakening the state and expanding federal government sphere of control? Was it part of the agenda of the military federalist to whittle down the power and capacity of the state to pose a threat to the unity of the country? These questions are still subject to intense debate as the Abdulsalami’s last military administration shied away from resolving those booby traps that ensnared the viability of the local government but rather preserved them in the 1999 constitution, he crafted for the return of civil rule in 1999. Regrettably, these bottlenecks have continued to militate against positive developmental reforms of the local governments, defining a new arena of intergovernmental conflicts.

Adamolekun defines intergovernmental relations as interactions that take place among different levels of government within a country and has identified about six forms of intergovernmental relations: the federal/states, federal/local governments, federal/states/local governments, interstates, states/local governments and inter-local governments relations. Regarding federal/states, it is to be noted that the tension has risen to the point of agitation for restructuring whereby the federal powers and resources should be trimmed down in favour of the states. It is yet to be addressed in spite of four efforts at constitutional amendments/alterations and the half-hearted attempt to introduce the topic as an election issue since the inception of Nigeria's fourth Republic in 1999. While the People's Democratic Party promised to restructure during the 2019 general elections' campaigning, it was short on details. For the ruling party, the All Progressives Congress, the response was knee-jerk - set up an Ad-hoc Committee on Restructuring whose conduct and report remained a joke. As a matter of fact the subject has remained just on the pages of the newspaper and was not considered important enough in the past efforts at constitutional alteration exercises.

These attempts at constitutional alterations failed to strengthen local governments in Nigeria because the process involves passage of a federal bill on the subject with a concurrence of at least two-thirds of all the states (House of Assembly). Neither the Houses of Assembly nor the governors would let go of their control of local governments. The weakening of the local government also has another implication. Unable to perform to expectation, major stakeholders in the civil society would hardly understand the handicaps of the local governments so they have become indifferent to the situation. In the end, the states still have deprived the councils of its constitutionally entrenched fiscal autonomy in spite of consistent judicial pronouncements against them in matter of local government autonomy. There is no sanction against a governor for contravention in view of section 308, conferring both criminal and civil immunity on the governors while they are in office. For the federal government, it has now become an alibi for it to multiply de-concentrated bodies to access local governments rather than pass through the local governments whose role in policy formulation; implementation and monitoring would have achieved greater sustainable ownership and impact. How the situation can be addressed will be the topic for the rest of the study, using political economy as a framework.

However, we argue that so long as the federal government holds on its humongous powers and resources against the states, so also the states deploy all tricks to exploit and extract maximum benefits from their constitutional superintendence over the local governments. As the junior arm of subnational government, the local governments continue to groan in spite of being presented as the third tier of government. Our concern in the rest of the report is to consider the constraints as they arise from and affect the relationship between the local governments and other levels of government and how the two can collaborate to bring forth local development. In other words, the rest of our inquiry will deal with how to resolve the state of intergovernmental tension that impinge effective local development.

3. Is A New Political Agenda Based on Local Authorities at Country Level Feasible?

The idea of new political agenda deals with the advocacy and primacy of local development paradigm as a replacement for the time worn centrally led top-down development policies which have not been able to contend with the complexities of sustainable development and eradication of poverty. The territorial approach to local development (TALD), as the new approach, has been defined as “a multi-dimensional *national* policy that promotes *endogenous, integrated, multi-scalar and incremental* local development”. (X). The major promise in adopting and promoting the TALD, as a key component of the national development policy, is the potential of enhancing local development for a country’s economic growth, social cohesion and environmental sustainability, thus providing the “missing link between decentralization reforms and development outcomes” in such critical areas like health, education, housing, gender issues etc. Barca (2009) aptly describes the underlying motivation of local development approach as “a long-term strategy aimed at tackling persistent underutilization of potential and reducing persistent social exclusion in the specific places through external interventions and multilevel governance”. As a result, territorial approach to local development promotes the supply of integrated goods and services tailored to contexts and triggers institutional changes.”

The EU posits that local authorities’ involvement in democratic participation in decision making is vital for uniform development since they are closer to the people. And as such it is desirable, and perhaps feasible to involve local authorities to mobilize and serve as catalysts for change in the local communities, empowering and strengthening service delivery and promoting more inclusive development processes. United City and Local Government (UCLG: 2019) further underscores the point by recalling that the relevance, practicality and seeming universal adoption of the place-based approach by recalling that:

In 2015 and 2016, world leaders came together to set a historic milestone in multilateral cooperation with the adoption of global agreements towards sustainable development. The 2030 Agenda and the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, the New Urban Agenda, the Paris Agreement on climate change, the Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on Financing for Development all showcased a global will to respond to today’s global challenges through the adoption of a firm rights-based approach.

In as much as several bodies have been championing the adoption of local development, it is equally important to stress that there is still some work to be done. As UCLGA correctly advises, in its Orientation Notes (x), “this new programming exercise offers not only an opportunity but shall be the duty of local and regional governments to take full role and responsibility and show their capacity to engage in a meaningful dialogue on the strategic priorities to be adopted for the new cooperation agenda with national governments on the one hand, and with the EU delegation on the other hand”. The role for the national association of local authorities is to initiate a network for this purpose.

Since the reference is to local authorities, it is arguable whether the association of local governments in Nigeria (ALGON) can clearly assume that capacity to represent the entirety of local authorities in Nigeria. Still any reference to Local Authority (LA), as a product of decentralization reforms in a federation like Nigeria, is a bit problematic and needs some clarification leading to two interpretations: local authority as local governments or both states and local governments as subnational governments.

For example, European Commission (2013) refers to Local Authority “as public institutions with legal personality, component of the State structure, below the level of central government and accountable to the citizens” which is “composed of a deliberative policy-making body (council or assembly) and an executive body.” But its boundary seems elastic, ranging from encompassing “different tiers of government, e.g. villages, municipalities counties to provinces, regions, etc.”. However in the same document, it would appear that reference to local authority by the Commission focuses on the municipal level, that is local governments, as local authority. But at other times, such references and use of the term Local Authority are within the context of local and regional governments (LRG), that is the sub-national governments (SNG). For example UCLG (2019) lists Nigeria as a federation with a total of 811 LRGs, being the total number of local governments (774) and states (37) including Abuja. In other words, LRG and LA can be used interchangeably. The question then is how does one define a local authority in Nigeria? At what level of the decentralization process do we anchor territorialisation?

World Bank report (2009) has observed that, “decentralization is a political act. It is driven by political considerations, and its outcome will depend on how the political forces that stand to gain stack up against those that may lose.” To understand the dynamics of decentralization and territorialisation in Nigeria, it is important to probe along “the interaction of political and economic processes in a society: the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals, and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time.” (DFID: 2009). In this instance what is important in our analysis is the feasibility of taking governance to the sub-national levels where the expectations of local development can be better realised. Two scenarios arise.

I argue that local authority in Nigeria federation defined within the context of subnational governments, the new political agenda at the national level is fairly feasible. See Table 3.1, which shows the direct fiscal transfer to the states and local government councils. The case of subnational government as local authority is presented as Scenario 1 (S2).

Table 3.1 Fiscal Allocation of Resources

Period	% share going to			
	Federal Government	State Government	Local Government	Special Funds
*1981	55	35	10	-
1989	50	30	15	5
1993	48.5	24	20	7.5
1994	48.5	24	20	7.5
1992-1999	48.5	24	20	7.5
May 2002	56	24	20	-
March 2004 till date	**52.68	26.72	20.60	-
Current Bill still under consideration at the National Assembly	53.69	31.10	15.21	-

Source: Revenue Act of 1981

For full assessment of the feasibility of territorialising local development as a national policy, I also will present a Scenario 2 (S2) where local government is referred to as the local authority and is assisted to regain its governance and fiscal autonomy.

3.2 Towards Territorialising National Plans and Strategies

Scenario 1 – The first step in scenario 1 (S1) is to build a coalition of subnational governments to be initiated by ALGON working with the Nigeria Governors Forum (NGF) to present strategic priorities to be adopted for the new cooperation agenda with national governments on the one hand, and with the EU delegation on the other hand. Similarly, such a consensual position leads to a second step, which will determine functions and roles within the subnational governments decided on principle of subsidiarity. The later stage may need to be incentivised. With healthy state-local government relations based on cooperative strategy, where assignments of tasks to the respective tiers and platforms are to be determined on the principle of subsidiarity, a new political agenda of territorialising national plans and strategies is feasible.

The Nigerian constitution has sufficiently recognised the importance of Local Authorities (LAs) either as local governments or as the broader local and regional governments (LRGs) (X). For example, the provisions of basic services—primary education and health, water and sanitation, and local roads have been granted to the LRGs, so it would appear to have taken due cognizance of “evolution of territorialisation.” The cooperation of the subnational government to address immediate needs of the people is further strengthened by section 1(3), which expressly provides that it “shall be the duty of a local government council within the state to participate in economic planning and development of the area referred to in subsection (2) of this section and to this end an economic planning board shall be established by a law enacted

by the House of Assembly of the State”. Consideration of scenario 2 (S2), with doubtful prospect follows after S1.

Prospect of a new political agenda that puts the local authorities (LRG) at the centre based on scenario 1 is summarised below:

- Administrative decentralization – the current framework has sufficiently recognized their (LRG) roles in the formulation and implementation, monitoring and evaluation of national plans and strategies. The next steps as a joint demand will easily lead to either some form of transfer of functions by federal agencies (deconcentrated powers) in the states/local governments or greater liaison and exchanges. The end product is not just that more will be accomplished with same funding but “no one will be left behind”.
- Fiscal decentralization – there are ample provisions in Nigeria’s constitution on fiscal transfers from the federation accounts by virtue of sections 162 and 164. Areas of controversy include the relative shares of the tiers and the control of tax base. With smoother intergovernmental relations between states and local governments, a workable formula should be developed in terms of the vexatious States Joint Local Government Account (SJLGA). More foreign financing is likely to be attracted to the states/local governments with a shift towards local ownership of development initiatives, hence providing higher degree of sustainability.
- Political decentralization – the constitution provides the states full autonomy and for local governments, each state House of Assembly determines the issues of structure, administration and finances. However, the constitution also provides for a state Planning Commission and similar structures where the local governments have a right of membership. Harmonizing the activities of the subnational government will not only remove duplications and wastes, such synergy and economies of scale will lead to efficient and effective deployment of resources. In the context discussed above, efficiency is predicated on the ability of sub-national governments to understand and act on the needs and preferences of local people better than the central government. Without a well-developed and broadly inclusive local political process, this is impossible and fiscal and institutional decentralisation will not meet their intended goals.

Scenario II deals with the situation if ALGON without NGF coalition, on its own pursues the new agenda that puts local governments as LA at the centre. The approach presents a number of complications, which requires constitutional amendments and/or legal interpretations. However, an independent approach as a line of action seems to derive strength from Imhanlahimi’s (2016) interpretation of the Nigerian constitution, which according to him, does not harbour ambiguity. He argues that, “local government (LG) by the Nigerian Federal Government leaves one with no iota of doubt that it is both theoretically sound and service oriented to the people. It talks of representative councils with substantial control over local affairs, for the provision of services and implementation of projects in their areas to complement the activities of both the State and Federal governments.”

Local governments in Nigeria may have been so intended in the 1976 and 1986 reforms, but they are under the clutches of the states. Could a new political agenda that recognizes Local Authority strictly as local governments, at the central level be feasible? It needs further assessment. Under the current Nigerian constitution, the lone-ranger approach if taken by ALGON may be quite daunting as illustrated below:

- Administrative decentralization – by section 7(1) of the constitution, among others provides that “the Government of every State shall, subject to section 8 of this constitution, ensure their existence under a Law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils”. Given this section, it is clear that local government legislations in Nigeria lack uniformity as each state can validly determine the structure and functions of its local government councils. Apart from the unwieldiness of the arrangement in terms of collective agitation and demands, it constricts and constrains the latitude of the umbrella association in terms of negotiation. Besides, before any demand is adopted it must perforce conform to the various legislations from the 36 states. Almost all such legislations do intentionally subordinate the roles of the councils to the states thus restricting their scope for territorializing national development plans and strategies.
- Fiscal decentralization – many scholars (Andrews and Schroeder, and Olowu and Conyers) have argued that without properly defined fiscal decentralization, political and institutional decentralization would have little impact. Crook (2009) captures the essence and implications of fiscal decentralization as he advances that “poorly articulated roles and resource deficiencies can cripple local governments and undermine incentives for local officials and elected representatives to perform effectively. Similarly, if local people participate in public decision-making processes and see no concrete result because local officials have inadequate power and resources to deliver services, they may become disillusioned and cynical about local government.” Although section 162(3) on one hand brings local government to partake in the fiscal transfer from the federation account, same section in subsection (5) routes such transfers through the states and locks it up in subsection (6) in a joint accounts, shared in such manner that will be determined by state House of Assembly. Although the federal government and its agencies (x) backed by a good number of judicial reviews have been made to support the rights of local government councils, it requires a clear constitutional amendment to free the local government councils from stranglehold of the states.
- Political decentralization – the constitution clearly empowers each State House of Assembly to determine how the local governments falling within their domain is administered. Without a well-developed and broadly inclusive local political process, this is impossible and fiscal and institutional decentralisation will not meet their intended goals. In addition, Section 7(3) of the 1999 constitution empowers the state government to conduct local government election, create its own electoral commission for that purpose. The state government has often usurped the autonomy of the local government by refusing to conduct election into the local government but rather sack elected

officials replacing them by appointing their acolytes as administrator or interim of caretaker management committee.

Also, a common practice by the federal government is to assign or create (adopting de-concentration approach) its agencies in the states/local government areas such federally determined functions and responsibilities. What is often provided in national plans and strategies has been some form of geopolitical spread in terms of distribution of federal interventions extending to states and local government areas. It is also worth noting that Nigeria Development Plans including the current vision 20:2020, Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP) 2017/2020, National Adaptation strategy and Plan of Action on Climate Change for Nigeria (NASPA-CCN) and the post-ERGP 2021-2030 Agenda either identify territories in their coverage, or assigned both states and local governments certain implementation roles/indicators or both. (Annex *). Most times the local governments are not directly involved or requested to make direct inputs in formulation or execution of national plans since they are subsumed under their respective state planning commissions. It is the states that are usually invited either to make inputs at the planning stage, as well as partake in the monitoring and evaluation (M&E), or they are enjoined to reflect such national policy themes and thrusts in their respective plans.

Finally, in the present constitution, the line of demarcation between the responsibilities of the state and local governments is blurry, faint and so does not have a clear legal delineation. It is clear that the state-local government relations can be described as example of the overlapping-authority model (Wright 1986), rather than a coordinate-authority model of “independent and autonomous” entities. One sure way to strengthen local governments’ territorial (local) development and enhanced service delivery is to improve the degree of coordination, cooperation and collaboration at the sub-national levels. This can be achieved in two ways: first is to strengthen the existing mechanisms and institutions for intergovernmental policy of coordination and collaboration within the subnational governmental context. The second option is to seek a constitutional amendment that clearly separates the two entities, granting autonomy and accountability to the local governments or seeking judicial interpretation of existing constitutional provisions in respect of the autonomy and fiscal autonomy of the local governments.

Our engagement entry point will then depend on choice of scenario to adopt, either as a whole or modified but without equivocation the new political agenda is feasible within the subnational engagement approach.

3.3 Federal Government and Local Authority (SNG) As Development Actors

There is ample evidence that the motivation of the 1976 and 1986 Reforms, which many regard as the foundation for developmental local government system in Nigeria was to ensure to improve the welfare of the people. The 1976 reform provides, “the objective of the reform was to establish local government as the third tier of government in the nation so that local government should do precisely what the word ‘government’ implies, that is, governance at the grassroots or local level.” (Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976:16). Similarly, the Nigerian constitution clearly provided for

subnational governments as development actors in addition to the federal government's exclusive responsibilities in matters of national concern such as defense, foreign affairs, regulation, and monetary policy. Other functions, broadly in accordance with standard international practice, at Part I of the Second Schedule provides as follows:

Shipping; Federal trunk roads; Aviation; Railways; Posts, telegraphs and telephones; Police and other security services; Regulation of labor, interstate commerce, telecommunications; Mines and minerals; Social Security; Insurance; National statistical system; National Parks; Water resources affecting more than one state etc.

Part II contains the concurrent legislative list on which both the federal and state governments can act in the following areas: Antiquities and monuments; Electricity; Industrial, commercial and agricultural development; Scientific and technological research; Statistics and surveys; University, technological and post-primary education; Health and social welfare. For the subnational governments, Fourth Schedule provides the list of functions and such responsibilities of service delivery in the areas of primary, adult and vocational education; health services; development of agriculture and non-mineral natural resources as concurrently shared between the states and local governments. The local governments are assigned a minimum of the following functions: Economic planning and development; Cemeteries, burial grounds; Homes for the destitute and infirm; Markets; Sewage and refuse disposal; Roads, streets, street lighting, drains, other public facilities and such other functions as may be conferred on local government council by House of Assembly of the State.

Beyond constitutional recognition of subnational governments as development actor, they remain the backbone in localizing both national and global plans and strategies. The formulation and implementation of the first national development plan in the fourth Nigerian Republic premised on Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan (PRSP) marked the introduction of territorialisation of national development plan and strategies. Code-named National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies (NEEDS) 2003/2007 was a plan on the ground and founded on a clear vision, sound values, and enduring principles. As medium-term plan/strategy, it anchored on the country's long-term goals of poverty reduction, wealth creation, employment generation and value re-orientation.

As NEEDS was a nationally coordinated framework of action, it maintained a close collaboration with the states and local governments. While the plan for the states was referred to as State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy, (SEEDS), the local governments with major stakeholders in their various communities came up with Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (LEEDS), all focused on building a solid foundation for the attainment of Nigeria's long-term vision of becoming the largest and strongest African economy and a key player in the world economy (NPC, 2004). See appendix X as an illustration of the effort coordinated by the author for more than 30 local governments. Similarly, the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Ezeani (2012), in notes that, "nationally

defined targets are adapted to the local context to meet the development needs and priorities of specific communities. At the same time the resulting localized development targets must help achieve the country's overall development strategy".

Table 3.2 below summarises the respective roles of the three tiers and their agencies in the implementation of MDGs.

S/N	Goals	Roles and Responsibilities
1	Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	Lead: Federal Government Partners: National and state assemblies, states and local governments, civil society, private sector and international development partners.
2	Attain universal primary education in all countries by 2015	Lead: States and local governments Partners: Federal government, national and state assemblies, civil society, private sector and international development partners.
3	Promote gender equality and empower women	Lead: Federal Government Partners: National and state assemblies, states and local governments, civil society, private sector, international development partners.
4	Reduce child mortality	Lead: States and local governments Partners: Federal government, national and state assemblies, civil society, private sector and international development partners.
5	Improve maternal health	Lead: States and local governments Partners: Federal government, national and state assemblies, civil society, private sector and international development partners.
6	Combat HIV/AIDS and other diseases	Lead: Federal Government Partners: National and state assemblies, states and local governments, civil society, private sector and international development partners.
7	Ensure environmental sustainability	Lead: Federal government Partners: National and state assemblies, states and local governments civil society, private sector and international development partners.
8	Develop a global partnership for development	Lead: Federal government Partners: National and state assemblies, states and local governments, civil society, private sector and international development partners.

Source: FRN,2010:61.

A vital lesson from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) experience has been the linkage between whatever was the level success it had was attributed to active participation of states and local governments, from conceptualisation through formulation and implementation of programmes. To further underscore the coordination and collaboration between the federal and the subnational governments a conditional grants scheme (CGS) was established to support both states and local

governments to buy in, and take ownership of the MDGs agenda. As stated in the report (2015), “The CGS programme set as its core objective leveraging up investment in the MDGs at the state and local government levels while ensuring ownership and sustainability of the projects at the local levels. The programme is premised on the understanding that impact of investments towards meeting the MDGs is highest when undertaken by governments at the lower levels”.

In the implementation of Economic Recovery and Growth Plan 2017/2020 together with the Economic Stabilisation Plan (ESP) 2020, the national Adaptation Plan (NAP) and SDGs, the 2020 Voluntary National Review reports that:

Nigeria has a colossal implementation context for the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs. The country has a federal government, 36 states and the FCT and 774 local government areas (LGAs). Nigeria’s strategic approach to the implementation of the SDGs can be seen at two different levels – national and sub-national. At the national level, OSSAP-SDGs is working closely with the Federal Ministries, Department and Agencies (MDAs) to integrate the relevant SDGs into their sectoral policies and plans. An Inter-Ministerial Committee (IMC) has been appointed to coordinate this initiative.

With emphasis on the role of the subnational governments, the report notes that the Office of Senior Special Assistant to the President on SDGs (OSSAP-SDGs) “in partnership with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is working with the 36 States and the FCT to mainstream the priority SDGs into the medium and long-term development plans of the state and LGAs. To incentivize the states to invest more of their resources into the areas of development priorities (the SDGs), the federal government through OSSAP-SDGs is providing a conditional matching grant (CGS) to the states. Under the CGS, states receive 50 per cent grant and are expected to provide their 50 per cent counterpart funds, which must be spent on approved SDGs programmes (mainly health, education and water and sanitation)”. Indeed, UN Deputy Secretary General Amina Mohammed, formerly in charge of the Nigerian MDGs/SDGs, in 2015 summarised the expected roles of the subnationals as development actors as follows:

There is massive potential for SDGs and climate action by states and provinces. It is time to walk the talk. Over the past decade, more than 90 city mayors representing 650 million people have mobilized around the world for climate action and sustainable development, through the powerful C40 network. Is it now time for state and provincial governors to build your own global movement? How incredible that would be. Provincial and state governors from around the globe could exchange data and information and share best practice to take bold, transformative action to implement the SDGs. This meeting is a unique opportunity to delve into how you can localize the SDG’s at the state and provincial level. Your contribution will be absolutely vital to the successful implementation of the 2030 Agenda and the Paris Agreement. This past week, young people around the world have asked us to

lead. They have said we are not doing enough. They are right. We need to step up our efforts. The path is clear. We have less than 11 years left to 2030. As we enter a decade of action to deliver the SDGs, I count on you to use your influence to localize the SDGs' in your states and provinces. The United Nations will support you every step of the way.

One recurrent issue, however, has been the style and nature of intergovernmental relations among the three tiers, which seem to affect the activities of both the states and local governments. It has also been reported that the preponderance of the federal government agencies in the discharge of functions best done by the subnational governments. Such instances include the controversial 1000 jobs for each of the 774 local government councils supervised by committees created by the federal ministry of labour (X) and the administration of the Social Investment Program, ostensibly targeted to create employment and reduce poverty. Another source of conflict arises from frequent interferences by the states over local governments in terms of diversion of their revenues in disregard to the constitution. Notwithstanding these policy hiccups, as Wright (2001) argues "states do have the constitutional freedom to create their own separate program involving an issue or resource that is not subject to national government approval even when the national government has a similar program to address that same issue or resource".

In summary, both the states and local government councils are sufficiently imbued with constitutional functions, powers and relative financial and administrative autonomy. As development actors, contacts and exchanges between national, sub-national officials may be cooperative or competitive, determined by respective areas of competence, policy issue, the status of the officials, the partisan leanings of participants, and the constituency being represented (Eneanya, 2012).

3.4 Recognition of Value Added of Territorial Approach to Local Development

Territorialisation of public policies in general, and territorial development, imply a transition from a single policy where the same rules apply across all territories to an integrated spatial, multi-sectorial policy that is adapted to the specificities and characteristics of each territory. It is the contribution of local players acting at several levels (design, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, etc.) provides local added value to development efforts at the national level. Territorialisation attaches particular importance to relations with citizens and local players who are involved in defining and implementing public policies in line with the specific needs of each territory. The prospect for territorial approach to local development in Nigeria is high.

The Nigerian constitution clearly provides a three-tier government structure, each imbued with certain powers, or assigned certain competencies and finance. Not formally described as value added by local councils, both the states and local governments have often embarked on place-based development initiative. In addition, Nigeria's huge diversities in geography, history and social conditions have different implications to different territories and people, ranging from flood, desertification, food

security, health, education and migration. As Haider (2019) has noted “Nigeria’s climate has been changing, evident in: increases in temperature; variable rainfall; rise in sea level and flooding; drought and desertification; land degradation; more frequent extreme weather events; affected freshwater resources and loss of biodiversity”. The sheer magnitude of the diversity and variability that agglomeration hides illustrates the value of territorial approach to local development. As Romeo (2014) conceptualizes, territorial development has become “a multi-dimensional *national* policy that promotes *endogenous, integrated, multi-scalar and incremental* local development”.

The federal government, apart from the constitution, has always highlighted value added by subnational governments as it has encouraged states and local governments to offer solution based some sort of territorial approach to local development. Being in a position to set development trajectory for the country with full cognisance of its developmental challenges and identifies ‘enabling’ or ‘catalysing’ features that should, at least in theory, it recognises that the goals will best be realised through state and local government initiatives.

In the 2003/2007 National Development Plan that unfolded as the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), while states and local governments had strategy documents (SEEDS) and LEEDS respectively. During the implementation of MDGs, it created a conditional grants scheme (CGS) that supported states and local governments’ programmes. The Nigeria Vision 20:2020 Document as a key structuring document to direct government policy hinges on three pillars namely: Guaranteeing the well-being and productivity of the people; Optimising the key sources of economic growth; and Fostering sustainable social and economic development. The spatial manifestation of this vision and implementation arrangements remain a key issue for the long term development of Nigeria, and are supposed to be reflected and supported by the requisite plans.

In this capacity, this approach is further extended through principles that seek to harness the private sector to deliver many of the infrastructure needs that are seen as critical to support growth and poverty reduction. For example, the realisation of Nigeria’s Vision 20:2020, the vision for urban development was focused on promoting smart and functional cities to achieve environmental sustainability, which were to contribute to achieving the goals of promoting fast economic growth and social welfare. Similarly the National Urban Development Policy recognises the role of multiple tiers of government in promoting effective urban development and sustainable human settlements. While preserving the autonomy of the three tier governments in discharging their roles under the policy provisions, the establishment of Urban and Regional Development Boards (URDB) is to formulate urban development policy, preparing the requisite plans and building capacity of local governments for urban development. The National Urban Development Policy also provides that all local governments shall be encouraged to act within the context of the State Urban Development Policy and shall establish a Local Planning Authority to prepare and adopt requisite plans.

Under the revised National Housing Policy 2012, the roles of the local governments include: providing residential site and service layouts; maintenance of urban infrastructure and environmental sanitation; and, in partnership with government agencies and private sector companies, delivering housing. State-led Urban Planning Nigeria has 36 states and one territory, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), and 774 local government areas. However, World Bank (2002) and UNDP (2011) report the tensions between federal and state governments (see). The Second Schedule of the 1999 Constitution has only served to compound this, as most powers accorded to the states are exercised concurrently with the federal government. In addition, while their functions are specified in the Fourth Schedule, local governments can only exercise their authority in accordance with enabling legislation passed by the states.

Thus, apart from the assigned constitutional roles, the federal government recognizes the importance of local value added so whenever programmes that touch on the generality of the people are initiated, there is a liaison with the subnational governments either to make inputs or to reflect such in their respective plans. This clearly illustrates the aim of territorial approach to local development as highlighted by Romeo (2014) as “a developmental policy that national governments in decentralizing States may want to adopt, and international development partners may want to support, in order to (a) unleash the full potential of local development for national economic growth and social cohesion and ultimately (b) bring to fruition the developmental promises of decentralization reforms”.

3.5 Opportunities and Constraints of Decentralisation Reforms

3.5.1 Opportunities

Opportunities arising from decentralisation reforms include:

- Provision of basic community services to improve quality of lives and enablement to generate and attract economic activities;
- Enhances access to information on local needs, conditions and priorities, thus improving local development plans. (Please see annex x which was a Local Economic Empowerment And Development Strategy (LEEDS) Document this author prepared for Aboh Mbaise Local Government Area, Imo State, Nigeria);
- Bringing governance closer to the grassroots, ensuring equality and equity for more territorial justice allowing development to take place in different territories within the country;
- Helping people, especially in the rural areas, to organize themselves for the mobilization and effective management of community resources;
- Expands and fosters democratic space in the country
- Improvement of infrastructure and services in general to enhance economic efficiency and productivity;
- Building local capacities, develop new skills, strengthen institution and operating environment and room for local professionalism and improved decision-making and project execution;

- Support for small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) through the provision of training and support mechanisms and creating optimal infrastructure, e.g. SMME incubators;
- Targeted investment to boost potentially growing sectors, like tourism, knowledge industries, and agriculture;
- Urban renewal strategies; and
- Defining the local authority as an economic actor in the local economy with considerable clout and leverage capability.

3.5.2 Constraints

Constitutional constraints on the autonomy and effectiveness of local governments in Nigeria include:

- Sections 7(1) that subsumed the autonomy of local government system under the state House of Assembly;
- Section 162(5) that routed fiscal transfers of the local governments through the state Joint Local Government account (SJLGA);
- Section 7(4) that gives state governments power to hold elections for local government chairmen and councilors;
- Establishment of State Independent Electoral Commission; and
- Section 308 that granted state governors criminal and civil immunity, which emboldened them to persist in ignoring judicial decisions against the state in respect of violations of their respective local governments' rights and autonomy.
- Lopsided state-local government intergovernmental relations which have continued to affect the autonomy and quality of service delivery of the local government councils;
- Poor or absence of decentralization strategy given that decentralization is a process rather than a once-and-for-all act (Smoke:2003)
- Weak commitment and coordination from central government to the success of decentralization reforms in various ways by preventing total local autonomy, withholding resources and adopting top-down of decision making on issues already decentralized;
- Weak structural, operational and financial resources – in most cases, decentralization lacks these vital resources required to facilitate territorial demands and needs;
- Personnel recruitment, supervision, training and remunerations issues are not streamlined to engender loyalty and motivation.
- Politics – Decentralization reforms suffer debilitating elite-capture by political godfathers, overbearing systemic influence of local and national politics;
- Corruption has become so pervasive and difficult to control that it has become a major impediment to effective service delivery at the local government level (Aina: 2007).

4. A SWOT Analysis of ALGON

4.1 Strengths/Weaknesses/Opportunities/Threats of ALGON

4.1.1 Strengths

- ✓ ALGON's platform's numerical membership strength of 774 local Governments gives it:
 - Spread
 - Nationwide Structures in all Local Governments and Area Councils
 - Easy access to stakeholders
 - Close affinity with the people at the grassroots (grass root mobilizers)
 - Huge/strong political bloc
 - Strong base negotiation
 - Crowd funding
 - Constitutional support of Local Governments as the third of government
- ✓ One strong formidable voice available for:
 - Advocacy
 - Lobbying
 - Centralized Project Execution
 - Monitoring and Evaluation
- ✓ Gateway and easy access/contact to all the 774 Local Government Areas, through its machineries as opposed to one to one contacting especially during emergencies.
- ✓ Veritable Platform for members for:
 - Building common fronts and synergy
 - Peer Review
 - Capacity Building
 - Networking, interaction and membership to regional, continental and world Associations of peers.

4.1.2 Weakness

- Constitutional constraints on the autonomy and effectiveness of local governments in Nigeria include:
 - ✓ Sections 7(1) that subsumed the autonomy of local government system under the state House of Assembly;
 - ✓ Section 162(5) that routed fiscal transfers of the local governments through the state Joint Local Government account (SJLGA);
 - ✓ Section 7(4) that gives state governments power to hold elections for local government chairmen and councilors;
 - ✓ Establishment of State Independent Electoral Commission; and
 - ✓ Section 308 that granted state governors criminal and civil immunity, which emboldened them to persist in ignoring judicial decisions against the state in respect of violations of their respective local governments' rights and autonomy.

- Lopsided state-local government intergovernmental relations which have continued to affect the autonomy and quality of service delivery of the local government councils;
- Personnel recruitment, supervision, training and remunerations issues are not streamlined to engender;
- Ambiguity in the establishment provision, including uncertainties in tenure, corrupt electoral system and leadership recruitment
- Instability and weakness in the Local Government System
- Funding, particularly lukewarm financial commitment. Consequently, it is always challenging to mobilize funds to run the Secretariat effectually and also to execute programmes and projects.
- Lack of political will to tackle issues fundamental to the survival, better management and service delivery by Local Government councils.
- There is no statute establishing ALGON, thereby reducing it to the status of an NGO, this weakens its ability to get direct funding from the Federal Government and to engage in crucial policy formulations

4.1.3 Opportunities

- Donor countries' commitment to territorializing approach to local development;
- Support and advocacy coalition led by a strong continental body (UCLG Africa);
- Strong support from the Nigerian Presidency for local government autonomy;
- Existence of Office of Special Duties Minister for States and Local Government Affairs;
- Pro-local Government Legislature (National Assembly);
- Project Local Governments positively nationally and internationally;
- Civil Society Organization sympathy;
- Clamour for restructuring of the Nigerian federation and advocacy/lobbying for devolution of political responsibilities and concomitant fiscal devolution;
- The new Political Agenda supporting the localization of SDGs, NDICI and trend towards territorializing Local Development;
- SDGs and EU Cooperation positive influence on National Planning Ministry in Nigeria; and
- Leverage on its international affiliations to add to its voice of advocacy and lobbying on behalf of Local Governments.

4.1.4 Threats

- The global and national economic situation of declining government revenues;
- Nigeria's security situation;
- Intergovernmental conflicts, especially struggle between the federal and state government over control of the local governments;
- States' Houses of Assembly
- State Governments' meddlesomeness in Local Government autonomy;

- Difficulty in amending and streamlining constitutional ambiguities affecting the operating autonomy and financial independence of the Local Government System in Nigeria

4.2 Areas for Improvement

- Strengthening funding and other resources
- State-Local Government Relations management
- Stakeholders' Relationship Management Strategy, including Federal-Local Government Relations, the legislative bodies both national and states and the CSO/Media
- External Outreach
- Capacity building: individual, institutional and legal/policy environment

5. The State of the Art

5.1 Territorialization of Global Programs

Recent studies have expressed concern about "one size fits all" policy approach to poverty reduction or even general development issues. Barca et al. (2011) have argued that the traditional development policies anchored on a top- down approach can not meet the needs of local development, especially the growing awareness of the importance of local characteristics in shaping development trajectories. Because the top-down approach assumes some form of transferability of "universal" strategies to all regions, regardless of local weaknesses and strengths. There was need for alternative approach to regional economic development based on the bottom-up approach (Pike et al., 2006). Development policies must be addressing specific needs within a territory, whether as a geographical unit of economic policy implementation or a full-fledged economic player, "which is endogenously part and parcel of the whole process of developing and implementing public policies for development".

Autes (1991) opines that it is taking the territorial dimension into account in development policies makes it possible to distinguish between territorialized policies and territorial policies. It is taking the territorial dimension into account in development policies that makes it possible to distinguish between territorialized policies and territorial policies. Faure and Douille (2005) elucidate that public policies are "territorial" when "territorial players" are identified, but "territorialized" when "central bodies become sensitive to the specificity of the environments and allow the participation of territorial players in the formulation or implementation of public policies" (Daniel Behar, 2000). Thus, territorialization of public policies in general, and territorial development in a particular, imply a transition from a single policy where the same rules apply across all territories to an integrated spatial, multi-sectorial policy that is adapted to the specificities and characteristics of each territory.

Interestingly there has been growing global recognition of the multi-actor dimension of development processes and the distinct roles to be played by local authorities (Busan Outcome Document: 2011). In 2013, the European Commission’s communication proposed which embraces a larger view of the role of local authorities, as key representatives of local polities in a given territory, “not just managerial agents of the state.” (EC, 2013). The communication also commits the EU to promoting territorial development. Examples of similar efforts include the SDGs, Agenda 2030 and the Paris Agreement, World Bank, Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and various United Nation bodies that are in support of locally initiated policies and frameworks that are geared toward territorialization of global initiatives. Again the Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the Third International Conference on Financing for Development explicitly acknowledged the new agenda and underscored the need to “address the lack of financial means, as well as the capacity shortages, at the sub-national level; to scale up international cooperation for that purpose; and to support local authorities in their efforts to mobilize resources” (UN, 2015).

5.2 Territorializing National Policies and Strategies into Local Programmes

Territorialization consciousness seems to hang in the air as several economies and countries across the globe have taken the challenge of adopting locally oriented policies in the implementation of their national initiatives. Nigeria is not left out. In recent times, it has begun to recognize the necessity for involving local authorities as part of government in the implementation of national development plans. It is a healthy development and also an acknowledgement of the relevance of the territorial approach for achieving sustainable development (Ascani A. et al., 2012). Aside from some of these national initiatives such as primary health, education and agriculture falling within the remit of the constitutionally defined roles of local authorities, which straddle across the sectoral, realising the goals of national plans “will ultimately depend on the extent to which national authorities enable and incentivise the local authorities to own the goals by prioritising them in their local planning systems and by monitoring progress through relevant indicators from a local perspective”(VNR 2020).

The Nigerian evidence is provided with brief remark as follows:

- Nigeria’s Vision 20:2020 – each state government summarising inputs from local government prepare respective its vision for the same period. “For the local input and state governments vision, please see annexes x on Aboh Mbaise LEEDS document and for Imo State Vision 2010/2020);
- Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (2017-2020) – provided for federal ministries, departments and agencies to implement at the states and local government areas;
- Nigeria Industrial Revolution Plan, 2014 – recognized and largely adapted territorial approach in implementation, please annex x);

- National Integrated Infrastructure Master Plan, 2015 – each state is empowered to design and implement its own plan (For example see Kaduna State Master Plan annexed as x);
- National Urban Development Policy, 2012 – recognizes the role of multiple-tiers of government promoting urban development and sustainable human settlement. The Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) have been adopted by cities including Ibadan, Enugu and Kano. Other examples of such drives include the Slum Upgrading Framework where several states including Anambra, Nasarawa and Osun Cities and local governments/cities including Awka, Onitsha, Oshogbo Ede, Doma have benefitted from the scheme;
- The Agriculture Promotion Policy 2016-2020 – a Post Covid-19 measure, Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) floated an Anchor Borrowers’ Programme (ABP) to provide farm inputs and cash to small-holder farmers (SBFs) through their anchor either as a state/local government or a large-scale integrated processor;
- Second National Strategic Health Development Plan II (2018-2022) – primary health is within the jurisdiction of states and local government but are supported.
- National Adaptation Strategy and Plan of Action on Climate Change for Nigeria (NASPA-CCN), 2011 and National Adaptation Plan Framework, June 2020 have detailed the roles of respective state and non-state actors in the implementation of policies and programs across sectors. (Please see annexes x and y).

5.3 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Other Global Programs in Nigeria

Economies and countries across the globe seemingly have taken the challenge of adopting locally oriented policies to guide them in the implementation of those global initiatives. This seems to underscore the strategy of Nigeria in its effort to “domesticate” global policies and programme into national development plans. For instance, in the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), 2000/2015, there was elaborate reflection of the goals in the national development plan of 2003/2007, 2007/2011 and 2011/2015. Similarly, the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP) 2017/2020 and its successor plans the Economic Stabilisation Plan (ESP) and the expected Post-ERGP, 2021/2025 and 2026/2030 have all taken into account the provisions of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), 2020/2030 Agenda. The government has also directed that Vision 2020/2050 should reflect the SDGs and Africa Agenda 2063.

For example, Nigeria’s 2020 Voluntary National Review (VNR) on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), reports that the present development plan focuses on the key issues of poverty (SDG-1) and an inclusive economy (SDG-8), health and wellbeing (SDG-3), Education (SDG-4), Gender equality (SDG-5), and the enabling environment of peace and security (SDG-16), and partnerships (SDG-17). It also admits that achieving the SDGs “will ultimately depend on the extent to which national

authorities enable and incentivise the local authorities to own the goals by prioritizing them in their local planning systems and by monitoring progress through relevant indicators from a local perspective”. (VNR 2020)

Other initiatives include the assessment and call by global communities to reduce emissions by 2030, which could be heeded and achieved by ensuring that locally initiated programs such as waste management strategies, use of alternative energies and proper housing programs among others have the input of local authorities. This is in line with the understanding that sustainable transformations have far reaching impacts when they emanate from endogenous forces rather than exogenous ones. In such cases, the community-based approach is seen as among the best approaches as it encompasses all locals, who are the target beneficiaries to participate in decision-making. On this, UN Habitat [15] notes that local communities have the capacity to comprehend complex local needs better, and they also have the most concrete solutions and strategies that when enacted would call for the achievement of both local and global sustainability agendas.

To ensure an inclusive implementation of these programs, the OSSAP-SDGs is charged with maintaining intergovernmental relationships across the three tiers of government and establish a partnership framework through an inter-agency compact that includes a Development Partner’s Coordination Framework, a Citizen’s Public Service Feedback Mechanism, a Community Consultative Partnership, and a private sector partnership. The objective is to rally all stakeholders to implement the SDGs. Another important function is the liaison with the Nigeria Bureau of Statistics to track project and programme performance. Fortunately the OSSAP-SDGs has successfully realigned the National Statistical System with the SDGs by collaborating with partners to carry out a baseline data survey for the SDG indicators.

The levels for implementation include:

- SDG-MDA (Ministries, Departments and Agencies) Focal Persons: The role of the SDG sector focal persons is critical in mainstreaming the SDGs into departmental programmes. The essence is to ensure that programmes are domesticated through the ERGP and that there is funding to implement the programme through the budget mechanism. SDG sector focal persons will also track the release of funds and the implementation of SDG programmes and projects.
- SDG State Focal Persons: Governments across 36 states have appointed or designated SDG Focal Persons for their respective states. The core mandate of these state focal persons includes coordinating SDG implementation in line with the directives issued by the OSSAP-SDG.
- SDG-LGA (Local Government Area) Focal Persons: Certain states in the federation have worked to maintain some degree of local government autonomy; consequently, the local government chairmen are appointed as local government focal persons. Their mandate is to coordinate the implementation of the SDGs deemed critical at the local government level. The SDG local

government focal persons work in line with the directives issued by the state SDG focal persons while the heads of key SDG relevant sectors within local government work closely with state MDAs to coordinate and implement the programmes.

- OSSAP-SDGS and the National Assembly: The National Assembly, comprising the Senate and the House of Representatives, has appointed their SDG Committees. In addition to the constitutional defined roles of local authorities, which straddle across the sectoral, achieving such national plans and global commitments including the SDGs, “will ultimately depend on the extent to which national authorities enable and incentivise the local authorities to own the goals by prioritising them in their local planning systems and by monitoring progress through relevant indicators from a local perspective”(VNR 2020). For the same reason, the national conditional commitment (NDC) following call by global communities to reduce emissions by 2030, the Paris Agreement and other global programmes can only be achieved by ensuring that locally initiated programs the involvement of local authorities.

The policies are territorialized in such a way that they can address specific needs for different cities and urban areas within different countries. Such territorialisation also help to attain sustainability, resilience and accomplish the different SDGs, as well as increased inclusivity.

6. Lines and Priorities

6.1. Promoting Territorialization of Public Policies

Discussion in this section will be guided by the roles and responsibilities of the states and local governments as subnational governments, within the broad definition of local authorities, in promoting the territorialization of public policies, global agendas and local development programmes. As we recognized in section 3, the task can also be analyzed from the narrow angle of local governments local authority.. Yet either track or scenario should address territorial approach to local development as a feasible national policy and a practical way to promote governance and development in line with their constitutional mandate. Section 14(2)(b) and (c) have clearly provided as follows: “(b) the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government; and (c) the participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution”.

Section 13 under chapter 13 dealing with “Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy, specifically stated that “it shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of government, and of all authorities and persons, exercising legislative, executive or judicial powers, to conform to, observe and apply the provisions of this Chapter of this Constitution”. Section 308 defines “government” to include “ the Government of the federation, or of any State, or of a local government council or any person who exercises power or authority on its behalf”. Given its novelty, I argue that the best way to actualize promoting territorial approach to local development (TALD)

as viable development strategy that deserves explicit pronouncement as a national policy can better be pursued as a joint proposal by a coalition of the states and local governments. However, I will highlight the needed steps to strengthen ALGON for the purpose of advocacy for TALD.

6.1.1 Subnational government as Local Authorities: Priorities - The priorities of the subnational governments (as local authorities) comprise measures for the adoption of territorial approach to local development in addressing myriad issues of development such as health, migration, job creation etc. as contained in the SDGs programmes, the EU MFF 2021/2027 programme cycle and the national development plans and strategies. The EU MFF is proposed “In line with the close inter-linkages between the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, the ambition of the new integrated architecture is that individual actions are not just addressing one separate issue, but respond to several goals at the same time (EU Budget for the future, 2:

- Eradicating poverty
- Good governance;
- Human rights and democracy;
- Rule of law;
- Security, peace and stability
- Migration and mobility;
- Inclusive economic growth; and
- Human development including gender

Out of the 17 SDGs and 169 targets, the national plans have prioritized issues of economic recovery, social and environmental sustainability and these are adequately covered in the EU MFF, 2021/2027. As table 6.1 below shows, prioritization along territorial and geographical lines will be more specific in resolving social exclusion inherent in the agglomeration of data and diversity. For example, while security, peace and stability and climate change identified in the EU projection apply to the entire country, it however will be of greatest impact to the North East zone where the adoption of TALD will produce better results. Also issues poverty eradication can best be approach through a territorial approach, rather the current practice of top-down approach used by the federal government in the implementation of Social Investment Programmes.

Table 6.1 Local Governments Grouped in Geopolitical Zones

Zones	Number of LGAs	% of LGAs	Population of LGAs	% of National Population
North Central (+Abuja)	120	15.5	12.5	14
North East	111	14.3	11.9	13.4
North West	186	24	22.9	25.8
South East	95	12.2	10.8	12.1
South South	123	16	13.3	15.1
South West	139	18	17.4	19.6
Total	774	100	88.8	100

Source: Compiled from the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999)

Rather than presenting a shopping list of requests, our priorities are derived from local needs in line with the EU geographic focus proposed in the MFF 2021/2027, SDGs, and National Adaptation Plan (NAP), which can be best be delivered by adopting the territorial approach:

- Support State and local governments establish a focal Ministry or Agency with a mandate to lead and provide strong coordination for SDGs, NDC and climate change adaptation activities across the State, including coordinating with the Federal Government; facilitating action by civil society, the private sector, and international partners; and evaluating and reporting on progress
- Strengthen the subnational governments (local and state government) in the implementation of Climate Change, Migration, Food security and nutrition, social inclusion and Security initiatives based on territorial approach especially in the Northern zones of the country as illustrated in Table 6.1. Specific support and accommodation in the EU NDICI include:
 - Conducting research and update data on the nexus among climate change, migration and security in the northern states and local governments;
 - Improve infrastructure and livelihood options in key vulnerable zones, states and communities to discourage internal and external migration;
 - Integrate climate concerns into peace building and conflict management programmes in the vulnerable territories, especially those in the Borno, Adamawa and Yobe (BAY) region.

- Support subnational governments for bottom-up monitoring process, such as active participation in the Voluntary Local Reviews, and develop disaggregated data. Stronger states and local governments participation in monitoring and reporting on SDG implementation is necessary.
- Collaboration with states and local governments to boost international cooperation and multi-stakeholder partnerships for SDG localization and implementation.
- Partnership with the states and local governments on the key issues of poverty (SDG-1) and an inclusive economy (SDG-8), health and wellbeing (SDG-3), Education (SDG-4), Gender equality (SDG-5), and the enabling environment of peace and security (SDG-16), and partnerships (SDG-17).

6.1.2 The foremost line of action here is to strengthen advocacy for territorializing national plans and global programmes by forging a coalition of states represented by the Nigeria Governors Forum (NGF) and ALGON representing local governments, which will entail the following:

- Preparing a convincing proposal for the coalition, which brings more benefits to states and local governments. The initial steps should be taken by ALGON but would need continental support of UCLGA and express declaration that given the EU new Multi-annual Financial Framework (MFF) 2021/2027, it is the most viable way to derive maximum benefit from the programme;
- Taking advantage of the on-going preparation of the national development plan, 2021 – 2030 (in two parts 2021/2025 and 2026/2030) and Nigeria Vision 2050 to present a joint proposal hinged on territorial approach to local development. The effort can be supported by inclusion of incentives for such national programmes based on TALD captured in the in the EU 2021/2027 programme cycle;
- Identify and assignment of roles within the subnational level between states and local governments based on subsidiarity principle. The EU can also reinforce the measure by incentives;
- ALGON should build a network of CSOs/Media to advance the need for a fresh approach towards governance and utilisation of donors' assistance;
- State branches of ALGON to reach-out to their various governments including the State Assembly;
- Identification and legislative action by State Assembly on areas of that promote territorial approach to local development. Some external support from UCLGA and EU may be needed to support the drive, perhaps as definite programme under the EU NDICI;
- Intensive sensitization and awareness programme on why and how GEOGRAPHY and LOCAL DEVELOPMENT MATTER;

- Capacity building particularly in respect of approaches and methodology for multiple-level governance system, monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and technical capacity and roles of communities and localities in TALD. Again this deserves support from the EU and UCLGA; and
- Clear identification of areas of convergence between the SDGs programmes and the EU NDICI 2021/2027 priorities.

6.2 Response to issues Arising from ALGON Quick SWOT Analysis

6.2.1 Some of the weaknesses observed in the SWOT analysis of ALGON indicated the following:

- ✓ Constitutional constraints on the autonomy and effectiveness of local governments in Nigeria include:
 - Sections 7(1) that subsumed the autonomy of local government system under the state House of Assembly;
 - Section 162(5) that routed fiscal transfers of the local governments through the state Joint Local Government account (SJLGA);
 - Section 7(4) that gives state governments power to hold elections for local government chairmen and councilors;
 - Establishment of State Independent Electoral Commission; and
 - Section 308 that granted state governors criminal and civil immunity, which emboldened them to persist in ignoring judicial decisions against the state in respect of violations of their respective local governments' rights and autonomy.
- ✓ Lopsided state-local government intergovernmental relations which have continued to affect the autonomy and quality of service delivery of the local government councils;
- ✓ Personnel recruitment, supervision, training and remunerations issues are not streamlined to engender;
- ✓ Ambiguity in the establishment provision, including uncertainties in tenure, corrupt electoral system and leadership recruitment;
- ✓ Instability and weakness in the Local Government System;
- ✓ Funding, particularly lukewarm financial commitment. Consequently, it is always challenging to mobilize funds to run the Secretariat effectually and also to execute programmes and projects;
- ✓ Lack of political will to tackle issues fundamental to the survival, better management and service delivery by Local Government councils; and
- ✓ There is no statute establishing ALGON, thereby reducing it to the status of an NGO, this weakens its ability to get direct funding from the Federal Government and to engage in crucial policy formulations.

6.2.2 Table 6.2 below attempts to summarize at a glance both a SWOT analysis of ALGON and strategies to maximize its strength/opportunities as well as minimize its weakness/threats. Highlights of these measures are as follows:

I. Opportunity-Strength (OS) Strategies - Use the strengths to take advantage of opportunities:

- ✓ Strongly align with UCLGA
- ✓ Diligent engagement with the Nigeria Governors Forum (NGF) to secure its buy-in and acceptance of the coalition of states and local governments;
- ✓ Strengthen liaison backed by media activities and coverage
- ✓ Strengthen relationship including involving NASS members in their local government activities
- ✓ Initiative specific Development Plans/initiative to aid territorializing Initiatives
- ✓ Plan more collaborative activities, bonding and synergy
- ✓ Building momentum for constitutionalizing Development Local Government System in Nigeria
- ✓ Communications on progress of territorial development projects/initiatives; and
- ✓ Requests for tying aid to local development with active support of the national association (ALGON).

II. Opportunity-Weakness (OW) Strategies - Overcome weaknesses by taking advantage of opportunities:

- ✓ Seek for comprehensive judicial interpretations on states' legislations against the letters and spirit of the constitution;
- ✓ Explore possibility of constitutional amendments to guarantee local governments' autonomy;
- ✓ Seek external validation of ALGON's proposal for a new political agenda for TALD;
- ✓ Newsletters on ALGON's successful outings with the presidency;
- ✓ Integrate NASS members in Local Government Activities, lobbying for ALGON Establishment Act;
- ✓ Prepare Development Reports outlining Prospects in respective LGs;
- ✓ Retain strong media outfit and feed regular highlights on local governments states/zonal initiatives and invitations;
- ✓ Constant debriefing of states/chapters; and
- ✓ Highlight various situation reports from the local governments specifically in line with the SDGs, Paris agreement and EU priority projects.

Some external incentives for all parties to consider the inherent advantages;

III. Threat-Strength (TS) Strategies - Use strengths to avoid threats

- ✓ Engagement with the Nigeria Governors Forum for regular briefing on development/issues of mutual concerns and benefits;
- ✓ More regular interface including periodic visits by ALGON NEC to problem states;
- ✓ Regular production of studies and trend analysis as they affect Local Governments;
- ✓ Solidarity visits by ALGON NEC to extend support and goodwill to troubled LGs;
- ✓ Courtesy/briefing visits to the House of Assembly to build bridges; and
- ✓ Awareness and advocacy campaigns on emerging trends and roles for local governments including the emphasis of development partners on territorializing approach to local development (TALD)

IV. Threat-Weakness (TW) Strategies - Minimize weaknesses and avoid threats:

- ✓ State Chapters of ALGON to create channels for regular reports to the governors;
- ✓ Highlight good governance in various local government areas;
- ✓ Highlight peculiar issues in the states and zones;
- ✓ Regular communications and solidarity messages to local councils in distress;
- ✓ Frequent communications to each of the Houses of Assembly on positive trends and news from the local government areas; and
- ✓ Subtle mobilization of local support for the adoption of TALD in respective local government areas

Table 6.2: ALGON Quick SWOT Analysis/Response Strategy

	<p>STRENGTHS</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ALGON’s platform’s numerical strength of 774 gives it spread, nationwide structures in all Local Governments and Area Councils, 2. Easy access to stakeholders, close affinity with the people, grassroots mobilisers, huge/strong political bloc, strong base negotiation and crowd funding. 3. Constituting support of Local Governments as the third tier of government. 4. United strong formidable voice for advocacy, lobbying, Centralized Project Execution, Monitoring and Evaluation. 5. Easy access/contact to all 774 Local Government Areas, through its machineries especially during emergencies. 6. Veritable Platform for members: building common fronts and synergy, peer review, capacity building, networking, interaction and membership to regional, continental and world Associations of peers including UCLGA. 	<p>WEAKNESSES</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Overbearing influence of respective state governments. 2. Tenure instability and weakness in the Local Government System. 3. Lukewarm commitment on the part of some members especially financial commitment becoming a challenge to mobilize funds for administration and programmes and projects execution. 4. Lack of political will to tackle issues fundamental to the survival, better management and service delivery by Local Government councils. 5. ALGON as a non-statutory body but similar to other NGOs weakens ability for a more forceful engagement in crucial policy formulations.
<p>OPPORTUNITIES</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Emergence of strong continental body UCLG Africa. 2. Positive disposition of the Presidency - Office of Special Duties Minister for States and Local Government Affairs. 3. Pro-Local Government Legislature (National Assembly). 	<p>Opportunity-Strength (OS) Strategies Use the strengths to take advantage of opportunities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Strongly align with UCLGA ✓ Strengthen liaison backed by media activities and coverage 	<p>Opportunity-Weakness (OW) Strategies Overcome weaknesses by taking advantage of opportunities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Seek external validation of ALGON’s proposal for a new political agenda for TALD ✓ Newsletters on ALGON’s successful outings with the presidency

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Prospects for direct funds to Local Governments by donors for identified interventions. 5. Strong Civil Society Organisation/media sympathy. 6. National clamour for restructuring and continuous advocacy/lobbying for devolution of more administrative and political responsibilities and the concomitant fiscal devolution. 7. SDGs and EU Cooperation positive influence on National government and goals of national policies, plans and strategies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Strengthen relationship including involving NASS members in their local government activities ✓ Initiative specific Development Plans/initiative to aid territorializing Initiatives ✓ Plan more collaborative activities, bonding and synergy ✓ Building momentum for constitutionalizing Development Local Government System in Nigeria ✓ Communications on progress of territorial development projects/initiatives; and requests for tying aid to local involvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Integrate NASS members in Local Government Activities, lobbying for ALGON Establishment Act ✓ Prepare Development Reports outlining Prospects in respective LGs ✓ Retain strong media outfit and feed regular highlights on local governments states/zonal initiatives and invitations ✓ Constant debriefing of states/chapters ✓ Highlight various situation reports from the local governments specifically in line with the SDGs, Paris agreement and EU priority projects.
<p>THREATS</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Current state intergovernmental relations and politics 2. State Governments’ meddlesomeness. 3. The global and national economic situation. 4. Nigeria’s security situation and its aftermaths. 5. States House of Assembly 6. Stringent provisions for constitutional amendments in terms of streamlining constitutional ambiguities affecting the operating autonomy and financial independence of the Local Governments 	<p>Threat-Strength (TS) Strategies Use strengths to avoid threats</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Engagement with the Nigeria Governors Forum for regular briefing on development/issues of mutual concerns and benefits ✓ More regular interface including periodic visits by ALGON NEC to problem states ✓ Regular production of studies and trend analysis as they affect Local Governments ✓ Solidarity visits by ALGON NEC to extend support and goodwill to troubled LGs ✓ Courtesy/briefing visits to the House of Assembly to build bridges ✓ Awareness and advocacy campaigns on emerging trends and roles for local governments including the 	<p>Threat-Weakness (TW) Strategies Minimize weaknesses and avoid threats</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ State Chapters of ALGON to create channels for regular reports to the governors ✓ Highlight good governance in various local government areas ✓ Highlight peculiar issues in the states and zones ✓ Regular communications and solidarity messages to local councils in distress ✓ Frequent communications to each of the Houses of Assembly on positive trends and news from the local government areas ✓ Subtle mobilization of local support for the adoption of TALD in respective local government areas

	emphasis of development partners on territorializing approach to local development (TALD)	
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Table 4: ALGON Quick SWOT Analysis

- 6.2.3 From the analysis above, ALGON will require to be assisted to mobilize the local governments as well as strengthen itself in the following areas:
- ✓ For national association (ALGON) to diligently engaged with the Nigeria Governors Forum (NGF) to secure its buy-in and acceptance for coalition on the new political agenda, there will be need for external support including direct incentives to the subnational governments or in the form of grants-in-aid;
 - ✓ Financial and technical support for judicial/constitutional programmes;
 - ✓ Capacity building and technical support to shore up the current state of personnel, institutionalization and policy environment;
 - ✓ Clear provisions in the programming for respective tiers to identify their assignments; and
 - ✓ Support for ALGON to embark on TALD and SDGs:
 - Awareness/sensitization/advocacy campaigns;
 - Building capacity for Implementation; and
 - Monitoring and Evaluation.