

**UNIT 1: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS****CONTENTS**

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**1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The evolution of the sovereign state of Nigeria started in 1861 following the annexation of Lagos as a crown colony. This quickly led to the gradual incorporation of the contiguous areas and peoples into the then British Empire. The structure of governance was such that the interest of the colonial masters was to be protected to serve the colonialization imperative.

For instance, when Sir Frederick Lugard assumed office as the Governor General of the colonized territory in 1906, a system of indirect rule was introduced essentially as an attempt to rule through the traditional institution as a way of strengthening their grips of the newly acquired territories.

This unit therefore examines how Nigeria went through the threshold of colonialism, independence and post independence Journey, military interregnum as well as post military era with the corresponding governmental and political structures.

**2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to

1. Identify the major constitutional stages during the colonial era
2. Identify the major features of parliamentary democracy in Nigeria.
3. Advance reasons for military intervention in Nigerian politics.

**2.1 How to Study this Unit**

This unit is to be studied with other documentaries of Nigeria. This includes Nigeria's independence, swearing in ceremonies of new governments etc. These events are widely documented on the media and other channels of communications. In view of the divergency of this unit, you should be guided by the objectives of the unit.

## 2.2 Word Study

**Constitution:** The body of laws which prescribes how a country is governed. it provides for the powers of the various offices and institutional functions among others.

**Governor General:** A representative of the colonial master who was overseeing the colonies.

**Military Era:** The period in which the military was in power.

- **Democracy:** Government that is people centered and guided by the rule of law.

## 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

### 3.1 Phases in the Constitution Making Process under the Colonial Era

The Nigerian government and its political practices is characterized by identifiable phases with each phase accommodating some critical constitutional developments leading the gradual involvement of Nigerians in the affairs of their country.

#### **The Order in Council (1914)**

1914 witnessed the first major amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria by Sir Frederick Lord Lugard. This was carried out through three constitutional instruments. The council order of 1912, the letter patents of 1913 and the Nigeria protectorate order –in- council also of 1913. Thus it marks the first attempt of constitutional making in Nigeria. All the instrument of the order in council provided for an executive council for the entire country and a 30 member Advisory council. The council was merely advisory while the Governor General possessed all the executive powers and acted on his own discretion except for those of his home country, England. So he was the order – in –council and Nigerians were never involved in their own governance, hence, constitutional instruments could not stand the taste of time.

#### **The Clifford Constitution (1922)**

To address the inadequacies of the order - in – council system namely the over concentration of executive powers on the Governor – General and a total absence of involvement of Nigerians in the governmental affairs of their country, the search for a workable constitution started in 1922. The Clifford constitution was able to put in place an executive council which comprised only British officials. It was also able to put in place a legislative council whose functions were confined to the colony of Lagos and the southern protectorate made up of 46 members of which 4 came from the Lagos colony and 1 from Calabar.

It is to be noted here that, this was the first time an electoral practice was introduced in Nigeria. This elective principle sparked off, some form of political activities with the formation of political parties such as the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) formed by the great Nationalist Herbert Macaulay and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)

One fundamental weakness of the constitution was that the north had no constitutional representative in the legislative council. It was therefore vehemently opposed. This resulted in the laying of ground work for reforms by Bernard Bourdillon who was Governor of Nigeria between 1935 and 1943.

### **The Clifford's Constitution (1946)**

Bernard Bourdillon's constitution reforms were actually implemented by Arthur Richards who succeeded him as Governor General in 1946.

The Richards' constitution therefore was geared towards the unity of the country by providing for the diverse people, the securing guarantee of greater participation by the people in the discussion of their own affairs.

One critical reform of the Richards' constitution was the Balkanization of the country into three regions namely, the western, eastern and the northern regions while at the same time establishing regional houses of Assembly and house of chiefs for the north. This means that the east and the western regional government had unicameral legislatures while the north had a bicameral legislature because of the presence of house of chiefs.

Furthermore, it was the first time that the North was brought under the general framework of the country's administration. This apart from establishing regionalization in the country, the Richards' constitution equally demonstrated the bringing together of the northern and southern Nigeria under single legislative authority.

### **Weaknesses**

Although the constitution demonstrated the desire of government to promote National and participation of citizens in the affairs of their country, it is nevertheless criticized for the inability to increase the participation of citizens which was constitutionally limited in scope leading to pressures from nationalists for a new constitution. This led to the second phase in the constitution making process.

### **The Macpherson's Constitution (1951)**

This constitution is highly unique in the annals of Nigerian government and politics in the sense that it was the first attempt for Nigerians to fully participate in its making. The spirit of the constitution provided for elected majorities in the central legislative and the regional house of assemblies. The former legislative councils were replaced by an enlarged central legislative called the house of representative of Nigeria. Aside from the dominance of the elected Nigerians in the central legislative house, it was the

first time in the political and constitutional history of the country that Nigerians constituted the majority of both the federal and regional executive councils and both councils equally became the critical instruments of policy formalities thus paving the way for elected representatives of the people to rule.

### **Weaknesses**

The Macpherson's constitution reflected the increasing powers of regionalism thus making them become political entities vested with both legislative and political powers.

## **ACTIVITY I**

1. Identify the major constitutional features during the colonial era.

### **3.2 THE ERA OF SELF GOVERNANCE – (1954 -1959)**

This era, popularly known as the conferences era was a product of two major constitutional conferences. The London constitutional conference of 1953 and the Lagos constitutional conference of 1954.

Under this administration, Nigeria emerged as a federation with the three regions with the west, east and north independent of the central government. In this regards, all legislative and executive powers were transferred to the regions with high degree of exclusive reserved.

A major significant milestone of this government under sir Littleton was the separation of Lagos from the western region. It was made the federal capital territory (FCT). Equally, both the public service and the judiciary were regionalized along these three regions. Thus each region had a premier, a cabinet and a legislature; and both the governor general sir Littleton and the newly created governors of the regions ceased to be members of the legislature.

A federal supreme court was created at the center. While a high court of Lagos and a high court of the regions as well as that of the southern Cameroun were established. With these structures in place, the way was paved for the emergence of regional self government. As a result, both the western and the eastern regions achieve self government on August 8, 1957 while the northern got hers in 1959.

A significant milestone in this era was equally the establishment of the office of the prime – minister which saw the installation of the leader of the northern people's congress in the parliament, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa on September 2, 1957 as the first occupant of that office. As Okoi Arikpoput it, " the 1954 constitution was the kernel of all further constitutional changes culminated in the establishment of the federal republic of Nigeria on October 1,1963." Cited in Anifowose and Enemuo 2008:243.

### **Weaknesses**

In as much as this period really marked the beginning of governance by Nigerians for Nigerians largely, as pointed out by Arikpo. It sowed a seed that battered the cohesiveness and real national character of Nigeria's oneness. Loyalty and attention was shifted for the regions.

Secondly, the constitution failed to introduce a uniform electoral procedure for the country.

Thirdly, the shift of powers for the regions saw the emergence of dominance ethnic groups namely, the Hausas in the north, the Igbos in the east and the Yorubas in the West, and suppression of the minorities in the regions. Their fears led to the setting in of the sir, Henry Willinek minority commission in 1957.

### **3.3 The Era of Parliamentary Government**

The third phase in the demonstration of governance and power in Nigeria occurred between the period of independence in 1960 to January 1966 following the constitutional conference of 1958, the issue of independence became forcefully pronounced leading to the deliberation of the independent draft constitution conference of 1960.

The conference ratified the granting of independence to Nigeria on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, 1960 and the ratification of the decision to cede the southern Cameroon to Cameroon.

The 1960 constitution therefore saw Nigeria emerging as an independent Nation with its leaders duly elected and appointed both at the federal and regional levels. For instance both the federal and regional governments adopted the bicameral parliamentary system of government; the 1960 constitution also has the following features.

- (i) Federal framework
- (ii) Legislative powers
- (iii) Fundamental rights
- (iv) Courts
- (v) Citizenship
- (vi) Revenue allocation
- (vii) Multi- party system

Since the constitution made provision for multi-party system, the major political parties that emerged were the NCNC, the NPC and the Action group. They were however all ethnically based.

One other milestone of that era apart from hosting of the green white green and the lowering of the union jack to symbolize the country's independence was the removal

of the Imperial basis of the Nigerian constitution and granting of complete autonomy to the Nigerian parliament in 1963. Thus making Nigeria a Republic.

Under the republican government, the president became the head of state and the repository of the federal executive authority, while the governors were vested with similar powers at the regional levels.

On the part of the judiciary, the supreme court became the highest court of the country instead of the privy council in London. Also, there was a federal police force added to the native authority police.

### **Weaknesses**

The first republic was indeed characterized by turbulence and crises of distrust among the key players. The major political parties for instance, were engaged in the struggle not only to win and retain power but also to control the center, and its resources.

The constitution suffered a lot of setbacks due largely to the turbulent crises that characterized the period for over two years. These include the action group crises of 1962/63., the population census crisis of 1962|63, The federal election crisis of 1964 and 1965 etc. The constitution and the major practitioners were incapable containing the inherent challenges of democratization which came with the attainment of independence.

### **ACTIVITY II**

1. What are the major features of Nigerian government in the first republic

#### **3.4 The Era of Presidential Government**

With the collapse of the first republic and the subsequent military intervention in the nation's political process in January 1966, Nigeria went into a long period of military interregnum spanning over twelve years.

By this time the spillover of the first republic have snow-balled into two perspectives.

First, when General Agwuyi Ironsi took over the reins of power through the barrel of the gun, he abolished the regions and instituted a unitary form of government via decree 34. This action provoked the violent response from the north as it was interpreted to mean the extension of Igbo domination, since the casualties of the first coup that brought the military into power were mostly northerners.

Secondly, was the thirty months civil war which almost plunged the country to its knees. Under the military leadership of General Yakubu Gowon however, the war was successfully brought to end on a "no winner no Vanguished" vantage in 1970. Highlights of this journey saw the putting in place of a transitional programme to disengage the military from politics by October 1, 1976. Unfortunately, he reneged on

this promise and this led to a counter military coup and his subsequent Osler on July 29, 1975.

General Murtala Mohammed soon announced a four year political transition programme designed to terminate on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1979.

He equally embarked on some reformations such as instilling discipline, transparency in the exercise of power and governance and the constitution of a draft committee to reconstruct a constitution for the country. Even though his tenure was short lived, his second in command General Olusegun Obasanjo proceeded with executing the constitutional drafting leading to the formal inauguration of the second republic.

In the second republic therefore, the country was ushered into another sphere of democratic practice where the presidential system was adopted. This was a fresh departure from that of the first republic. It equally practiced multi partisan featuring five major political parties namely: The National party of Nigeria(NPN), The Nigeria people's party(NPP), Great Nigeria people's party(GNPP), the Unity party of Nigeria(UPN) and the people's Redemption party(PRP).

Unlike in the first republic where each political party was dominant in its area or region, all the five political parties made tremendous incursion into some regions particularly the ruling NPN and the NPP.

Another significant feature of this government was the fact that the Shagari administration put in place necessary democratic structures as provided for in the second Republic constitution. The president was both the head of state and government as well as the commander –in –chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria. Indeed the second Republic differed significantly in terms of the government that was put in place. In the first Republic, the government that was put in place was modeled along the 'Westminster model' in which there was a fusion of power between the legislative and the executive. However, the second Republic government that was put in place reflected the ideals of the presidential system of government as practiced in the U.S.A. that is why all the executive powers of state were vested in the elected president including the power to present before the legislature the budget estimates of the federal government; declaration of state of emergency and appointment of certain key functionaries of government.

The National Assembly in the second republic was also more powerful than the parliament in the first republic and there equally existed a bicameral legislature at the federal republic while the state exercised unicameral system.

### **Short Comings**

Inspite of the enormous checks and balances entailed in the presidential system of government that was in operation in the Second Republic, the constitution could not stand the test of time as the political class failed to meet the aspiration and hopes of the people. Infact, the Shagari Regime was deeply engrossed in excessive acts of corruption, impropriety, mismanagement and squandemia. It also became a victim of

massive electoral malpractices as witnessed during the 1982 general elections. (Aluko 2000).

### **The 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Republics**

With the collapsed of the Second Republic in December, 1983 and another military Junta found it's way to the corridors of political powers. There was no initial action on their part to move the nation towards Constitutional government.

#### **The Interim National Government**

The tension created by the June 12, 1993, presidential election forced General Ibrahim Babangida to hurriedly package an interim National Government (ING) under the leadership of Chief Ernest Shonikan on August 26,1993 while he stepped aside. The interim government so put in place seemed very weak in tackling the challenge of legitimacy and forces of opposition created as a result of the June 1993 annulment.

Accordingly, General Sani Abacha who was then ING's Minister of Defence, moved swiftly to topple the government and installed himself as the new military Head of State in November 1993. The greatest obstacle to Abacha's transition program and the democratization process was the politics of Self-Succession embarked upon by General Sani Abacha. This coupled with the intimidation and harassments of perceived enemies of the regime witnessed the use of coercive measures and draconian decrees on the citizens. In spite of the wide-spread opposition to the decision to succeed himself, General Abacha was caught up with death on June 28 1998.

The emergence of General Abdulsalami Abubakar as the new head of state on June 1998, saw an improvement on the general political atmosphere of the country due largely to the termination of the self – succession saga. One significant applause of administration was the release of some political detainees, including General Olusegun Obasanjo, a former military head of state.

Some of the positive effects of the administration also include the scrapping of “Abacha parties” and the establishment of a new electoral body called INEC (Independent Electoral Commission). Setting a new transition programme to end on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, 1999. The inauguration of a 23-member constitution debate co-ordination committee (CDCC).

Again a multi-party system was endorsed which saw emergence of the following dominants political parties for the 4<sup>th</sup> republic.

- The All People's Party APP
- The Alliance for Democracy AD
- The People's Democratic Party PDP

As a matter of fact, the seeming popularity of General Abubakar, notwithstanding, his inability to solve the problem of persistent fuel scarcity, the increase in the prices of petroleum products, the reduction in the already announced minimum wage for workers, the depleted foreign reserves and devaluation of the naira are counted as some of the failures of the administration.



## The 4<sup>th</sup> Republic

General Abubakar's keeping in faith with the may 29, 1999 handing over date ushered in the longest democratic dispensation in the country.

The constitutional powers of the 1999 constitution are by and large an extension of the 1979 constitution with the major features of the presidential democracy.

Under this dispensation, the country has witnessed three successive handing over of batons of civic leadership as follows:

- Chief Olusegun Obasanjo                      1999 - 2007
- Umaru Musa Yar Adua                              2007 - 2009
- Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan                  2009 – 2015
- President Mohammadu Buhari                  2015 – date.

For the first time in the history of Nigeria, this era witnessed the transition of power from one civilian administration to another and more importantly, the victory of an opposition party over a sitting government of the ruling party.

This feat demonstrates that the people's vote could meaningfully count at the polls. The transparency of the elections projected the country's political image across the world, however it must be pointed that while greater involvement of Nigerians in the affairs of the country is significantly progressing, the divulging economy characterized by wide spread corruption still pervades the national life of the leadership.

There is equally widespread insecurity in the land and wide range of crime activities such as kidnapping, armed robbery, child trafficking among others.

It is hoped that the president regime will not only uphold and improve on the gains of democracy like protection of human rights and transparent elections, but will also address significantly the challenges of national security and unemployment.

### ACTIVITY III

1. What are the causes of military intervention in Nigerian politics

#### 4.0 SUMMARY

Nigeria government and politics can be structured into the following phases.

- The phase of constitutionalism under the colonial Era. Which includes the order in council, the Richard constitution, and the macpharsu era. The basic feature man lack of involving Nigerians in the affairs of governance.
- The Era of self government 1954-1959.
- The post independence democracy and the military interregnum. It featured the practice of parliamentary democracy, military interregnum and presidential democracy.

## 5.0 ASSIGNMENT

- What are the factors that led to the achievement of independence in Nigeria in 1960.
- Identify the features of presidential system of government in Nigeria in the forth republic.
- What are the factors responsible for incessant military intervention in Nigeria politics?

## 6.0 REFERENCES

- Anifowose, R. and Enenmuo, F. (2000). *Element of politics*. Sam Iroanusi Publications, Lagos.
- Appadoral, A. (2004). *The Substance of Politics* Oxford University Press, New York.
- Dukor M. (2015). *Philosophy and Politics*. Discourse on values, politics and power in Africa; Malthouse Press Limited, Lagos.
- Shively, W. P. (2008). *Power and Choice* McGraw-Hill higher Education, Boston.

## UNIT 2: CLASSIFICATION AND FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

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### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Although government across the world perform certain basic functions, but these functions are carried out based on the nature and character of the government as enunciated by the architects of such a government. This relates largely to the theoretical basics of such a government.

### 2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the difference between absolute monarchy and constitutional monarchy.
- explain Aristocracy as a form of government; and
- state the critical elements of democracy.

### 2.1 How to Study this Unit

For proper understanding of this unit, you are advised to further refer to references at the end of the unit. This will help you acquire additional facts in this area. The activities and the assignment are meant to elicit feedback mechanism from you.

### 2.2 Word Study

- i. **Hereditary power:** Is the powers that are handled over from person to another. For instance the prince inheriting the throne of his father.
- ii. **Public affairs:** Is the affairs of common good. The state is made up of different interests at individual and group levels, now the collective interest level relates to public affairs.
- iii. **Leadership** relates to the rulers who lead their subjects while followers are the led or the ruled. They are expected to be loyal and able dient to the leadership while the leadership is expected to be just.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Forms of Government**

From the above theoretical analysis, it becomes obvious that in a government the freedom of the individual which is central in any political inquiry is considerably affected by the form of government under which such an individual lives. Based on this analysis therefore, we may classify all major forms of government into three; namely:

- i. Monarchical government
- ii. Aristocratic government
- iii. Democratic government

##### **i. Monarchical Government**

This is the earliest form of government whereby an individual is not subjected to any legal limitations for everything including decision making of the state according to his own will. Although a good king for instance, may frame all his actions according to the law, yet he is not bound thereto but of his goodwill and for good example to his subjects. There are two forms of Monarchical government which are:

- (a) Absolute Monarchy
- (b) Constitutional Monarchy

##### **(a) Absolute Monarchy**

In this kind of government, the monarch is usually the head of the state both in the name and in deed. In most cases, hereditary monarchy of the normal type is where the personification of the majesty and sovereignty of the state is in the individual. This mean two things here.

- i. The personal elevation of the head of state as the individual representatives and organ of the supreme power.
- ii. Substantial concentration of power in the monarch of the highest dignity and power of the state.

##### **(b) Constitutional Monarchy**

This is a limited form of monarchy as guaranteed by the constitution of the country. Here the power of a constitutional monarch is regulated by the constitution whereby he can promulgate only those laws which are agreed to by the elected parliament. Similarly, the financial arrangement and the granting of taxes are also dependent upon the cooperation and consent of the representative bodies.

Also, in the area of administration, the constitutional monarch is bound to accept the advice of ministers who are chosen from and are responsible to the parliament. Finally the king is bound to respect not only the letter of the constitution but also the laws of the state.

It is because of this regulated constitutionalism that some political thinkers are beginning to posit that such monarchical government as in Great British should not be

referred to as monarchical government because the substance of power is with the people.

### **Merits**

- i. Monarchical government has been identified to be a strong platform of cohesion, and rallying point of the citizens. According to Frederick the great's political testament of 1752. A well conducted government must have a system as coherent as a system of philosophy, so the finance policy and the Army are coordinated to the same and namely the consolidation of the state and the increase of its power (Cited in Appadorai, 2004:132). Accordingly he maintained that such a system can only emanate from a single brain, that of the sovereign king.
- ii. Monarchy is considered a natural institution where obedience to a King being as natural as the obedience of a child to his parents. The argument here is that, the state is but an extension of the family. The king being the father, and the people his children.
- iii. Monarchy is best adapted to deal with emergencies, in emergency situations, the Monarch needs not consult others before deciding on necessary action.
- iv. In a country with great population scattered all over the space, such as the case in Russia before 1917, the monarch serves as a rallying point and identity even as they struggle against the oppression of the great magnate.
- v. Monarchical government provides the most satisfying government for those who cannot govern themselves, who have not yet developed a high political consciousness and who therefore lack the capacity themselves for participating actively in the management of public affairs.

### **Demerits**

1. Where a bad Monarch emerges, the country pays the price heavily. This is because in the hands of a bad ruler, despotism is the worst form of government.
2. A government is about people, so taking vital decisions about people ought to be people centered. Organization is supplied by parties and the gift of citizens who make up the state. Therefore concentrating all powers Executive, Legislative and Judiciary in one man, will not give the desired result.
3. It does not recognize diversity and plurality within as well as equality of citizens, therefore does not seek to build consensus and guarantee individual and group liberties.

### **ACTIVITY I**

- i. Explain the different between absolute monarchy and constitutional monarchy.

### **3.2 Aristocracy**

Aristocracy as a form of government as propounded by the great philosopher, Aristotle simply means, government by the best citizens. That nobody has the business of government except one is found to be exceptional in virtue. Its principle is therefore virtue. The moral and intellectual superiority of the ruling class follows that the

essence of aristocracy lies in the respect accorded to the aristocrat by others, men of honour and respect in the society.

### **Merits**

1. It views government as critical to the survival and services of citizens, therefore should not be left in the hands of any one on account of merely being a citizen.
2. It stresses the virtue of morality and honour in government. If the principle Aristocracy is adapted in Nigeria today, Corruption in high places would be maximally reduced.
3. Aristocracy seeks to promote honour because only honourable men should be entrusted with the people's sovereignty and wealth.

### **Demerits**

1. The distinction of quality which ought to characterize aristocracy may be expressed through birth (Aristocracy of family) religion and education, (Aristocracy of priests and scholars) Age (Aristocracy of Elders), Military distinction (Aristocracy of Knights), Military distinction (Aristocracy of Knights), property ownership and Control (Aristocracy and land owners)etc. all these perish when the subject of quality is reduced to classes.
2. Aristocracy stresses quality only to the exclusion of quantity. It gives the community a ruling class who inherit and bequeath to their posterity high traditions of public service.
3. Aristocracy believes that excellence in military, in business, in priesthood, is synonymous to excellence in public service. Public service requires its unique competence as well because it is about public governance and trust.

It is on record that the two most successful aristocracy of history are those of Rome during the forth to the second century B.C and of Britain in the eighteenth century.

## **ACTIVITY II**

- i. Explain Aristocracy as a form of government

### **3.3 Democracy**

In our contemporary political world of today, the most popular form of government is democracy. In recent past, the world has witnessed the emergence of mass organizations and agitation in Africa. Asia and Eastern Europe calling for Democratization.

### **Definitions**

Democracy, according to Appadorai (2004) may be described as a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power with directly or through representatives periodically elected by themselves. This implies that the citizens are central in a democracy and as such the state is supposed to provide institutions for the expression and participation by the people. It is in this contest that

it is popularly referred to as the government of the people by the people and for the people.

### **Critical Elements of Democratic Government**

Although the content of democracy varies from one country to another depending on the model that is used. Most democracies exhibit the following elements.

- i. **The rule of law:** Democracy of whatever form recognizes the equality of every citizen irrespective of social, political, religious and economic status. This then implies that the rule of law is the major yardstick of measuring citizenship competencies and the level of democratic practice of a country.
- ii. **Fundamental human rights:-** These rights include the freedom of speech, worship, movement and choice among others in so far as such freedom is expressed within the ambit of the law and did not infringe on the right of others.
- iii. **Mass Participation:** Democracy as a government of the people is anchored on the active participation of its citizens either directly or indirectly through its representatives. These representatives are elected periodically in an election which procedure is expected to be transparent and satisfactory to the extent that the people's votes count.
- iv. **Principles of separation of power:** Democracy ensures that there is checks and balances in government. As such, there is an institutional framework put in place for the separation of power, between the legislature, executive and the judiciary. While the legislative arm is saddled with the task of making laws for the good of the state at the same time, performs such oversight functions to strengthen the institutions of the executive in the discharge of their responsibilities, the executive is on the other hand, saddled with the responsibilities of executing government policies and laws. This of course is to ensure that the dividends of democracy are brought down to the people. The judiciary on the other hand is expected to interpret the laws and administer justice with fairness and probity.

However, as Anifowose and Enemuoh (2000) pointed, there is no water tight compartmentalization of functions by these three arms of government. What is therefore required in a functional democracy is for the arms to work closely and in cooperation with each other to achieve the much needed dividends of democracy.

### **ACTIVITY III**

- i. State the critical elements of Democracy.

## **4.0 SUMMARY**

Three major forms of government have been identified according to the way and methodology of their organizations and functions. They are monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. Each of these forms has its advantages and disadvantages

**5.0 ASSIGNMENTS**

- i. Discuss the merits and demerits of monarchical government
- ii. State the advantage and disadvantage of Aristocracy as a form of government
- iii. Discuss three features of democracy

**6.0 REFERENCE**

Anifowose, R. and Enenmuo, F. (2000). *Element of politics*. Sam Iroanusi Publications, Lagos.

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Shively, W. P. (2008). *Power and Choice* McGraw-Hill higher Education, Boston.



**UNIT 3: POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA****CONTENTS**

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**1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Political development involves taking the right decisions that bring the right policies that are required to bring about positive change and improvement in the wellbeing of the people. To achieve this objective, leadership qualities required by those who provide political leadership. Laws are expected to provide the platform that dictate the social, economic and educational development of a society. The policies of the 7-point Agenda, the Agricultural Revolution or Green Revolution, the 1-9-3-4 system of education, the Community Based Health activities are programmes that require the political will to implement them for the betterment of the citizens. In this Unit the meaning of political activities is stated.

**2.0 OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit you should be able to;

- i. State the meaning of political activities in Nigeria.
- ii. Identify and list the forms of government
- iii. Discuss the arms of government

**2.1 How to Study the Unit**

Read through the unit carefully. List the words you do not understand. Check the meanings of the words from your dictionary.

**2.2 Word Study**

**Political stability** = a condition of peaceful political coexistence.

**Political will** = readiness of political leaders to do what is required of them.

### **3.0 Main Text**

#### **3.1 Concept of Political Activities**

The ability of political leaders, according to Mezieobi (2013), to resist imperialism and embrace nationalism in order to mobilize the people for social economic and political modernization cannot be overstated. This objective calls for the instilling of national consciousness through political activities.

Politics according to Ololobou (2004) involves those human actions by which conflicts concerning common goods and the interest of groups are carried on. These are the political principles and direction of political practice that enhance the quality of life of the people. The principles include freedom, equality patriotism, consciousness, authority, power, sovereignty, election, political campaign, voting, accreditation, and election results.

Oyovbaire (2008) has observed that the highest stage in the evolution of human government for the purpose of achieving freedom and development remains the emergence and almost universal adoption of elective democracy. He added that the mandate of the people freely expressed through periodic ballot remains the best way of selecting leadership for a free society. Hence, the activities of political leadership must include the provision of infrastructure, inculcation of national values to promote discipline in the citizens, ensuring security of life and property, provision of employment and productive self-engagement in the real sector, provision of quality education, affordable housing, generous retirement benefits and better working conditions for civil and public servants.

Political activities involve human beings acting to protect their interests and would wish have something or control a situation through the formation of government to achieve the above objectives.

#### **ACTIVITY I**

- i. What you understand by political activities?
- ii. Why is political leadership essential in political activities?

#### **3.2 Forms of Government**

Political activities in any given society depends on the form of government in operation. For instance, is it a traditional or modern democratic form of government? The traditional form of government is the indigenous form of government that evolved locally and practiced in pre-colonial time. This form of government is centralized or monarchical, and the use of council of Elders.

In the centralized or monarchical form of government, a chief, king, or ruler is recognized by the people of the area. The traditional leader has far-reaching powers over his subjects, who display unflinching support for the leader. The leader is supported by a council of chiefs or Elders.

Modern democracy is a form of government that gives people or citizens the opportunity to participate in decision-making by adult citizens. Participation in a democratic government is either directly or through representation. In modern practice of representative democracy, the parliamentary (cabinet) and presidential forms are the common practice. The characteristics of the two forms of representative democracy include the following:

- i. Nominal Head of State, whose duties are mainly formal and ceremonial.
- ii. Political Executive with the cabinet of the legislature.
- iii. Legislature is elected by the electorates and cannot be dissolved by the executive.
- iv. President is both nominal and political head of state.
- v. President is elected by the entire electorates.
- vi. President is not part of the Legislature.
- vii. President cannot dissolve the legislature

## ACTIVITY II

- i. What are the characteristics of the two forms of government in Nigeria?

### 3.3 Arms of Government

The three arms of government or modern democratic institutions include the following:

- i. The legislature: This is the law making body of a country or state on Nigeria, at the federal level, the Legislature is the National Assembly, which is made up of the Senate and the House of Representatives. In each of the thirty six states of the federation, there is a house of assembly, which constitutes its legislature. The National Assembly is constitutionally empowered to make laws for the peace, order and good governance of their various states (Borzino, Zwalchi, and Obanya 2004).
- ii. The Executive: This is an arm of government charged with the responsibility of executing the following:
  - (a). Maintaining the country's constitution
  - (b). Laws made by the National and State Assemblies.
  - (c). Matters with respect to which the National and State Assemblies have powers to make laws

At the Federal level, executive powers are vested in the President who may exercise powers either directly, or through the Vice President or Ministers of the government of the Federation or any other officers in the Public Service of the Federation. In the states, executive powers are vested in the Governors who may exercise such either directly or through the Deputy Governors or Commissioners of the Government of the State or other officers in the public service of the state.

At the Local Government level, policies are executed by Council Chairman, Councilors, and other officers in the service of the relevant Local Government Council.

- iii. The Judiciary: This is made up of all statutorily recognized courts of law in a given country. The main functions of the Judiciary are the interpretation of the laws of the land, and the hearing and determination of cases brought before it. The most important courts of law in Nigeria include the following:
- a. The Supreme Court of Nigeria.
  - b. The Court of Appeal.
  - c. The Sharia Court of Appeal of the Federal Capital Territory.
  - d. The Customary Court of Appeal of the Federal Capital Territory.
  - e. The Federal High Courts in the various States of the Federation, including the Federal High Court in the Federal Capital Territory.
  - f. The High Courts of each State.
  - g. The Sharia Court of Appeal in each States that need them.
  - h. The Customary Courts of Appeal in States that need them. (Bozino, Gotep, Zwalchir, and Obanya 2004).

### ACTIVITY III

- i. Differentiate between the arms of government in Nigeria.
- ii. Name the most important courts of law in Nigeria.

## 4.0 SUMMARY

This Unit looked at Political development with particular emphasis on arms of government. To achieve this objective, leadership qualities required by those who provide political leadership have been discussed. Laws that are expected to provide the platform that dictate the social, economic, political, and educational development of a society have also, been examined.

## 5.0 ASSIGNMENT

Discuss major political activities that can promote development.

## 6.0 REFERENCES

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**UNIT 4: POLITICS AND LOCAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
  - 2.1 How to Study this Unit
  - 2.2 Word Study
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Meaning of Community
  - 3.2 Principles and Steps in Community Development
  - 3.3 Problems and Prospects of Community Development in Nigeria
- 4.0 Summary
- 5.0 Assignment
- 6.0 References

**1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Community as it were can be viewed as group of people living in a defined area of land. This group of people has a sense of belonging to their social groups. They have common history, interest and problems. They also have economic and political orientation and participation. Community starts from a small group of people to a larger group.

**2.0 OBJECTIVES**

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. State the meanings of community and community development.
- ii. Itemize the major steps to follow in community development.
- iii. Mention any two problems of community development.

**2.1 How to Study this Unit**

- Read the unit carefully,
- Put down the major points as you read,
- Pay attention to the major points in this unit. Note how to solve the problems of community development.

**2.2 Word Study**

**Integral:** An essential part of that thing

**Illiteracy:** Not knowing how to read and write.

**3.0 MAIN CONTENT****3.1 Meaning of Community**

Ezeigbe (1997) sees community in terms of traditionalism and modern. Tonnies (1885-1936) highlighted by Hobbs and Blank (1975) identify two types of

communities that are either simple, or complex that occupy a territorial abode, having common conditions of common life. It is, however, important to note that a community can emerge as a common progenitor or a creation of the political class at a time.

Hustedde, Onuoha, Phillips and Vincent II (2014) see community as a group of interacting people living in a common location. It is often referred to as a group that is organized around common values of social cohesion within a shared geographical location, generally in social units larger than a household. It is important to note that the invention of the internet, the concept of community no longer has a geographical limitations as people can now gather in an online community and share common interests, regardless of physical location.

### **Community Development**

Community development according to Hustedde, Onuoha, Phillip, and Vincent II (2014) involves structural and institutional changes that enable a community to wisely utilize available resources to satisfy the needs of the people. The scope of community development includes the process and policies by which a nation improves the economic, political, technological and social wellbeing of its people.

The act of community development is an old concept. Community development according to Arthur-Duhnam in Alaogun (1990) is more concerned with the economic aspects of rural community life and lays more emphasis on integrated technical assistance from government. Community development is more functional and process oriented and covers a wider range of activities. It has to do with self-help initiated by people based on their perceived needs. The United Nations (2014) defines community development as a process where community members come together to take collective actions and generate solutions to common problems. U.N. (1956) defines community development as the process by which efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve economic social and cultural conditions of communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them contribute fully to national progress.

#### **Activity I**

- i. What is community?
- ii. What is community development?

### **3.2 Principles and Steps in Community Development**

These fundamental principles are integral to the successful implementation of any community development initiative, mass participation of the community members, it must be based on the felt-needs of the people, it must be planned adequately, there should be effective leadership, and people should not be forced to participate. The development must not be at variance to the values, traditions and norms of the community members, there must be proper accountability, the integrity of the

leadership must not be compromised for the benefit of future community development project.

It should be noted that community development is a problem solving adventure. It has to follow certain steps. However, the steps may be different from one place to another;

- i. Identification of felt-needs.
- ii. Election or appointment of leadership.
- iii. Definition or statement of the felt-needs or the project.
- iv. Explanation on the necessity of the project among the community members.
- v. Discussion on how to go about the concern or felt needs
- vi. Quotation of the needed resources on the concerns.
- vii. Commitment of the members of the community and how to raise the resources within and/or without.
- viii. Plan of action on how to execute the project.
- ix. Execution of plan of action.
- x. Accountability, commissioning, usage of the community development project.

### **Activity II**

- i. What are the principles of community development?
- ii. State the steps to follow in community development.

### **3.3 Problems and Prospects of Community Development in Nigeria**

There challenges facing the successful execution community development in Nigeria, among which are:

- i. Illiteracy and Ignorance: The level of illiteracy in Nigeria is high especially among the rural dwellers. This coupled with ignorance which has its own toll on community development.
- ii. Problems of Finance and Poverty: The level of poverty is very high especially in the rural areas. This may constitute an impediment to the successful execution of a well thought out gigantic project.
- iii. Misconception of the role of Government: People in the rural areas may conceive the idea that government has to do everything for them especially as they do to those in urban cities. This misconception may be an obstacle to actualizing a community development that are useful to them.
- iv. Mistrust and Corruption: Corrupt tendency is so high that people think that every leader is corrupt. This may affect the good intentions of leaders in a community to initiate community development.

Community education, on the other hand, refers to a community that is sensitized and socialized in all facets of a community life in order to make them have a firsthand knowledge of the community and its needs.

Community development, as recalled by Mezieobi (2013), is aimed at achieving the following:

- i. To reawaken interest of all and sundry to community related studies and learning.

- ii. To sensitize community members of the importance of the community in the overall scheme of things.
- iii. To help people appreciate the realities of their community environment in order for them to meaningfully contribute to its improvement.
- iv. To ginger community development efforts in the people and make them show commitment in all community development strategies.
- v. To point to the fact that each local community has the potentialities of getting better through social change.
- vi. To make member of the community to fully understand socio-political authority figures in the community.
- vii. To study all community-based activities which are precursor of community's social development, and more.
- viii. To curtail the population shifts from rural to urban communities.
- ix. To fully exploit the potentialities of the community as an effective social studies laboratory, since the community houses all human and material resources considered inevitable for effective social studies content delivery. (Bozino, Gotep, Zwalchin, and Obanya 2014).

### **Activity III**

- i. Mention the problems facing the successful execution of community development in Nigeria.
- ii. What is community education for effective community development?

## **4.0 SUMMARY**

In this unit, the meanings of community and community development have been stated. The principles and characteristics of community development were also explained. The challenges facing the successful execution of community development in Nigeria were identified and prospects of community education outlined.

## **5.0 ASSIGNMENT**

- i. In your own words, explain the principles of community development.
- ii. What are the challenges and prospects in community development?

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## UNIT 5: CONSOLIDATION

### CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
  - 2.1 How to Study this Unit
  - 2.2 Word Study
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Concept and Theories of Government
  - 3.2 Classification and Forms of Government
  - 3.3 Nigerian Government
  - 3.4 The Era of Self Government 1954
  - 3.5 In Era of Presidential Government
  - 3.6 The Interim National Government
- 4.0 References

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit is a consolidation of all the other four units you have learnt. The include the concept and theories of politics and power, the concept and theories of government, classification and forms of government and Nigeria government and politics.

### 2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this consolidation unit, you should be able to.

- i. State the major features of power and politics
- ii. State the major forms of government
- iii. State the functions of government in Nigeria.

### 2.1 How to Study this Unit

This unit is a revision unit meant to consolidate on what you have learnt so far. Therefore you should approach it as a revision exercise using all available related material.

### 2.2 Word Study

**Constitution:** The body of laws which prescribes how a country is governed. it provides for the powers of the various offices and institutional functions among others.

**Governor General:** A representative of the colonial master who was overseeing the colonies.

**Military Era:** The period in which the military was in power.

**Democracy:** Government that is people centered and guided by the rule of law.

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

In unit one we learnt about the theories of politics and power. Power involves making decisions for the group and these decisions are made by some members of the society exercising power over other members of the group.

Two theories of politics were discussed. Political theory as well as political organization.

In our effort to study the concept and theories of politics, you will discover that power as a concept kept on re-occurring. This is because politics major end is power control. Power therefore Exhibits the following characteristics: -

- i. It is bilateral
- ii. It is relational
- iii. It is derived from established authority

Whether it is forced power, Dominated power or manipulated power they seem to Exhibit the above characteristics.

### 3.1 Concept and Theories of Government

Is a machinery through which the apparatus is state are run so as to service the citizens' welfare, security, etc.

Governments perform certain functions such as Executive, legislative and judicial functions.

We equally learnt that three theories of government Exist. They are

- i. De centralization theory
- ii. Integration
- iii. Kleptocracy

### 3.2 Classification and Forms of Government

We learnt in unit three, that governments can be classified into three forms.

1. Monarchical government: - Which may be either Absolute or constitutional monarchies.
2. Antarctic government, popularly referred to as the government of a selected few who are of best brains and high virtue.
3. Democratic government- popularly referred as the government of the people by the people for the people. This is because it is people centered.  
Democracy has the following key elements namely.  
The rule of law  
Fundamental human rights  
Mass participation  
Separation of powers.

### 3.3 Nigerian Government

Units one of three were meant to lay the foundation to your understanding of the practice of government and politics in Nigeria.

From the colonial administration, which witnessed the gradual incorporation of the contiguous area and people into then British Empire. The structure of governance was such that interest of the colonial masters was to be protected to serve the colonialization interest.

It is therefore possible to identify the following phases in the constitution making following phases in the constitution making process which determined the type and character of government. They include.

The order-in-council (1914): This was led by Sir Frederick Lugard. It marked the first attempt of constitutional making in Nigeria but Nigerians were never involved in their own governance.

### 3.4 The Era of Self Government 1954

The period of colonial Exclusions witnessed the gradual involvement of Nigerians in the affairs of their country.

This culminated to the emergence of Nigeria as a federation with three regions. With these structures in place, the way was paved for the emergence of regional self. As a result, both the western and Eastern regions achieved self government in 1957 while the North got hers in 1959.

The Era of parliamentary Government. This was the third phase in the demonstration of government and power in Nigeria between the period of independence in 1960 to January 1966. The 1960 constitution has the following features.

- i. Federal framework
- ii. Legislative power
- iii. Fundamental rights
- iv. Courts
- v. Citizenship
- vi. Revenue allocation
- vii. Multi-Party System

### 3.5 In Era of Presidential Government

The 1960 constitution suffered set back due largely to the turbulent crises that characterized the period.

This led to the first military incursion in 1966.

The civil war which lasted for about thirty months equally prolonged the presence of the military in power into 1979 which finally saw the emergence of the first presidential

system of government with Alh. Shehu Shagari of the NPN emerging as the first executive president.

### **The 3<sup>RD</sup> and 4<sup>TH</sup> Republics**

With the collapsed of the Second Republic in December, 1983 and another military Junta found it's way to the corridors of political powers. There was no initial action on their part to move the nation towards Constitutional government.

#### **3.6 The Interim National Government**

The tension created by the June 12, 1993, presidential election forced General Ibrahim Babangida to hurriedly package an interim National Government (ING) under the leadership of Chief Ernest Shonikan on August 26, 1993 while he stepped aside. The interim government so put in place seemed very weak in tackling the challenge of legitimacy and forces of opposition created as a result of the June 1993 annulment. Accordingly, General Sani Abacha who was then ING's Minister of Defence, moved swiftly to topple the government and installed himself as the new military Head Of State in November 1993.

The greatest obstacle to Abacha's transition program and the democratization process, was the politics of Self-Succession embarked upon by General Sani Abacha.

This coupled with the intimidation and harassments of perceived enemies of the regime witnessed the use of coercive measures and draconian decrees on the citizens. Inspire of the wide-spread opposition to the decision to succeed himself, General Abacha was caught up with death on June 28 1998.

The emergence of General Abdulsalami Abubakar as the new head of state on June 1998, saw an improvement on the general political atmosphere of the country due largely to the termination of the self – succession saga. One significant applause of administration was the release of some political detainees, including General Olusegun Obasanjo, a former military head of state.

Some of the positive effects of the administration also include the scrapping of "Abacha parties" and the establishment of a new electoral body called INEC (Independent Electoral Commission). Setting a new transition programme to end on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, 1999. The inauguration of a 23-member constitution debate co-ordination committee (CDCC).

Again a multi-party system was endorsed which saw emergence of the following dominants political parties for the 4<sup>th</sup> republic.

- The All People's Party                      APP
- The Alliance for Democracy              AD
- The People's Democratic Party          PDP

As a matter of fact, the seeming popularity of General Abubakar, notwithstanding, his inability to solve the problem of persistent fuel scarcity, the increase in the prices of

petroleum products, the reduction in the already announced minimum wage for workers, the depleted foreign reserves and devaluation of the naira are counted as some of the failures of the administration.

### **The 4<sup>th</sup> Republic.**

General Abubakar's keeping in faith with the May 29, 1999 handing over date ushered in the longest democratic dispensation in the country.

The constitutional powers of the 1999 constitution are by and large an extension of the 1979 constitution with the major features of the presidential democracy.

Under this dispensation, the country has witnessed three successive handing over of batons of civic leadership as follows;

Chief Olusegun Obasanjo                      1999 - 2007

Umaru Musa Yar Adua                          2007 - 2009

Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan                2009 – 2015

President Mohammadu Buhari                2015 – date.

For the first time in the history of Nigeria, this era witnessed the transition of power from one civilian administration to another and more importantly, the victory of an opposition party over a sitting government of the ruling party.

This feat demonstrates that the people's vote could meaningfully count at the polls. The transparency of the elections projected the country's political image across the world, however it must be pointed that while greater involvement of Nigerians in the affairs of the country is significantly progressing, the divulging economy characterized by wide spread corruption still pervades the national life of the leadership.

There is equally widespread insecurity in the land and wide range of crime activities such as kidnapping, armed robbery, child trafficking among others.

It is hoped that the president regime will not only uphold and improve on the gains of democracy like protection of human rights and transparent elections, but will also address significantly the challenges of national security and unemployment.

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## **ANSWERS TO ACTIVITIES AND ASSIGNMENTS**

### **UNIT 1**

#### **ACTIVITY I**

Colonial system of government in Nigeria was that of exclusiveness. Nigerians were not involved in the activities of governance.

Nationalism and constitutional conferences saw the beginning of Nigerian involvement in the affairs of their state particularly as from 1954.

The period of self-governance was witnessed between 1957 and 1959 preparatory to independence in 1960.

#### **ACTIVITY II**

##### **The major features of parliamentary democracy in Nigeria.**

- i. The executive was chosen within the parliament.
- ii. There was in place the office of the prime minister and that of the head of state who was just a ceremonial head of state.
- iii. There was the absence of the senate (unicameral parliament).
- iv. No clear cut separation of powers between the executive and the Legislature.
- v. There was a weak federal structure which was inherited from the colonial Era. The regions seem to wield more powers.

#### **ACTIVITY III**

##### **Reasons for military intervention in the body politics of Nigeria.**

- i. Weak federal structure made the center vulnerable.
- ii. Suspicion which affected the rank and file of the military.
- iii. Wide range of corruption and abuse of office among public officers.

#### **ASSIGNMENT**

##### **Factors that led to the achievement of independence in Nigeria.**

- Growing Nationalism and consciousness.
- Activities of other PAN African's movements in Africa.
- The growth and development of political parties.
- Student Union activities.
- Activities of Nigerian Ex service men who had participated in international military and peace activities.
- Constitutional conferences.

##### **Features of Presidential Democracy in Nigeria.**

- The presence of strong Bi-cameral legislature at the federal level.
- Clear cut separation of powers.
- Increased in the respect for the rule of law.
- Fundamental Human Rights and Freedom of Expression.
- Improved transparency in elections over the years.

**UNIT 2****ACTIVITY I:**

Colonial system of government in Nigeria was that of exclusiveness. Nigerians were not involved in the activities of governance.

Nationalism and constitutional conferences saw the beginning of Nigerian involvement in the affairs of their state particularly as from 1954.

The period of self governance was witnessed between 1957 and 1959 preparatory to independence in 1960.

**ACTIVITY II:****The major features of parliamentary democracy in Nigeria.**

- vi. The executive was chosen within the parliament.
- vii. There was in place the office of the prime minister and that of the head of state who was just a ceremonial head of state.
- viii. There was the absence of the senate (unicameral parliament).
- ix. No clear cut separation of powers between the executive and the Legislature.
- x. There was a weak federal structure which was inherited from the colonial Era. The regions seem to wield more powers.

**ACTIVITY III:****Reasons for military intervention in the body politics of Nigeria.**

- iv. Weak federal structure made the center vulnerable.
- v. Suspicion which affected the rank and file of the military.
- vi. Wide range of corruption and abuse of office among public officers.

**ASSIGNMENT****Factors that led to the achievement of independence in Nigeria.**

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- Fundamental Human Rights and Freedom of Expression.
- Improved transparency in elections over the years.



**UNIT 3****ACTIVITY I****Absolute monarchy**

- The monarch is the head of state both in the name and deeds
- His power are immeasurable and supreme
- Mostly hereditary

**Constitutional monarchy**

- Power and derived from the constitution
- The monarch has administrative advisers whose participations are critical in decision making.

**Activity II**

Aristocracy as a form of government is regarded as government of the best brains. Only the exceptional in virtue, business and Education etc. can lead.

**Activity III:** The key elements of democracy as a form of government include.

- i. Principle of separation of power
- ii. The rule of law and function human rights

Mass participation in government either directly or indirectly

**UNIT 4.****Activity I****i. Meaning of community**

- A group of people who live and interact to produce a pattern of behavior or life. It could also be a product of the political class.

**ii. Community Development**

- Structural and institutional changes that enable communities to utilize resources to meet needs of the people.

**Activity II****i. Principles of Community Development**

- Leadership provision
- Mass participation
- Felt needs
- Planned
- Acknowledged community norms and values
- Accountability

**ii. Steps**

- Need assessment
- Provide leadership
- Sensitization
- Provide resources and strategies
- Project execution

### **Activity III**

#### **Problems of Community Development**

- Illiteracy
- Poverty
- Government policy
- Corruption
- Unskilled labour, etc.

#### **Community Education**

- Sensitization and mobilization of citizens at the community level for development.